The Brill Dictionary of Religion



Edited by
Kocku von Stuckrad

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Revised edition of Metzler Lexikon Religion
edited by Christoph Auffarth, Jutta Bernard and Hubert Mohr
Translated from the German by Robert R. Barr

Volume I

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PREFACE: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF *THE BRILL DICTIONARY OF RELIGION*

1. *Religion in the Twenty-First Century*

The End of Religion?

Well into the twentieth century, it has been the expectation of the majority of scholars that religions will sooner or later disappear from the modern world. Scholars based their expectation on the assumption that in the wake of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment the rational and scientific worldview would ultimately lead to a decline of religious truth-claims. We have been told that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the rise of modern science, the separation of church and state, industrialization, and individualization have led to an inescapable secularization and a disenchantment of the world. In these scenarios, Europe was regarded as the 'normal case,' representing a development that sooner or later would seize the rest of the world.

Much to the surprise of sociologists and scholars of religion, the last thirty years have witnessed a remarkable revival of religious truth-claims. Religions entered the public spheres and became strong identity markers both for individuals and for communities. In the name of religious traditions people raised political claims and interpreted history with reference to an ongoing global apocalyptic scenario, to a struggle between 'good' and 'bad,' or to the conviction that the project of 'modernity' has utterly failed. Often, these claims went hand in hand with violent action or even terrorism.

Scholars of religion have responded to this surprising development by adjusting their older models of interpretation. Some scholars talked of a mere 'misuse' of religion for political goals or of a 'patchwork religion,' in which 'postmodern' individuals 'syncretistically' build their own private religion. 'Religion' was now located in individual biographies, rather than in larger communities. Notions of 'desecularization' or 'reenchantment' were introduced in order to integrate the (still surprising) existence of religions in the modern world. Recently, scholars have begun to regard Europe as the 'exceptional case,' while the persistence of religious worldviews in the United States, in South America, Africa, or Asia is viewed as the 'normal case.'

Beyond Exorcism

All these models of interpretation, interesting as they are, render an impression of helpless attempts at coping with a changing world. Therefore, new strategies of interpretation have been put forward, strategies that reflect on—and often undermine—the basic assumptions and concepts of the older models. As a result of the 'cultural turn' that affected both the humanities and, to a lesser extent, the natural sciences, scholars today focus on the rhetorics of academic interpretation. For example, from a meta-theoretical point of view the notions of 'Enlightenment' and 'modernity' are themselves ideological programs that rest heavily on religiously inclined ideas of progress and salvation; depicting terrorism and violence as a 'misuse' of religion reflects a theological idea of 'pure religion' that is essentially peaceful and

tolerant. Critical scholars argue that in a discourse of *sui generis religion* phenomena that are thought to threaten or disturb 'modern' identities are exorcised and banned with the help of academic models of interpretation: they are expelled to the realm of 'magic,' 'superstition,' 'folk belief,' 'commodification,' 'political exploitation,' 'brain washing,' and so on.

Religion in Public Discourse

We can conclude that today the academic study of religion has lost its innocence (see also the 'Introduction' by Christoph Auffarth and Hubert Mohr). Scholars are themselves part of an ongoing cultural discourse of identity, which means that if they apply concepts and models of interpretation, they constantly have to be aware of the underlying biases that shape these models. On the one hand, this is an uncomfortable situation. On the other hand, this self-reflection opens up a new understanding of historical and social research into something called 'religion.' The combination of meta-theoretical analysis and serious historical and sociological work has turned the academic study of religion into a modern discipline that finds its place in the concert of cultural studies. Two consequences are particularly relevant here. First, after the demise of the *sui generis* approach to religion, scholars scrutinize 'religion' as a powerful element of public discourse that shapes identities by way of communication and interaction. From being a signifier of inner beliefs and sanctified traditions, 'religion' is turned into an everyday phenomenon that is capable of providing groups and individuals with meaningful interpretations of their places in time and space. Second, this understanding of religion fosters an interdisciplinary cross-fertilization. Locating religions in public spheres and communicational processes calls for the collaboration of many disciplines, among them history, sociology, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, theology, political sciences, literary studies, art, law, and parts of the natural sciences.

2. *The Brill Dictionary of Religion*

The Brill Dictionary of Religion explicitly reflects the transformation that the academic study of religion has undergone within the last twenty years. It is not by chance that all the catchwords mentioned above—Modernity, Disenchantment/Reenchantment, Secularization, Identity, Industrial Society, Money, but also Terrorism and Violence—are addressed with individual entries. The rationale that underlies the selection of entries and their respective presentation is aimed at reflecting the many aspects of religious fields of discourse in modern societies. To succeed in this endeavor, two perspectives have to be combined: First, the public and communicative aspects of religion have to be addressed explicitly; entries such as 'Media,' 'Perception,' 'Collective Representations,' or 'Everyday Life' are examples of this attempt. The large number of illustrations, sometimes tracing religion in unexpected places, likewise underscores this rationale. Second, the historical dimension is of crucial importance, because a proper understanding of modern religious discourses is impossible without knowledge of the past and a comparison with different periods and contexts. That is why the reader will also find historical overviews both of concepts and of religious traditions.

Thematic Fields

As an overall structure, the entries are organized in six thematic fields: (1) the human being (body, life cycle, perception, sexuality, psyche, emotions, illness and health, death and dying); (2) the individual and the group (socialization, family and genealogy, everyday life, work, violence); (3) environment, society, culture (nature/environment, media, collective representations, identity, society, government, politics, the 'other,' law, economy, science, art, aesthetics); (4) elements of religious systems (religion and critique, ritual, communication, dynamics of groups, belief systems, theologies, myth and mythology, gods and goddesses, meaning and signification, morals and ethics); (5) history of religions (time, calendar, history, individual epochs, religious and philosophical traditions, forms of reception); (6) geography and territoriality of religion (place, migration, pilgrimage, heaven/sky, orientation, specific geographical regions and cities). In addition to these six thematic fields, a group of entries discusses critical terms for the study of religion, such as 'communication,' 'discourse,' 'language,' 'colonialism,' 'gender stereotypes,' 'tradition,' 'memory,' or 'materiality.'

Types of Entries

The thematic fields are made accessible with different kinds of entries. While large entries provide an overview and orientation for the major aspects of all thematic fields, the more specified entries can be distinguished as follows:

- *Systematic entries* explain basic elements of religion, such as 'sacrifice,' 'purity,' 'trance,' or 'ritual.'
- *Historical entries* present an overview of important religious and philosophical traditions (with extended time tables); in addition, they historically contextualize elements of religions and provide information of certain details (e.g., 'cemetery,' 'pilgrimage,' 'vegetarianism,' or 'mysticism').
- *Focused entries* access themes that are of public interest in contemporary societies, sometimes discussed controversially; examples are 'anti-Semitism,' 'fundamentalism,' 'anti-cult movements,' 'suicide,' 'abortion,' or 'genetic engineering.'
- *Biographical entries* introduce important representatives of religious traditions (Jesus, Muhammad, Hildegard of Bingen, Luther, Gandhi, etc.) and trace their influence, reception, and perhaps mythologization; there are likewise entries to introduce influential figures in the study of religion (Freud, Eliade, Weber).
- *Regional entries* open up cultural and anthropo-geographical units, such as the 'Indian subcontinent,' 'North America,' 'Africa,' or the 'Mediterranean region' (see the overview of maps).
- *Epoch entries* provide an overview of certain historical periods, at the same time reflecting on the difficulties involved in constructing these periods (e.g., 'antiquity,' 'Middle Ages,' 'Renaissance,' 'Reformation,' 'modernity,' or 'postmodernity').
- *Information entries* give brief information on certain historical phenomena and terms, such as 'druid,' 'genius,' 'Hare Krishna,' or 'sphinx.'

The Editor's Role

The Brill Dictionary of Religion is a thoroughly revised version of the German *Metzler Lexikon Religion: Gegenwart, Alltag, Medien* (4 vols., Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler 1999–2002), edited by Christoph Auffarth, Jutta Bernard, and Hubert Mohr. Although I subscribe to the underlying rationale and the approach of the *Metzler Lexikon Religion*, substantial changes were necessary in order to compile a dictionary for an English-speaking audience. Some of

these changes pertain to the dictionary's very structure. More important, however, are changes in the selection of entries, their focus, and their reference section. My overall policy here was to carefully remove the focus on Europe in general and on Germany in particular. Several entries were dropped, while other entries were added. When I had the impression that certain entries did not match international scholarly standards or were superfluous, I found new authors for these entries or left them out.

The edited translations were sent to the respective authors, along with suggestions for changes in the entries' reference section. For various reasons, only a minority of authors responded to these requests, which left me with the delicate task of providing the respective literature myself. On the one hand, the nature and theoretical background of the entries should be reflected in the reference section; on the other hand, the editor is also an advocate of the English-speaking reader and an international audience, which means that he has to make sure that the relevant English literature is mentioned. I hope that my handling of this dilemma works out for the benefit of the reader.

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Without the smooth collaboration between the editor, the publishing house, the authors, the copy-editor, and colleagues who offered their expertise, this fascinating project would not have materialized in reasonable time. Therefore, I want to express my gratitude to Loes Schouten and the team at Brill who were helpful in every respect and handled the project in a professional way. Gustavo Benavides, who was involved in the first phase of production, helped me considerably with his advice. For the editors of the German dictionary, Hubert Mohr has been understanding and helpful in many ways, for which I am very grateful. Last not least, I want to thank my American copy-editor Matthew D. Rogers who has brought in his erudition and turned the translation into a lucid English text.

Amsterdam, July 2005 — Kocku von Stuckrad

INTRODUCTION: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION—HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES*

Christoph Auffarth and Hubert Mohr

By the end of the twentieth century, religion appeared to many people to have fallen into terminal decline, something defeated and soon to be forgotten. However, this view appears to have been quite widespread at the beginning of the twentieth century also. Declining numbers of churchgoers have always been used as an argument for the imminent fall of religion (→ Secularization). Throughout the twentieth century the trend seemed unstoppable, despite a temporary 'rush' on the churches after the collapse of the nationalist regimes and the ensuing attempts to find a new meaning for life in the Christian churches. At the turn of the twenty-first century, however, a completely different situation has arisen: religion has regained its importance—but it is no longer the same religion as that of the beginning of the twentieth century:

- Religion is no longer the religion of the commandments and directives.
- The Christian religion of the churches has become simply one form of religion among others.
- The Christian religion is no longer prescribed by theologians, out of reach of an obedient laity.
- Being a member of a church in what was formerly the 'Christian West' no longer brings with it social advantages or prestige in Europe's public sector.

→ Migration, working abroad, the need to escape from war and poverty, travel and the media, and broad networks of societal connections have brought a multiplicity of religions and cultures into Europe.

(1) These religions are represented by actual persons, all with their own expectations, interests, and peculiarities. Formerly, there had only been a one-way street of European nations going to other cultures and sharing what they thought of as meaningful and civilizing. At times, this 'sharing' was carried out in a disparaging and authoritarian fashion, occasionally it was done in an empathetic or enlightened manner, but it was almost always done without any desire for, or even thought of, reciprocal interaction. This one-way street is gone. Instead, persons, groups, colleagues, refugees, the person with the vegetable stand on the corner—they all stand for the respective 'foreign' religions that they have brought with them 'in their baggage.'

* *Introductory remark:* The following survey is an attempt to present scientific trends and different schools and styles of research that have either been characteristic of the academic study of religion over the past century or that have recently entered upon the scene but have nevertheless already had an effect on religious research. This is, therefore, a study of the typical and the paradigmatic (which is not to imply that another approach would have been qualitatively inferior, this is simply the approach that we thought to be most rewarding). After every entry can be found a list of relevant literature, which is also indicated in the texts by cross-references.

(2) Religion is no longer present as 'bookish knowledge' in isolation from other 'knowledge.' This is true whether it be received as doctrine from powers in the other world or as the path to happiness or as a matter for exotic and alluring depictions. It is present in the context of its cultural carriers and vehicles—in their language, food, and clothing. Nor does it disappear again: it abides and changes in its foreign environment, alters that environment while forming a visible distinction between its own members and other persons.
(3) In its respective cultural context, religion changes, so that there are no longer simple easily definable 'religions'—like 'Islam' or 'Christianity'—but multiple 'Islams' and 'Christianities' in the form of local or historical units. Two lines converge: a 'great tradition,' such as might be canonized in a 'sacred Scripture' and commented on and expounded upon by the traditional custodians of that tradition. This 'great tradition' can undergo revolutionary changes, through the change of paradigms when the pinnacle of the institution involved 'switches.' Then there is the 'small tradition'—closer to 'real life,' in which one religion competes with others, in the city or in the country, for example, by adopting the attractive elements of a festive procession or by stalwartly opposing them. This 'other' tradition is often tenacious and tends to be observed "as Grandmother remembers."

The altered role of the religions and what we perceive as → religion, is also clearly to be seen in the academic disciplines that research it. The → academic study of religion is a small discipline, producing no history of its own as such, but developing in the context of other, altering disciplines. Like many other sciences, it emerged in the age of imperialism, at the end of the nineteenth century. The 'two cultures' in the sciences, of which we so often hear—the natural sciences and humanities—cover the many academic disciplines that developed around the turn of the century. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, however, it is a characteristic of university research and doctrine that many disciplines are overflowing their bounds, forming themselves into new disciplines alongside the old ones. The 'life sciences' belong to this new type of discipline—biologists, chemists, medical researchers, philosophical and theological ethicists carry out their research together. 'Cultural studies' are another discipline that goes further, beyond the received philologies and historical sciences and including, for instance, law or theology. Below, we attempt to sketch out certain historical aspects of the scholarly investigation of religion, along with important lines of questioning, present and future.

1. *The Crisis of Historicism and the Empirical Sciences—Religious Studies and the Legacy of the Nineteenth Century*

§1. Anthropology of Religion and Ancient History

Texts and Scriptures

a) Until the beginning of the Renaissance (and, in Judaism, until modernity) the most eminent task of religious → specialists was considered to be that of looking after the transmission of the 'Sacred Scriptures'—transcribing them, to the letter as far as was possible, preserving them, and handing

them on. As the humanistic philologists began to busy themselves with the written testimonials of religion, they concentrated first on their concern with the texts of antiquity. But as early as Erasmus's critical edition of the New Testament (*Novum Testamentum*, in Greek and Latin, Basle, 1516 and frequently thereafter), their concern with the texts of Christian tradition began. Texts to translate, to commentate, to free from later interpolations, were their goal. *Ad Fontes* (Lat., "[Back] to the Sources") was the humanist motto. The humanists understood their task as being to separate the original from the influences that had had a 'sullying' effect upon the textual testimonies. Concerns over a philologically founded 'original' text, of course, collided, increasingly frequently, with the revelatory character of the 'sacred books.' By the middle of the nineteenth century, as a result of the progress that had been made in methods of scientific analysis, concern for the theology of the texts (and, further, for theology itself) precipitated a crisis. Catholicism categorically forbade this manner of 'subversive' theological work with the 'Oath against Modernism,' which, from September 8, 1907 until 1967, every cleric had to pronounce (Encyclical *Pascendi Gregis* [Lat., "(Duty) of Pasturing the Flock"]; 1910). Protestant theologians of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (Ger., "school of the history of religion"), however, sought to separate theological dogma from research into religious history—hence, the 'split' between faith and knowledge (see §2).

With the *natural → sciences*, and the world travels of Charles Darwin and Alexander von Humboldt, a new claim for credibility emerged, calling traditional belief fundamentally into question. Soon to be promoted to the status of ideology, the claim was made that one can only believe that which can be observed, in the present, through personal experience. Only what could be grasped as demonstrably and repeatably as a stuffed bird, as a soil sample, as a mathematical conclusion could be real. Everything else is fiction. Here, we witness the birth of the ideology of materialism. The problem was that this was also a fiction—from a scanty amount of findings, a millennial, unitary history was created, sketched out on the basis of limited discoveries with connecting elements that were simply conjectural. Only later did this fiction make room for a more modest self-evaluation of such theories.

Imperialism

b) A further challenge to the formerly prevailing canon of knowledge came from the political sphere. Imperialism confronted European colonial masters with a new empire, against which previously cultivated historical and religious traditions should be measured, with observations from colonial functionaries and missionaries (→ Colonialism). The latter testified to ever new forms of religious faith, and especially, behavior the world over. Religious studies constituted one program in this revolution. Its founder, Friedrich Max Müller, a Saxon in British service, chose the word "science" to describe it, referring to the empirical nature of its research and scholarship. Its model was constituted by British natural scientists, who turned away from natural history to experimental science—to the repeatable experiment. In his search for the source of religion, Müller cataloged and edited humanity's oldest accessible texts, the "Sacred Books of the East," of the Orient that was then British colonial territory (→ Orientalism/Exotism).

Comparative Mythology

c) But, according to Müller, even these books represented a late misunderstanding. This was based on the notion that narrative fiction is simply the account of a reality no longer comprehended: "Myth is ritual misunderstood."

Müller's investigations, founded on linguistic history, led him to a supposed 'oldest stage' of culture and religion. Based on information provided by → language, this stage was supposed to have extended from the Indians to the Teutons: the 'Indo-Germanic' or 'Arian' stage. Their oldest conceptualization of the cosmos, Müller held, rested on the certainty and regularity of the rising sun. Indo-Germans had personalized the sun, 'Father Sky' (in Sanskr., *Diaus Pitar;* in Gk., *Zeus Patér;* in Lat., *Jupiter*). To be sure, such etymologically based reconstructions led promptly to the speculative, and after Müller's death in 1900, the theses of the 'natural mythology school' became scientifically obsolete. Only with French linguistic scientist Georges Dumézil has an attempt been made, in a flood of books since the 1930s, to reconstruct a comparative mythology and *idéologie* of the Indo-European societies. His guiding notion (that he pursued from 1939 onwards) was that these societies rested on a 'trifunctional' model: farmers—warriors—priests. His trichotomy did not, however, go uncontested, not only because its 'structural' methodology was often difficult to apply: his 'trifunctionality' bore a fatal resemblance to current regressive political 'ideologemes,' the principal one being the social trichotomy of 'nurturing class—defending class—teaching class.'

Myth versus Ritual

d) At the same time, textual experts in the branches of *ancient history* strove to reach a stratum beyond the text—to reach not only the con-text of that knowledge in terms of literary history, but also its *Sitz im Leben*, i.e., to the practice of life and ritual out of which texts arise. What experience and social behaviors lie at the foundation of the transmitted texts? This was their methodological question. In spirited intercourse with anthropology, → 'ritual' became a category of explanation. By way of example, according to this schema of interpretation, festivals possess their experiential foundation in their warranty of a goal of action, human fertility, livestock and land. Accordingly, 'fertility cults' and 'agricultural magic' (W. Mannhardt, J. G. Frazer) were to be found everywhere. In the viewpoint of 'ritualists' like Jane E. Harrison, English head of the Cambridge Ritualists, myths were later rationalizations ('etiologies') of existing rites. The 'chicken or the egg' dispute over the precedence of myth or ritual long outlived the turn of the twentieth century. Behind the respective preferences for religious history or systematics, foundationally distinct images of Mediterranean antiquity and its religion(s) lie hidden. One image was that of classical idealism that started out with the literary accounts or gods and heroes (Homer, the tragedies, Virgil), and which fits somewhere between → art religion and essential insight). Another was oriented towards cult, which, in turn, was oriented towards religious anthropology and folklore studies, relying on inscriptions and other archaeological testimonials, and was interested in religious practice. In the eyes of its adversaries, its representatives drew humanistic ideals into the lowlands of African tribal rituals or European agricultural practices. Indisputably, however, from the perspective of comparative cultural anthropology, there arose a continuity of further description, in theoretically stimulating studies like Karl Meulis's attempt to derive the 'Greek sacrificial rituals' from North Eurasian shamanisms. Another study with a similar impact was Walter Burkert's dismal vision of *homo necans* (Lat., 'slaughtering human being'), whom he supposed to have developed out of the bloody → sacrifice. Burkert also further extended his basis for comparison into primate ethology.

Evolutionism

c) There supervened, as a heuristic premise, → *evolutionism*. What investigators of folk cultures were observing in the colonies at that time by way of religious customs and usages, had, it was held, long since disappeared in Europe. But they did correspond to a prehistoric period. Humanity's 'childhood' could be documented in extra-European tribal religion, and was functionally equivalent to the 'childhood' of Europe's own 'people,' represented by 'pagan' customs and usages. Surprising outlooks emerged. The prehistoric drama could be unlocked in equivalencies with Southern Italian folk theater; or Roman agricultural cults with an appeal to Pomeranian or Baltic harvest customs (Wilhelm Mannhardt; → Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic). Evolution belongs to the scientific myths of the turn of the twentieth century as do other theories of a scientific culture. The latter, opening the way, laid out ever new stage-models of culture and society, in a tireless quest for a starting point in history and religion (→ Origin) that had no antecedent:

- *Totemism* proposed symbolic relationships between clans and animals, or species of → animals, as the responsible agent in the shaping of groups and religions (William Robertson Smith, James G. Fraser). Models were supplied by the tribes of the American West Coast, as well as, especially, by the → Aborigines of Central Australia, then being researched by Baldwin Spencer and Francis Gillen.
- → *Animism* was belief in the 'ensoulment' of nature, and in the emergence of religion from belief in souls and spirits of the dead. Another generative factor was the production of fantasies, and the 'appearances' at hand in dream and vision (Edward B. Tylor).
- "Pre-animistic" *manaism* (*mana theory*), or *dynamism*, a theory that—coupled with, among other things, the Polynesian concept of *mana*—took belief in impersonal → power and energies to constitute the primordial stage of religiosity (R. R. Marett).

These theories were quickly refuted, in part, or are still in scientific use, if at all, for the purpose of limited ethno-cultural designation. Still, they frequently endure today as 'knowledge' among travel guides, in armchair expeditions taken in front of the television, or among apologists for Christian missions. To an extent, they entered literature (T. S. Eliot, *The Wasteland*) and popular science—many of Fraser's mythological groceries can be found in the 'new mythology' of 'spiritual feminism' and the Wicca movement (→ Paganism/Neopaganism; New Myths/New Mythologies).

§2. Theology and Religious Studies: Exposition of Texts and Religion in Theology

As mentioned above, investigations into the history of religions developed in theological departments, as well. Foreign religions have always formed a considerable challenge. They are not only complementary, exotic additives. They also challenge, relativize, and pose fundamental questions. Granted, Christian → theology devotes itself to them, as a rule, with a goes-without-saying claim that its own religion is the only true one. With the adoption of the Hebrew Bible into the Christians' sacred Scripture, however, the fundamental challenge emerged that the one sole God was to bestow salvation not only on one people alone. In the crisis of historicism, around 1900, biblical scholars caused a furor, in particular a group at the University of Göttingen that formed a *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (Wilhelm Bousset,

The Religionsgeschichtliche Schule

1865–1920; Hermann Gunkel, 1862–1932, etc.)—then discovered that the books of the → Bible formed completely distinct forms of literature from one another, and that every book had been reworked several times and adapted to new situations. In particular, by way of this 'form-historical method,' 'layers' of editing were discovered, for instance, in the Pentateuch, those of the 'Yahwist,' of the 'priestly writings,' with the Prophets that of 'Deutero-Isaiah' as well as the editorial stages of the New Testament Gospels. Here, the Book of Revelation is not God's map of the upcoming trip. Rather, it represents the pamphlet of a Christian resistance group against Roman Emperor Domitian, which can be precisely located historically even if it is disguised as the Babylonian myth of the struggle with the dragon. Sacred Scripture, then—so ran the provocative conclusion of theological historicism of this kind—could not be understood simply as the supra-historical word of God for us today. It must be conceived as a collection of texts, made for and in the times of its emergence, in its contemporary literary forms and different editions. This is its *Sitz im Leben*, which is decisive, and which must be subjected to historical analysis. Thus goes the prescription of the school of historical criticism.

The *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* was an object of dispute. It was the laity who gave it great attention, especially in the series of publications of *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher* (Ger., "Volumes in the History of Religion for the Laity"), and the lexicon *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Ger., "Religion in History and Today"; the RGG). The second edition of the latter, whose subtitle is *Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft* ("Short Dictionary of Theology and Religious Studies"), 1927–1931, was edited by Hermann Gunkel (who had already collaborated on the first edition, beginning in 1909) and Leopold Zscharnack. Among theologians, the effort immediately arose to transform theological faculties into religious studies departments, which could then no longer be controlled by the Church. Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930), the most important theologian of the German Empire, shook the program with the argument that Christianity contained all of the stages of religion (singular!). "Whoever knows this one—with all of its stages—knows them all." This claim was in opposition to the 'comparativist' maxim of Max Müller, who declared: "Whoever knows only one, knows none!"

A scholarly or scientific theology that made use of historical, philological, and historico-literary criticism in its biblical studies might entail considerable risk for its representatives. In Scotland, which had played the role of an outrider in the development of an independent religious scholarship, theologian and Arabist William Robertson Smith (1846–1894) had to submit to an ecclesiastical 'heresy process.' The Church had found his ethnological comparativism objectionable, with the result that he was dismissed from his professorship in Aberdeen. His thesis of a totemism in the Hebrew Bible was simply too much research. On the Catholic side, theologian and Assyriologist Alfred Loisy (1857–1940) was the target of ecclesiastical criticism for 'methodological modernism' in his theology. Forced to resign his teaching position in Biblical Studies at the Institut Catholique de Paris in 1893, Loisy was excommunicated in 1908, and finally, in 1932, saw his *opera omnia* placed on the Index of Forbidden Books. With the First World War, any relativization of one's own—German/Christian/Protestant—position was rejected as destructive (see below), and along with it, so were any religious studies of the sort demanded

'Dialectical Theology'

by the historico-religious school. Besides neo-Lutheranism, a new group heavily influenced opinion. This group was denominated 'dialectical theology,' whose representatives—first of all Karl Barth (1996–1968), Rudolf Bultmann, 1884–1976, and Friedrich Gogarten (1887–1967)—evaluated religion as the attempt of human beings to have God at their disposition, bribing and pressuring him through cult and ritual. Only Christianity had not succumbed to this temptation. Christianity was 'without religion.' God did not place himself at human disposition.

Despite multiple assaults, a scholarly theological prolongation was established, in the second half of the twentieth century, in both confessions, with historical as well as textual and literary criticism in mind. Its conclusions provided further opportunity for religious studies, as seen especially in research on the Bible, and on primitive and ancient Christian community. Their destiny, granted, is to be compelled to extend and balance the tension between faith and knowledge.

Attempts on the part of today's theologians to establish a dialogue with the other religious communities—Christian and non-Christian alike—concerning the globalization and de-Christianization of Western culture, have updated the question of and demand for a Christian 'theology of religions' (Theo Sundermeier, John Hick). The attempts to which we refer have been mounted at various times—sometimes through the World Council of Churches; sometimes through a review of dogmatic teachings, such as was effected by the Catholic Church during the Second Vatican Council, with its then revolutionary text *Lumen Gentium* (Lat., "Light of the Nations"); at other times through private initiatives like Catholic theologian Hans Küng's "Project World Ethos" (→ Ethics/Morals). However, this sort of theology can only be an object, not an example nor a method, of religious studies operating in the sense of cultural sciences. Of course, on the other hand, religious scholars such as Friedrich Heiler (1892–1967) themselves sought to discover and organize a 'third way' among the (Christian) confessions, through their teaching activities. Catholic Heiler was a member of the *Hochkirchliche Vereinigung Augsburgischen Bekenntnisses* (Ger., "High-Church Union of the Augsburg Confession"), and came out as early as 1919 with the ecumenical motto, 'Evangelical Catholicity' (*Das Wesen des Katholizismus*; Ger., "The Essence of Catholicism"; Munich, 1920), and even consented to his own episcopal ordination—whereby, of course, his official activity became limited to the Castle Church at Marburg.

§3. Action, Experience, and Meaning: Sociology

Early Sociology: The Religions Face the Social Problem

a) A twin dispute signaled the ascent of new sciences. On the one hand, in the clash over experience, the natural sciences demanded conformity with theoretical principles. On the other hand, the humanities disputed the historical singularity and fictional nature of the texts. The new sciences demanded exact descriptions, in order to be able to understand the meaning with which a culture endows itself. Just as the geographer describes, makes mistakes, observes, then discovers—but does not invent—so did the newly appearing 'sociology' of the time around 1900 wish to describe human beings as 'social' or 'societal' beings, and then to investigate them with statistical precision, in order to be able to understand their actions. It is not individual 'great men' who determine world history, as the majority of the historical scholars at the close of the nineteenth century preferred to

believe. It is the collective agents of → society, of supra-individual interest groups, organizations, institutions, classes, and sub-classes that create, each of them, their own culture or subculture. In this new discipline, scientific facts were gained by describing what could be experienced, verified, or 'objectified.' Not so unlike geographers' 'landscapes,' society was there to be quantitatively and qualitatively discovered, investigated, and described, not invented or aesthetically interpreted on the grounds of ideas and surmises. A key object of investigation on the part of early sociology, the relationship between religion and → economics, was determined by way of the socio-political 'workers' question.' True, in → Marxism, → socialism, and communism, industrial labor developed an independently and politically organized class-consciousness. This threatened not only middle-class society and economic order, but Christianity itself, as a middle-class or bourgeois religion. It was not only the Christian confessions that responded to this fundamental criticism with newly developed social ethics, but also bourgeois scientists and scholars who developed far-ranging studies on Christian 'social doctrines' (Ernst Troeltsch), or on the social ethics of the 'world religions' (Max → Weber). The socialists, in the footsteps of Karl Marx, saw the driving force of history in economic conditions. But in a countermove, Max Weber (1864–1920) saw the particular direction of the national economy transformed into a cultural sociology—into a 'spirit' (including religion, in its respective culture). This characteristic meaning was then caught up with and overtaken by the autonomous forces of the economy.

The Durkheim School

b) At this point a new concept of 'fact' appears. In many ways, society's action itself creates facts, which can form the basis of decision for future actions. French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) calls these created facts 'social facts' (in Fr., *faits sociaux*). Whether the present is perceived as a crisis is a social question that does not depend directly on the success or failure of market turnover at the time in question. In → modernity, it is not religion alone that creates the sense and meaning of social life. Rather, religion is a part of the social bestowal of meaning, both guiding and being guided.

c) Important as his questioning was to religion, Weber had no successor among his colleagues. Durkheim, on the other hand, founded an influential school in France. Among his students were, in particular, Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) and Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945). Recent German sociology (along with that country's historical and religious research) has re-imported Weber from the United States. There, others advanced and developed his ideas, especially Talcott Parsons, in whose hands Weber's standpoints were remodeled.

Sociology of Knowledge

d) New impulses were given primarily by sociological investigations of the differently assembled structures of religious organizations and developments in the United States. As Thomas Luckmann (b. 1927) and Peter L. Berger (b. 1929) broadened Alfred Schütz's (1899–1959) concept of *Lebenswelt* (the environment in which one "lives one's life") to a social and religious theory of a sociology of knowledge, they communicated a further drive to the sociology of religion. It was with the help of philosophical approaches borrowed from Henri Bergson and Edmund Husserl that Schütz deepened Max Weber's 'sociology that understands' to the level of a 'structural analysis of the social

world,' building on the attraction—and thus on the social interaction—of daily activity.

Berger and Luckmann's model of a 'social construction of reality'—which incorporated propositions in the area of an analysis of development, received from Erik H. Erikson, for example—made new approaches possible for an analytical use of *Weltanschauung* and world-view, in the social space obtaining between individual and collective instances. Their thesis of the constructive character of → society (and thus of religion, as well, as a societal system) has proved influential. Here, society is a product of its vehicles: it is separated, 'externalized,' 'objectified' in a 'dialectical' process, and—by learning—'internalized' once more. Consequently, in this view, religion is also produced by daily action, and must be continually observed and verified. It has the purpose of a mechanism for the bestowal of meaning, a mechanism that takes → everyday knowledge and experiences, as well as 'borderline experiences,' and makes them 'plausible' and legitimate. Luckmann concentrated this sketch and outline in his thesis, intended as diagnostic for the time, that the modern form of religion is an 'invisible religion,' folded back into its private recesses. Peter L. Berger mounted his provocative slogan, 'heretical imperative,' according to which today's believer is exposed to a 'compulsion to heresy'—to the selection of her or his own religion and *Weltanschauung* (→ Private Religion).

Sociometry

e) One of the most important accomplishments of the sociology of religion is the tradition of a *quantitative sociometry*. This is intended to demonstrate and illuminate the (religious) behavior of a → group or → society and its concepts (of beliefs) through empirical investigation, for example, with questionnaires (opinion surveys). The data acquired have today reached a high degree of methodological verification. Nevertheless, with statistics, there is always the (source critical) question of the epistemological interest of their gathering, and the political or ideological environment in which the latter is effected. Classic lines of questioning here concern faith conceptualizations and everyday religious activity (faith in God; participation at → rituals, such as assisting at divine service on → Sunday), or questioning in terms of the religious conceptualizations of social classes, sub-classes, or groups (e.g. industrial workers; physicians; theologians). Thus, quantitative profiles of opinion can serve in the discernment of trends in religious behavior, and can reveal aspects of current everyday piety and 'applied belief' that lie outside publications of religious 'professionals.' For large church organizations, 'ecclesio-sociological' polls of this kind, concerning their members' religious behavior and attitudes, are highly informative.

Sociology of religion based on empirical social research is an influential tradition in the United States (cf. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*), as well as having an influential role in French sociology. For the debate concerning religious trends, movements, and problematics of the present, quantitative collections are an indispensable aid, as shown by fertile studies on the 'new religious movements' and the social type known as the 'seeker' since the 1970s, as well as on → 'fundamentalism' or the 'politicized religion' of minorities and immigrants. Poll results from opinion research institutes on the 'nation's religious state' constitute a public and popular form of this kind or social analysis. Despite possessing elements of significant objective import that ought to be verified individually, the 'media-friendly'

preparation of the results is in itself a part of contemporary religious history—as is the political discourse that tends to usurp the results of these studies.

§4. The Anti-Historical Turn: Political Theology and Phenomenology of Religion

The First World War shattered all the harmonizing conceptualizations of the oneness of the higher cultures. The age of 'decisions' called for new values and 'existential' conceptions: 'either—or.' Radical solutions replaced differentiated description. The demand for a 'revision of basic concepts' rejected further work on the traditions. One of the reassessments made was the inversion of the notion of development: the modern age was not going forwards, but backwards—the 'demise of the West' (Oswald Spengler) was the terrifying image of the time. In the same year, 1917, in his *Das Heilige* ("The Holy"), the Marburg theologian and Indian specialist Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) produced another slogan, a 'world formula' for the religions. This was the 'Holy'—as object and goal of all religions, and not understood by way of rationality (read: theology, philosophy, and science), but only in the 'irrational' experience of an infinitely superior experience (→ Holy). This experience was totally distinct from the everyday—and was that of the 'Utterly Other,' as a 'Mystery' that at once astonished, fascinated, and terrified—a *mirum, fascinosum*, and *tremendum*. Otto's far-reaching phenomenology of the 'moment of the Numinous,' of religious 'primitive experiences,' would render religion, worlds of religious emotions, describable—however, it especially pointed to the limits of descriptive expression. In a further development of Schleiermacher's romantic theology of emotion (→ Emotions/Feelings), Otto constitutes 'the Holy' (and thus God and religion across the board) by way of its emotions and sensations in the believer, such as the sensation of being defeated, overcome, by the tremendous majesty of God. In a fashion consistent with his outline of religion, Otto prefers to adduce poetic texts, prayer formulae, hymnody, and texts of Western/Eastern mysticism.

Phenomenology of Religion

Rudolf Otto is one of the godparents of the *phenomenology of religion*, as it was later called, after the title of Gerardus van der Leeuw's 1933 book—a current that dominated religious scholarship from 1920 to 1970. R. R. Marett's theory of a 'pre-animistic dynamism' was included and generalized. A 'force' or 'energy' was at work in sacred places, at sacred times, in the sacred community that could be compared to an electric current—invisible, but unmistakable in its effectiveness (→ Power). The Holy 'reveals itself,' whether human beings see it or not. All questions of how—of the media, the sermon, the preacher, the sociology of the community—were unimportant, in the face of the immediacy of numinous 'apparitions' (→ Epiphany). They are 'bracketed' in a 'phenomenological reduction.' Here, Edmund Husserl's philosophical system (*Logische Untersuchungen*; Ger., "Logical Investigations," vol. 1, 1901) became relevant—although usually only in a free interpretation, and further blurred by an earlier tradition (that of Chantepie de la Saussaye), which also applied the Hegelian concept of phenomenology. In any case, the prime concern was the *reine Wesensschau*, the 'pure sight of essence,' without deception by historical or societal contingencies. This agenda made the task into that of discov-

ering—indeed, of rescuing, of redeeming—the 'essence' of the Holy that underlay all phenomena.

The progress of this phenomenology of religion was open to two threats. On the one hand, there was the danger of reducing the description of the "forms of appearance of the religious" (F. Heiler) into an unreflective enumerative positivism ("In the Greek, or Indian," etc., religion, we find 'a,' 'b,' 'c' . . .). On the other hand was the seductiveness of the 'apparition' model, the promotion of general principles or powers 'behind' the 'phenomena,' to the equivalent of theological bestowals of meaning. This model was of especial interest for the study of symbols and symbolism, as well as for outlines of philosophies of → history. An actually anti-historical tendency lies at the roots of the best-known concept of religious history, the 'history of religion' of the Romanian religious scholar Mircea → Eliade (1907–1986). A successor of Joachim Wach, Eliade was an important agent in the Chicago school of the history of religion: the archaic or the source was for him something good, while the advent of history meant the 'plunge into terror.' Eliade developed his program in the atmosphere prevailing after the murderous Second World War. He did not shrink from invoking backdrops of paganism with populist and nationalist undertones. Christianity, with its aim of a linear salvation history, destroyed the archaic thought of an eternal cycle. 'The Holy' could be received by only a few in the modern age, while the archaic cultures—among which he numbered not only non-European tribal religions or → shamanism, but also the farming civilization of his own country—lived entirely in the Holy. A gnostic variant of a bestowal of meaning in the sense of a phenomenology of religion was incarnated in the scholar of Islam and Persia, Henry Corbin (1907–1978). Corbin propagated an '*umma* of the esoterics,' an 'Inner Church,' to which the called had always belonged—which did not prevent him from founding his own spiritual circle with his *Université de St. Jean de Jérusalem* (→ Gnosticism; Mysticism; Esotericism).

Mircea Eliade

Eranos *and Research into Symbols*

In the search for an apparitional basis for the 'Holy' on the far side of the data and facts, not only cyclical time-models, but also symbols were readily available. It was precisely in the 1920s that interest grew in the esoteric symbolical conceptions and traditions of European religious history, such as emblematics, alchemy, or baroque allegory. We need only (despite theoretical differences) think of Walter Benjamin. Not surprisingly, then, the international range of the phenomenological paradigm of religion increased substantially through the meetings of the *Eranos* Circle in → Ascona, led, beginning in 1933, by Theosophist Olga Froebe-Kapteyn (1881–1962). Its self-understanding and programmatics, into the 1950s, were signed authoritatively by Carl Gustav Jung and his 'depth-psychology,' which focused on 'archetypes' (→ Psychoanalysis). Froebe-Kapteyn also established, in Casa Eranos, a comprehensive archive of images for symbolical research. In Anglo-Saxon linguistic space, Eranos, and the symbology that belonged with it, was transmitted primarily by the Bollingen Foundation's *Bollingen Series* (1943ff.—impelled by Mary and Paul Mellon). Bollingen was also the place of Jung's personal ivory tower on the shores of Lake Zurich. Since the 1970s, with the change of generations, a paradigm shift has occurred among scholars of religion, so that positions in the phenomenology of religion have been extensively surrendered. However, the works of their grandmasters and popularizers (such as Joseph Campbell) continue

to reach a large audience. This is precisely because—even according to their own aspirations—they go beyond 'pure scholarship.' They are modern wisdom-texts.

2. *Aesthetics and Psychology*

§5. Traditions in Cultural Studies (Warburg School)

The phenomenology of religion expressly opposed contemporaneous currents of *Kulturwissenschaft* ('cultural science') and psychoanalysis. In his science of art, drawn up in terms of 'cultural science,' the Hamburg private scholar Aby Warburg (1866–1929) explained his claim that the perception of religion must not be distinguished basically from perceptions of another (cultural) sort (→ Perception). It is not only works of genius, holds Warburg, that bear witness to how a society and an era collectively create images of their world, but also the images of the → masses. Warburg's psychological theory of a social production of images stood at the service of a question. Along what pathways did 'pagan antiquity's' imagery find its way into the → Renaissance—a Renaissance that, for German Jew Aby Warburg, was the vehicle of a human hope leading to an enlightened society, a society without 'superstition'? Admittedly, these paths were perpetually threatened by irrationality and 'dark images.' Nevertheless, Warburg held, works on the reception of this imagery in antiquity—especially, works on religious → Platonism and the history of → astrology (as the menacing potential)—were a central focus when it came to research. In the 1920s, the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* ("Warburg Library of Cultural Studies") in Hamburg attracted a brilliant circle of scholars, including cultural scholars Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968), Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945), and Raymond Klibanski, as well as Fritz Saxl (1890–1948), who developed the library's systematics and built up its fabled breadth. In 1933, owing to the racist persecution of Jewish scholars by the Nazi state, the circle was dispersed; the library, however, was successfully moved to London. It is still there, today, as the Warburg and Courtauld Institute. Among Warburg's successors, especially worthy of citation is Ernst H. Gombrich (1909–2001), who headed the Institute from 1959 through 1976 and further developed and popularized the approach known as that of the *psychology of art*.

Warburg Library of Cultural Studies

With the pioneering series, *Vorträge der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg* (Ger., "Lectures at the Warburg Library of Cultural Studies"), research in the academic study of religion published its methodological alternative as early as the time of the formative phase of phenomenology. But that alternative was not put to use. Only the generation of 1968 finally reintroduced this suppressed legacy into the scholarship of art. It is only since the rediscovery of the fugitive scholars at the end of the 1970s, and the publication of their investigations, that the Warburg circle has attained a growing significance in the debates held among art historians, issues of body-language ('pathos formulae'), and, especially, 'collective → memory' and societal mechanisms of recall (→ Monument/Memorial Places). In the academic study of religion, in the 1980s, the periodical, *Visible Religion* (publisher: Hans G. Kippenberg), attempted to bring to fruition the seeds

sown by the Warburg school. Thus far, however, the incorporation of these impulses into the broader framework of an 'aesthetics of religion' remains a desideratum, despite the many new approaches to *visual culture* that have been published in the last decades (→ Materiality). The latter would research → perception (and non-perceptions), as well as their culturally specific conditions and semantic codifications, hence the societal image media and products—as premise, counter-part, and conclusion of images that are mentally constructed.

§6. Psychology and Psychoanalysis

Analytical Psychology

a) Rudolf Otto understood his phenomenology of religion expressly as a psychology of religion. But he guarded against those who could recall a 'puberty feeling,' but not properly religious emotions. In sharp contrast, Sigmund → Freud (1856–1939) and his school, regarding itself as the profile of a science, saw in religion a neurotic condition that instills itself in children and the mentally ill (→ Psychoanalysis; Psychopathology). Only later was Freud willing to imagine that, as a mystic, a person could experience an 'oceanic feeling' (Romain Rolland), with religion as a locus of positive psychic effects. Freud's pupil, Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), saw things the other way around, as mentioned above: in religion Jung saw concrete material to be examined for its universal anthropological depth. Here was the 'Archetype' of elementary stereotypes such as 'Anima/soul' or the 'Great Mother,' lying at the basis of the historical image-coining of all cultures—as well as of the individual's fantasies (→ Fantasy/Imagination) and → dream images.

The Difficulties with the Psychology of Religion

b) The 'psychology of religion' has dealt mostly with special forms of individual religious → experience—prophecy, conversion, mystical and paranormal experiences. To this day, its inspired and inspiring work is one that was written in 1902: *The Varieties of Religious Experience* by William James. Thereafter, psychology fell to pieces. It became merely an analytic and an empirical/psychometric current, while the field of collective or social psychology was extensively abandoned, or left to the devices of speculative cultural criticism. Patterns of religious actions, emotions, or conceptualizations faded from view, in the polemics mounted between a rationalism, with its criticism of religion, behavioralistic experiments, interest-led individual studies of interest to few, and a philosophizing 'soul science.'

Neuro-Sciences

c) Just recently, indications of a new foundation of research in religious psychology have multiplied. Since the 1980s, there has been important progress in brain research in the neurosciences. In the neurosciences, the various forms of consciousness have become much more precisely determinable. Relations among → dream, vision (→ Visions/Auditory Experiences), the experience of → mysticism, and drug-induced altered states of consciousness (→ Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens) have been observed empirically. Religious experiences need no longer fall under the diagnosis of a disease of altered personality. Altered states of consciousness, then, only form higher degrees and forms of normal conditions of the consciousness of every person: they can be reinforced by → asceticism (hunger, overexertion, sensory deprivation, or diminished stimulation), techniques of ecstasy (→

meditation, breathing techniques), diseases, medicines, and drugs. There is a broad discussion, meanwhile, in the cognitive area of the storage of knowledge in the → 'memory' and the recall or actualization of the latter through practices of 'remembering' (memorial rites; → Monument/Memorial Places). This discussion is increasingly concerned with the connection of physiological and social discoveries. The inescapable question from the scientific side of how the brain and human psyche function has therefore led researchers like John Eccles directly to the attempt to describe 'spirit' and 'soul' neuro-scientifically and to establish them in terms of a philosophy of religion.

Psychohistory

d) Psychology as a science—which (like sociology) deals with the problems, experiences, and manners of relationship of persons of the present—cannot simply be transferred to past eras. Each culture and era defines the life cycle, and the boundaries between normal and disturbed, differently. Hence, their respective objects are distinct. Further, long-dead crusaders can no longer be laid on the psychoanalytic couch. Thus, *psychohistory* attempts to accentuate historical difference, as well as the methodological survey deficit over the evaluation of images, metaphors, instances of self-witness, and literary descriptions. To be sure, up to the present only Eric H. Erikson (1902–1994), with his psychoanalytic theory of stages of development in the → life cycle, has provided convincing historical case studies, with his biographical and genetic investigation of the life course of → Gandhi and Martin → Luther.

e) The psychology of religion is a neglected field. With regard to the inquiries and progress at hand in the individual sciences, ranging from neurology, brain research, and clinical, analytic, and empirical psychology, to the social and cultural sciences—such as Warburg's experiments, cited above, in a psychology of art, along with those of Gombrich and Rudolf Arnheim (see §5)—a synthesis of these studies is still to be desired. Considerable difficulties still seem to stand in the way of such a combination, however, not least of all in consequence of the disciplinary 'sealing off' among academic disciplines, schools, techniques, and pedagogical models.

3. *New Methodological Perspectives: From the Linguistic Turn to Integral Cultural Science*

§7. Paradigms of Historical Science I: History Consists of Words: The "Linguistic Turn" and the History of Concepts

The crisis of historicism after the First World War (see above, §4) led first to disdain for the methods and concepts that had been developed in historical studies. On the one hand, these had to be corrected as children of the nineteenth century, under the label of a discredited 'liberalism' of belief in progress. On the other hand, they had produced crisp and methodologically assured conclusions. The 'revision of basic concepts' called for by Carl Schmitt provided an opportunity to postulate war and violence ('decision,' 'emergency') as the driving mechanism of history, altogether in the sense of

the nationalistic systems of violence and compulsion prevailing everywhere in Europe. In the 1960s, the manual, *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Ger., "Basic Historical Concepts"; GGB), published by Reinhart Koselleck *et al.*, finally opened up for historical research a debate on 'basic concepts' that reached beyond an ideological reactionary revisionism. It showed how 'history'—as historiography, and as the collective image of history—was marked by linguistic concepts, and how the transformation of concepts provided the opportunity for research into a transformation of society as well. History, then—and thus the history of religions also—is not only a series of acts and facts, but also their 'reworking' and evaluation, in reports, commentaries, slogans and watchwords, and public recitals. This recognition of 'historical semantics' pertains, of course, not only to the political agents of historical events and processes, but also to those who document them or re-create them in narrative: historians. History is a linguistic event. Those 'writing history'—whether it be the history of nations, persons, cultural areas, or religions—are not only confronted with the processes of composition and textualization, but also with inscribing themselves into the texts they compose. Scholarly texts possess not only the logic of their argumentation, but also their respective narratives, and literary, aesthetic, and rhetorical dimensions, as Hayden White in particular has demonstrated.

The Linguistic Turn

These considerations, which are by no means limited to historical scholarship, were comprehensive, and led to a discussion of methods in the cultural sciences that still goes on today. The *linguistic turn*—which, for the sake of a title, and for purposes of criticism, American philosopher Richard Rorty named, as early as 1968—relied partly on the scientific logic of the Vienna Circle (Rudolf Carnap, 1891–1970), as well as the linguistic philosophy and linguistic criticism of the later Ludwig Wittgenstein (*Philosophische Untersuchungen* ["Philosophical Investigations"; composed 1945/46–1949]). The 'textualistic turn,' however, drew the approaches of its thought from the 'crisis of representation' launched by, among others, Michel Foucault, with his criticism of the bases of scientific thought, and anthropologist Clifford Geertz with his 'interpretative' approach ("Culture is text"—"Science means writing"). The 'turn' itself appeared in the 1980s and culminated in the anthropological *writing-culture debate*, the *new historicism* of literary science (Stephen Greenblatt, Louis Montrose), and the *new cultural history* in the historical sciences (see §12).

For religious studies in the 1970s, concern with the field's own conceptuality was almost more pressing than it was for historians. The self-concept of a discipline was at stake. In historical scholarship, it was a matter of establishing the history of concepts as part of a discipline. But the publishers of the *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* ("Manual of Basic Concepts in Religious Studies," 1988–2001; English translation in preparation) reacted to the crisis of basic concepts into which the specialty had been brought by religious phenomenology's 'escape from history.' What had to be done was not only to historicize the received stock of descriptive words and categories in terms of the history of individual words, but at the same time to probe this supply critically for its potential for merging with the human, social, and cultural sciences. The goal was the construction of a viable concept for the description of religious facts even in complex cultures, as well as for a systematic analysis that went beyond theological premises. Beginning in

the 1990s, reinforced reflections have appeared, in anglophone scholarship also, on establishing the foundations for the formation of concepts in the → academic study of religion.

§8. Paradigms of Historical Science II: Social History, Social Science of History, and Historical Anthropology

Historical Social Science

A social science of history seeks to open up sources through which historical eras can be investigated using the methods of empirical sociology (statistical quantification)—see above, §3e. In the German-speaking scientific tradition, the label *Historische Sozialwissenschaft* ('historical social science') is connected with the work of Max Weber (see above, §3), and therefore refers to a qualitative, *verstehende* ('understanding') sociology. Of course, historians of the 'Bielefeld school' (Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Jürgen Kocka, Jörn Rüsen), who introduced Weber's work into the discussion over historical science, neglected his theses and questioning in the study of religion.

École des Annales

In France, however, representatives of a 'quantitative science of history,' or 'cliometry,' in the *École des Annales* have gone further than simply broadening historical research into models and methods of social science (economic, demographic). They also practice a quantitative historiography of the 'third degree,' which builds on a quantitative science of history, and has even sought to grasp unconscious, 'obvious,' collective attitudes and behavioral modes (*mentalités*). For example, they have approached designations as difficult to grasp, in terms of religious history, as '→ spirituality' or 'religiosity,' by means of a 'harder' socio-historical methodology—so far as the material has permitted. Spirituality, its growth and decline, can be read, for instance, in the weight of burned-out wax candles in pilgrim churches, as Michel Vovelle did in the church archives of Catholic Provence from the eighteenth century. The methodological spectrum of historians who have gathered around the periodical, *Annales. Économies—Sociétés—Civilizations* (founded 1929), and its founders, Marc Bloch (1886–1944) and Lucien Febvre (1878–1956), has broadened continually, out beyond a social and economic history: Fernand Braudel (1902–1985), who dominated the second generation of researchers, deepened the cultural and anthropo-geographic tradition of *géographie humaine* with a model of time-periods ('short duration,' history of events; 'intermediate duration,' economic and population history, with their cycles and conjunctures; 'long duration'—*longue durée*—history of forms of subsistence, framework of climatic and geological conditions). In the 1970s, the third generation—to which belong medievalists Jacques Le Goff (b. 1924), Georges Duby (1919–1996), and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (b. 1929)—tied lines of questioning in cultural and social anthropology to the *Nouvelle Histoire* (Fr., "New History"). It was in this context that the latter was definitively promoted, by the *École des Annales*, from the condition of outsider to that of unprecedented international success. Although the analyses and conclusions of the French company of social historians are also acceptable individually, it remains their great merit to have introduced new methods and subjects into historical scholarship, besides having produced an abundance of special studies precisely for historians of religion. Stimulating, and rich in material for the scholar of religion, are, in particular, works on the ages of life and

Nouvelle Histoire

fundamental experiences of the life cycle—as birth, puberty (initiation), marriage, old age, and death—but also on the history of mentalities (for instance, religious attitudes) and of collective images, both principal and conceptual (in Fr., *imaginaires*; → Social Myths and Fantasy Images).

In the context of these and other stimuli, new sub-disciplines of historical research have, to some extent, materialized, that were also fruitful for the academic study of religion. Examples of other stimuli are the Marxist English tradition of *cultural studies* (Raymond Williams, E. P. Thompson), as well as Hermann Bausinger's (Tübingen) *Empirische Kulturwissenschaft* ('empirical cultural studies') as the successor to *Volkskunde* (Ger., 'folklore studies'; 'ethnology'). Thus the influence of Anglo-Saxon anthropology encouraged more and more researchers to regard European history from the viewpoint of an 'ethnography of complex cultures.' On the other hand, neo-Marxism, and the counter-culture of the 1960s and 1970s, were abrupt in their reminder that history of rulers and governments (and their intellectual elite) was always written, while the 'simple folk' (farmers, workers, the urban sub-proletariat) remained silent. Or better: the culture of the latter has been (and indeed, still is, even in our own day) an oral culture, and therefore has been practically ignored by a (religio-) historical investigation fixated on written sources (→ Oral Tradition). The problem of the sources of a 'history from below' was then approached in a twofold fashion. First, in the framework of a resumed 'research in folk culture' (or better: research in popular and subaltern cultures), the technique of local ethnographic studies, with their claim to 'total' description, was transferred to—preponderantly early modern—historical investigation. That sort of 'micro-history' (C. Ginzburg) must be dialectically and contextually related to the macro-history of nations and dynasties. Second, an attempt was made thereby to 'track down' the history of everyday life and of lifestyles, by way of the notion that it was the scholars themselves who produced the sources: it was they who sought out the subjects of their history, and made them speak. The technique of 'oral history,' of the report of living and experience that was recorded face to face with the researcher, and recorded on tape, a technique which was applied in the 'investigation of everyday history,' nevertheless has its natural biological limits. It can accept only 'time witnesses'—can only poll the living. For certain areas of qualitative sociology of religion, however—for example in investigation into → conversion or in the investigation of small religious groups—'depth interviewing' has brought encouraging results.

Women's Studies / Gender Studies

Under the influence of the women's liberation movement of the 1970s, an innovative *women's studies* has developed. The political impulse of many female researchers to give their own gender its own history, has today yielded to more comprehensive *gender studies*, which, also, obviously, include the history of male comportment. It inquires into social pressures, expectations, and opportunities attaching to the roles of both genders, and besides, into the production, historicity, variability, and dependency on → discourse of gender itself (→ Gender Stereotypes; Homosexuality; Sexuality; Women's Movement/Spiritual Feminism). Parts of the research on the → Matriarchy/Patriarchy and on the persecution of → witches themselves belong to the religious history of other times. But religious studies, just like other disciplines, could greatly profit from works of historical criticism, or of the history of discourse (for instance, on life sketches of nuns and female

saints, or on feminine ideals of piety)—provided such studies and sciences were permitted to address the subject. For the European scene, unlike the flourishing American one, it cannot be very credibly maintained that this permission has been granted.

Historical Anthropology

Surveying the content and objects of recent research in historical studies, we are confronted with more than theological 'normativity.' We are dealing with living religion. We are studying pilgrimages and pilgrim usages, belief in miracles, festival customs, ritual assimilation of childhood death, the function of confession. Here, as with the investigation of European veneration of saints, monastic practices of asceticism, and the history of the witch persecution, growing attention is being paid to the material of social and cultural anthropology. Research into witchcraft and witches, into which investigation Alan Macfarlane injected standpoints of cultural anthropology, is an example of how prolific this kind of interdisciplinary 'crossover' can be.

Many of the currents of thought described above, and their disciples, are collectively labeled today as belonging to *historical anthropology*. What joins them all is their common point of departure, their interest in the knowledge of individual persons, their subsistence conditions, the world they inhabit, their opportunities for action and the roles they fulfill—as natives or strangers, men or women, workers or unemployed, silent, singing or praying. This is in contrast to, for instance, societal or social history, which they analyze in terms of particular groups, sub-classes, classes, institutions or organizations, or of the traditional history of events. For the history of religion, historical anthropology is both a blessing and a danger. Fortunately, it is practiced in the everyday religious world, in the places where religion emerges and is verified. But it runs the risk of squandering this good fortune in its arbitrary attraction to the strange and the sensational. Only when 'little history,' along with 'medium-size' and 'large,' the special along with the general, is reflected on, connected and contextualized, then alone can we expect new, even pioneering, insights into the attitudes, ways of thinking, and action-orientations of those without whom neither religions, nor religious studies, would exist: believers.

§9. Structuralism and Semiotics: On the Logic of Myths, with Systems of Classification and Signs

Claude Lévi-Strauss

With the structuralism of the 1950s and 1960s, the interest of research in the academic study of religion once more turned to myths. Structuralism now laid claim to opening up a new era of research in religious studies (it could be called the formalistic investigation). Its representatives sought to introduce a truly scientific precision and logical rigor into mythological research (→ Myth/Mythology; Discourse). It is true that this investigative direction is particularly connected with one person and his work, the Franco-Belgian anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908). But the latter's manner of approach must be seen in the context of a broader methodological background. The structuralist view is broad and comprehensive. It seeks to grasp religion, and especially, the forms of religious thought—its myths, its idea-structures ('ideologies'), its collective worlds of conceptualization (→ Collective Representations) and images of the world, as symbolical, com-

municative, and open to classifying and classification. In general, it seeks to grasp religion, and the forms of religious thought, as cognitive systems (→ Symbol/Sign/Gesture). In particular, the structuralist view belongs to an essentially francophone scientific and philosophical movement, which draws its model from linguistics (from the work of the Ghent linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, 1857–1913; *Cour de linguistic générale*, 1916—text authoritatively co-authored by editors Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye)—then, developed out of linguistics, from the 'phonology' of Roman Jacobson and Nikolai Trubetskoy ('Prague school'). The fundamental idea consisted in a shift, not of the content or 'substance,' but of the systematic form of the sounds, myths, relations of kinship, into the center of the analysis. Analogously with the linguistic distinction between the spoken or written word (Fr. *parole*) on the one side, and the language's (Fr. *langue*) implicit grammatical or 'phonological' system of rules on the other, the intention was to read myths as interrelated parts of a 'depth structure.' It was maintained that the latter could now be presented as the totality of logical rules and relations of respect, especially homologies and binary oppositions. The service to be rendered by the structuralism of the Straussian imprint, it was held, lay, for one, in the fact that it attracted the gaze to the variants of mythic narratives that would now become equally authentic members of a respective 'structure'—of a respective relational meaning-connection of 'functions.' For another, the method required searching for elementary building blocks of mythic narratives, 'myth themes.' In his approach to mythic analysis, Lévi-Strauss had tested the phonological method first in the analysis of relations of kinship. Now, beginning in the mid-1950s, he went deeper into his method, in the presence of ever more comprehensive stores of myths, until, in his chef-d'oeuvre, *Mythologiques* (Fr., "Mythological Matters"; 1964–1971), he had interrelated more than one hundred myths of the Indian cultures of South and North America. However, Lévi-Strauss fell victim to his own brilliance. True, he introduced a salutary, 'cool' regard into mythic analysis. However, he elevated his methodology to such hermetic brilliance that few still could, or wished to, follow him. Structural process, nevertheless, in a less strict sense, became a widespread method of analysis. In the Paris School of Comparative Research in Ancient Religion, at the *Centre Louis Gernet* (*Centre de Recherches Comparées sur les Sociétés Anciennes*), with Jean-Pierre Vernant (b. 1914) and Marcel Détienne, the thrust of Lévi-Strauss was profitably transferred to ancient Greek myths. The latter school, incidentally, also draws on other sources, e.g. on the *psychologie historique* of Ignace Meyerson. The classification analyses of Mary Douglas, as well (*Natural Symbols,* 1970), emerging from British social anthropology, can be listed in another movement of thought, structural in the broadest sense.

In parallel with Lévi-Strauss, Roland Barthes (1915–1980) generalized linguistics to a general theory of signs, which he called *sémiologie.* His efforts concerned with the 'myths of the everyday' are some of the most stimulating texts of a currently developing cultural semiotics. For want of substantial labors, it is true, the component of religious studies belonging to the latter, the 'semiotics of religion' has been unable to reach the status of an actual discipline. Semiotics became well known, however, with the pioneering works of Umberto Eco (b. 1932), who ultimately transferred his theoretical considerations to successful popularization in his novels. Novels of his, such as the 'monastery detective story,' *The Name of the Rose* (Ital., 1981), a piece

of popular semiotics, together with their reception are themselves to be listed as modern religious history.

§10. Macrosociology: Sketches/Outlines of System Theory

Niklas Luhmann

Owing to the comprehensiveness of his work, its degree of differentiation, and its systematic intent, the Bielefeld social theoretician Niklas Luhmann (1927–1998) became one of the most influential German-language sociologists, after Max Weber, of the twentieth century. Luhmann's ambitious labors at first continued the 'system theory' of Talcott Parsons (1902–1979). However, at the beginning of the 1980s, with his chef-d'oeuvre *Soziale Systeme* (Ger., "Social Systems"), he discovered a 'self-referential turn.' Then—like the representatives of 'radical constructivism,' but with different conclusions—Luhmann took up the 'theory of living systems' of the bio-cybernetic scientists Humberto R. Maturana and Francisco J. Varela (*autopoiesis and Cognition,* 1979). He re-invigorated system theory, and thereby focused it on the aspect of continuing self-reproduction (*autopoiesis*) of systems—thus re-emphasizing the self-referential identity-formation which they generate. Luhmann has set forth his viewpoint in a series of monographs on various social systems such as 'law,' 'art,' and 'science.' Having presented a much-discussed theory of religion in 1977 with his *Funktion der Religion,* Luhmann could no longer complete a monograph on the 'religion of society.' In 2000, it appeared posthumously (*Die Religion der Gesellschaft*). Luhmann's abstract conceptual cosmos divides opinions. Today, incontestably, his influence can be felt in the fertility of individual studies, such as those by P. M. Spannenberg in literary history. It has yet to become apparent in the area of religious studies whether Luhmann's sketch of society and religion will come to be regarded as simply an idiosyncratic language game, or whether it can serve to explain religious thought and religious action.

§11. Anthropology of Religion II: Clifford Geertz's 'Interpretative' or 'Symbolic Anthropology'; Victor Turner's Theory of Ritual

Clifford Geertz

Anthropology of religion at the close of the twentieth century was dominated by two quite different researchers, both of whom shone in neighboring disciplines, and decisively influenced scholarship in religious studies: Clifford Geertz (b. 1926) and Victor Turner (1920–1983). In 1973, Parsons's student Geertz, in his volume of essays, *The Interpretation of Cultures,* proposed the 'culture is text' metaphor as a heuristic model and circumscribed his method with a formula of Gilbert Ryles, 'thick description.' This, unfortunately, occasioned the birth of slogans that were subsequently parroted and generally abused. Clifford Geertz developed his technique of analysis and interpretation with field work in Indonesia (Java, Bali) and Morocco. Geertz's publications have had both good and bad consequences. On the one hand, with his designation of religion as a 'symbolic system,' he opened up, especially to religious studies, the way to ethno-hermeneutic and semiotic analyses; and with his observation that what ethnographers did was to write, he made a solid contribution to the debate about the writing culture (see §7)—the discussion of the scholarly 'intextualization' of ethnographic observations in the field. On the other hand, the latter process precisely promoted

ethnographers' (as well as historians', cultural researchers', et al.) proclivity toward reflexive navel-gazing. These scientists, it seemed to Geertz, thought more about themselves than about the life and activity of the people right where they were. The quest for tropes and constructs of one's own, and the obstinate attempt to 'deconstruct' the devilish power-web of all-sufficient discourse was in danger of supplanting concern for the other. But reasonably, researchers in religious anthropology and science ought to be aware of both sides of the epistemological coin: the fictive and constructive elements in their interpretations, as well as the social (actions, etc.) reality 'out there,' and local knowledge. And this can only be taken in by precise observation and attention to perception—at least as far as the decisive source, the will of the ethnographical subject, permits.

Victor Turner

Victor Turner, the other influential anthropologist of the last three decades has published a polished theory of → ritual, which, after an interim structuralism, drew the attention of religious scholars once more to religious behaviors. Turner, a Scot, grew up in the tradition of 'social anthropology,' a British version of ethnology (the North American is generally designated 'cultural anthropology'). His conception of rituals was determined by his field work at the beginning of the 1950s with the tribe of the Ndembu, in what was then called Northern Rhodesia (today Zambia) but also by his Catholicism. He was interested in the 'social drama' of ritual presentations, especially → rites of passage, which symbolically accentuate the social breaks and thresholds (→ Marginality/Liminality). Turner did not abandon this social drama to the theater metaphor. Instead, working closely with Richard Schechner, in off-Broadway in New York, as well as, like Peter Brook, on extended journeys to India and elsewhere, in sacred drama and ethnic theater, he afforded impulses and stimuli for a dramatic aesthetics that would outstrip the European oral stage. Schechner, meanwhile, has published a theory of ritual performance of his own. Although Turner's theoretical concept occasionally resembles a theoretical passkey—nevertheless, without his and Schechner's work, today's intensive discussion of the description and function of rituals would be unthinkable. (→ Initiation; Theater; Drama [sacred]; Ritual)

§12. From Text to TV: The Challenge of the Philologies of Religion from the Science of Communication and Media

Most work in religious studies today is still done on texts. The unspectacular, and frequently denounced, editions, translations, and materials with commentary, discovered in written sources, are the traditional and vital center of effort in the academic study of religion. Although the philological method remains indispensable and texts still shape an important and meaningful approach to the religions, scholars nevertheless have begun to understand—not without the force of factual changes in technology and society—that written testimonials (modern: print media) constitute only one 'codification form of religion' (F. Stolz), and at that, not even a universal one. The banal fact that religions are built on communication(s), and that, in all cultures, their representatives must make use of means of communication → media (be it 'only' language, or bodily gestures; → Symbol/Sign/Gesture), in order to carry their message to man and woman—this fact drove its way into

broader scientific consciousness only as, since the mid-twentieth century, Western (and now also non-Western) societies have become awash in an ever-increasing wave of 'new media.' In the interval, religion scholars and theologians have addressed this challenge in ever greater numbers, and they thematize the problem on four levels:

- Religion is now perceived as a *symbolic system* (C. Geertz), or as 'essentially a communicative social phenomenon' (→ Communication).
- The question is posed as to how religions use the media, from the printed book to the → TV church and the Internet, as means of communication, and what *forms of communication* are found in religious practice—an inquiry that religious organizations themselves, in the wake of an *aggiornamento*, are forcing on this 'media society.'
- More or less polemically, discussion continues on the possible *function tantamount to religion* of the (mass) media, their capacity for a conferral of meaning, community formation (in a fan club, for instance), and for the ritualization of everyday life.
- An investigation is being conducted into the *operation of individual media*, their respective particularity as a means of communication and a source of religious material—its respective special qualities, for mediating religion-related content, its religious or political exploitation or utilization.
- The *valences of the media*, in religious, class, and cultural functions, shift into view. Philological concentration on written media has all too strongly channeled research into testimonials of the culture of elites and of religious → specialists. When image-sources, material culture, or (audio-) visual media are included in the investigation, then not only do religious agents emerge from the light of religious history, but another image of religion, its materialization (→ Materiality), and its achievements, arises. One need think only of anthropological, historical, and sociological research on religious 'folk culture' and everyday religiosity.

The sociopolitical dimension of studies of this kind is clearly to be seen. All one needs to do is open the newspaper or switch on the TV news. In future, then, contact between scholars of religion and journalists will be of growing importance, in practical collaboration as well as critical confrontation. Scholarly or scientific reflection on this key area of the impact of public communication—not to mention institutional cooperation—has scarcely begun.

§13. The Academic Study of Religion Today: Cultural Studies as Chance

The science of religion, like any science, is 'of this world.' The scholars who practice it and convey it are entwined in the 'concrete epistemology' of prevailing interests, and its layering and its politics, in the good as in the bad. Their future, their development, and their individual religious experiences, as well as their personal and generation-specific experiences, enable them to adopt (or hinder them from adopting) a conceptualization of 'the religious.' Thematic and methodological approaches to the religious field are therefore always conditioned by time, a fact that is often perceived only by a later generation, with its temporal and mental distance. That need not diminish its value. Indeed, in many cases, it testifies to an alert contemporary milieu, a sense of socio-religious fields of tension, alterations, and 'trend changing,'

by which all are moved and turned. Thus, anthropologists and sociologists of religion went along with nineteenth-century optimism about progress, with ever new models of religious 'development.' Thus, the 'religious phenomenologists' of the 1920s and 1930s, in the values crisis after the First World War, devoted themselves to their quest for the 'essence' of religion. Thus, a young generation of scholars in the 1970s and 1980s adopted the impetus of an alternative culture, to pose provocative questions regarding the irrational in science. And so today's investigators turn to media and communication structures. True, the disadvantage of such time-bound alertness is that it can enter the service of the interests of political power, as was the case with the 'Aryan research' of Jacob Wilhelm Hauer, in the Germany of the Nazi State (→ National Socialism).

The achievement of contemporary and future study of religion will be able to be measured by whether that achievement perceives and adopts the challenges of the time—and these always include the conceptualizations, actions, and sentiments of the persons who live in that time. Their 'adoption' means the attempt by scholars of religion to accompany them critically, to develop them, and to reflect upon them. This effort is all the more important as religions and religious systems continue to influence the citizens of a (post-) industrial society, to lead their actions and direct their beliefs. And in the process of globalization, a further dynamic has developed that, while sometimes frightening, calls for a response.

Religious Studies as a Cultural Science

An opportunity to confront these challenges is offered by the *culturalistic turn* that the psychological disciplines (including religious studies) have taken since the 1980s. The value of that turn will depend on the degree of comprehension and explanation that it will offer with regard to the transformation of the conditions of everyday life. The methods available for coming to terms with the new questions concerning religious facts are far from being consolidated in a 'factual canon.' Instead, foundational approaches, such as those of the philological sciences, stand alongside those of philosophical speculation. Examples of the latter would be the theory of → discourse and the 'archaeology of knowledge' of Michel Foucault, or the 'deconstruction' theory of Jacques Derrida. Other elements in the 'mix' will be elaborated theoretical models (such as the semiotic model of Umberto Eco or Thomas Sebeok), or comprehensive theories of culture, supplied by Norbert Elias (1897–1990, in the form of an evolutionary theory of civilization and a dynamic of 'figurations') and Pierre Bourdieu (in the form of an ethno-sociological description of complex societies). When religious studies move into the discursive field of cultural studies, their practitioners gain several advantages. For one thing, they can use one or more theories of culture as frames of reference. For another, they can render the field of research in religion available to interdisciplinary connection. Finally, they can adopt that reflexive distance from their object, draw those basic lines of distinction between observer and object to be able to withstand the pressures of a subject so extraordinarily engaged by emotions and ideologemes as is religion—thereby to move a little nearer to that ideal of engaged 'value-free research' that Max Weber himself first appreciated and practiced.

Another opportunity to react to the changes of the religious environment, and to refine their strategies of reflection, consists, for religious studies in the formation of subordinate disciplines, as a means of broadening, deepening, and objectifying its discourse on religion. Analogously with

the received subjects of partial areas, such as the sociology of religion, or anthropology of religion, surely an 'economics of religion' could be established that would research the economic side of religious activity; or an 'aesthetics of religion' directed at art, perception, and the production of signs; a specialized 'pharmacology of religion,' or a 'political science of religion.' Political concepts, after the lethal assaults of September 11, 2001, could help the academic study of religion meet the need of public opinion for explanations. Otherwise, there is the risk that it may fritter away its scholarly life as a 'leftover science' of the topics the theologians leave—ludicrous little groups and sketches of private religion. Or it might be sucked up once more into the philologies and 'culture area studies' that it has already grown out of. Thus, its standpoint is comparative and integrating. For example, it investigates the history of Christianity as part of the → European history of religion—not vice versa. Granted, it would be just as counterproductive for its theoretical cultural direction to flow into a kind of vague 'super-scholarship,' without a solid subject area. An awareness of this threat, however, must not be taken as a call to the academic study of religion to entrench itself behind a received concept of religion. On the contrary, as is shown precisely by recourse to the history of science and reception, it seems necessary to plumb, and to determine, ever anew, the field of the religious object. But here as well, lies the competency of a science of religion determined by cultural history: to connect factual knowledge of religious organizations, texts, systems of belief, and worldviews, with observable social relationships, and with transmission at the hands of the media, with believers' everyday behavior, with 'inborn culture,' with society's knowledge and sciences. That competency will be invoked to increase it, by describing more exactly, by understanding more precisely—and indeed, where possible, to conceive, radically anew, with respect to the twenty-first century—such manners of effect, phenomenal forms, and the functions of those social practices, understandings of the world, and patterns of orientation that we call religion. Only in this way might a 'securing of evidence' of the religious be promised in this century, and one that might be prolonged into the past. It is true, 'redemption' falls to the responsibility and creativity of the individual researcher, man or woman. After all, the same ethos is valid for religious scholarship as for its subject, the religions: by their fruits will you know them.

4. *Chronological Overview: Important Writings on the Theory of Religion and the Self-Concept of Religious Studies (1873–2000)*

1873	Friedrich Max Müller: *Introduction to the Science of Religion: Four Lectures Delivered at the Royal Institution, with Two Essays on False Analogies, and the Philosophy of Mythology*, London
1887	Edmund Hardy: *Die allgemeine vergleichende Religionswissenschaft im akademischen Studium unserer Zeit. Eine akademische Antrittsrede*, Freiburg
1889–1893	Friedrich Max Müller: *The Gifford Lectures* (Natural Religion, 1889; Physical Religion, 1891; Anthropological Religion, 1892; Theosophy or Psychological Religion, 1893)

1889	William Robertson Smith: *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. First Series: The Fundamental Institutions* (^{2}1894)
1890	James George Frazer: *The Golden Bough*, first ed. in two vols.
1896	Frank B. Jevons: *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, London
1901	Adolf von Harnack: *Die Aufgabe der theologischen Facultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte. Rede zur Gedächtnisfeier des Stifters der Berliner Universität*, Berlin
1902	William James: *Varieties of Religious Experience*
1903	Wilhelm Bousset: *Das Wesen der Religion. Dargestellt an ihrer Geschichte*, Halle
	Jane E. Harrison: *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*
1904	Thomas Achelis: *Abriß der vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft*, Leipzig
1909	Arnold van Gennep: *Les rites de passage*, Paris
1912	Émile Durkheim: *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse: Le système totémique en Australie*, Paris
1912/13	Sigmund Freud: *Totem und Tabu. Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und Neurotiker*
1912–1929	Aby Warburg and Fritz Saxl publish the “Kulturwissenschaftliche” *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* and the complementary series *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, Hamburg
1917	Rudolf Otto: *Das Heilige. Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*, Munich
1920	Nathan Söderblom: *Einführung in die Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig
	Max Weber: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, Tübingen (incl. *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, a study written by Weber already in 1904/5 and revised for publication in 1920)
1924	Joachim Wach: *Religionswissenschaft. Prolegomena zu ihrer wissenschaftstheoretischen Grundlegung*, Leipzig
	Raffaele Pettazzoni: *Svolgimento e carattere della storia delle religioni*, Bari
1925	Marcel Mauss: “Essais sur le don,” in: *Année sociologique, Nouvelle série* 1: 30-186
1933ff.	*Eranos-Jahrbücher*, ed. by Olga Froebe-Kapteyn
	Gerardus van der Leeuw: *Phänomenologie der Religion*, Tübingen (^{2}1956)
1944	Joachim Wach: *Sociology of Religion*, Chicago
1948	Ernesto de Martino: *Il mondo magico. Prolegomeni a una storia del magismo*
1949	Mircea Eliade: *Traité d’histoire des religions*, Paris (rev. English version: *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, New York 1958)
	Idem: *Le Mythe de l’éternel retour: Archétypes et répétition*, Paris
1958	Claude Lévi-Strauss: *Anthropologie structurale*, Paris (including the influential essay *The Structural Study of Myth* [1955])
1959	Mircea Eliade/Joseph M. Kitagawa (eds.): *The History of Religions: Essays in Methodology*, Chicago
1960	Kurt Goldammer: *Die Formenwelt des Religiösen. Grundriß der systematischen Religionswissenschaft*, Stuttgart

1961	Mircea Eliade: "History of Religions and a New Humanism," in: *History of Religions* 1: 1-8
	Friedrich Heiler: *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart (vol. 1 of the series *Religionen der Menschheit*)
1964–1971	Claude Lévi-Strauss: *Mythologiques* I-IV, Paris
1965	Angelo Brelich: *Introduzione alla Storia delle religioni*, 3 vols., Rom (also important the postumously edited collection *Storia delle religioni, perché?*, Napels 1979)
1966	Clifford Geertz: "Religion as a Cultural System," in: M. Banton (ed.): *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, London, 1-46 (printed also in the influential volume *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York 1973)
1967–1969	Victor Turner's main works are published: *The Forest of Symbols* (1967); *The Drums of Affliction* (1968); *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (1969)
1969	Geo Widengren: *Religionsphänomenologie*, Berlin
1970	Ugo Bianchi: "Indroduzione," in: G. Castellani (ed.): *Storia delle religioni*, Turin 1970 (Engl. as *The History of Religion*, Leiden 1975)
	Mary Douglas: *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, London (2nd, rev. ed. 1973)
1973	Ninian Smart: *The Phenomenon of Religion*, London
	Michel Meslin: *Pour une science de religion*, Paris
1975	Eric J. Sharpe: *Comparative Religion: A History*
1977	Niklas Luhmann: *Funktion der Religion*, Frankfurt/M.
1978	Jonathan Z. Smith: *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*, Chicago
1981	Hans Peter Duerr (ed.): *Der Wissenschaftler und das Irrationale*, 2 vols., Frankfurt/M.
1982	Ronald L. Grimes: *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, Washington (rev. ed. Columbia 1995)
	Jonathan Z. Smith: *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*, Chicago
1987	Dietmar Kamper/Christoph Wulf: *Das Heilige. Seine Spur in der Moderne*, Frankfurt/M.
1988	Fritz Stolz: *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft*, Göttingen 1988
1988–2001	Hubert Cancik/Burkhard Gladigow/Karl-Heinz Kohl/Matthias Laubscher (eds.): *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*, 5 vols., Stuttgart
1992	Kurt Rudolph: *Geschichte und Probleme der Religionswissenschaft*, Leiden
1998	Mark C. Taylor (ed.): *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, Chicago
2000	Willi Braun/Russell T. McCutcheon: *Guide to the Study of Religion*, London
	Niklas Lumann: *Die Religion der Gesellschaft*, posthumously ed. by André Kieserling, Frankfurt/M.

Aborigines

1. One hundred fifty thousand years after the arrival of the original Australian people, the first colonization of Australia began with Captain Cook. The 'natives,' from now on all called *Aborigines*, had so little interest in Cook's paltry presents, his material gifts, that Cook wrote in his journal: "All of the things that we gave them, they left lying on the spot and paid no attention to them. On my view, this means that they believe themselves to be provided with all of the necessities of life." The key to the Aborigines' behavior, so astounding to Cook, is to be found in their religion. In the Australia of the Aborigines, a different worldview held sway from the one on the English ship. These people were not technologists, but cosmologists. Mastery of the world through material proficiencies—and they, too, possessed these proficiencies—were counterbalanced by inner abilities.

Myths of Origins: The Totem Ancestors

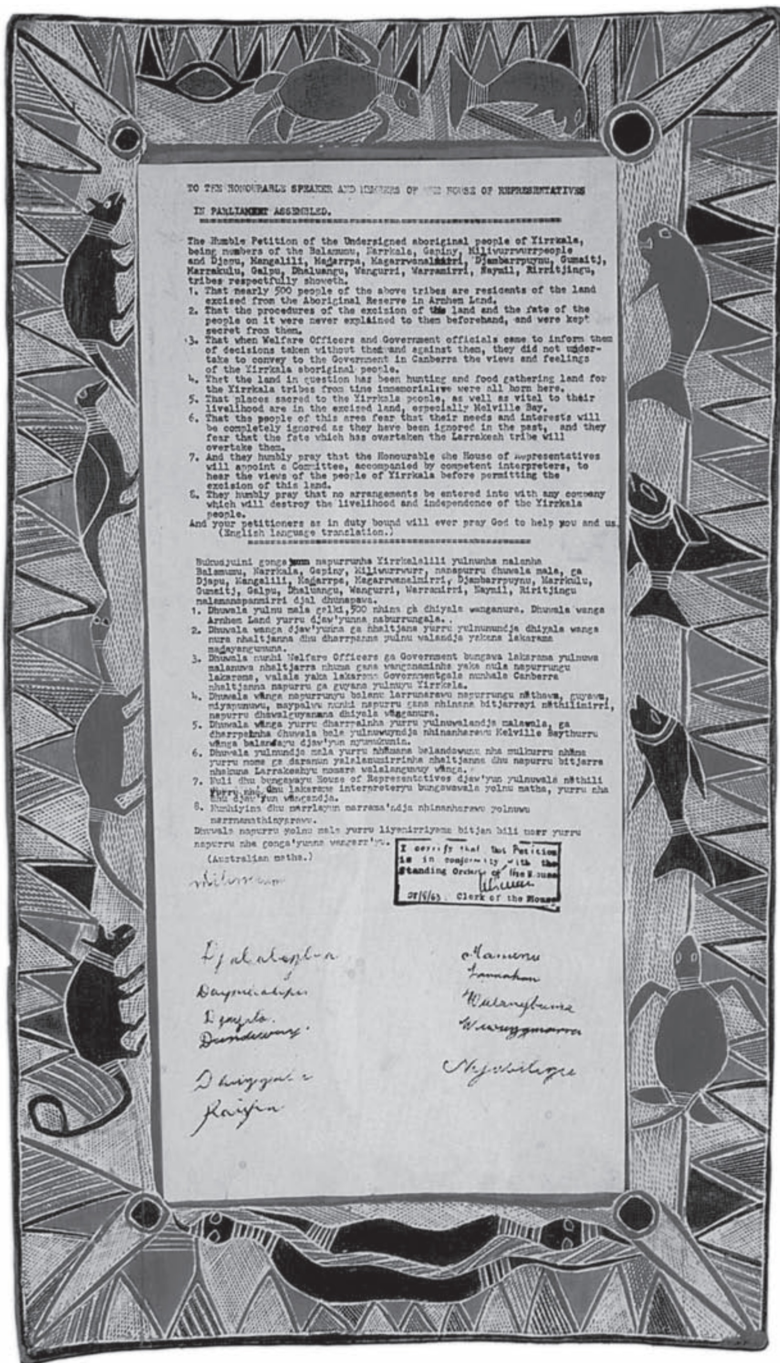
2. Once upon a time, as recounted by the Aranda and other groups of central Australia, the earth was uncreated and timeless. In the beginning there was only a bare, flat surface, without form and without life. But the moment arrived when a great number of supernatural beings, the *totem → ancestors*, emerged from their everlasting sleep beneath the surface. Each of these supernatural beings was coupled with a particular animal or plant. Now they proceeded over the plane, and with their creative power began to shape the world, which had existed from all eternity, but without form or order. Mountains, hills, mud holes, plains, springs, rivers are all signs of the deeds of the ancestors of the totems. Here, in the totem-ancestors, were the exemplars and prototypes of plants, animals, and human beings. They erected religious and social institutions, such as the procedures for marriage and initiation, they taught crafts, hunting, and fishing, they regulated natural phenomena such as the tides, seasons, and stages of vegetation. As the totem ancestors went about establishing all of their creative signs in every place, they bestowed on the world its inviolable order.

The myths of the Aborigines identify all of the places where the totem ancestors exercised their activities, as they passed through them or performed ceremonies there. The wanderings of the totem ancestors are to be understood very concretely. Their passages, today as of old, can be retraced. The places where they paused—mountains, rock formations, water holes, and so forth—really exist, and it was these that became sacred by their presence. Their routes overrun the entire land, especially the sacred places of the totems—the special places of the mythical ancestors. And so, as the myths relate, a consistent web arose, analogous to the network of modern streets. Over these pathways, the most divergent groups were mythically united, frequently from great distances, and when the seasons were good and fruitful, these peoples would gather in grand ritual feasts, and these could last for weeks.

Sacred Land

3. Thus, the root of the Aborigines' solidarity with their land is religious. It is the intimate bond between human beings and the environment of their one-time existence, the existence of their ancestors, who continue to live in them. Were the people to be taken from this land, whether by displacement, enticement, or expulsion, they would lose themselves, their culture, their spiritual existence. Were they to be driven from their familiar land

In 1963, the Australian Parliament decided to excise 360 km² from an Aborigine reservation for bauxite mining, in the vicinity of Yirrkala, Northeast Arnheim Land. With their country already settled through decisions of religious and military authorities, the hunting and gathering cultures of the North Australian tribes were now threatened in their daily life and subsistence by the economic sector of Western industrial societies. The operative factor here was the particular structure of Aboriginal religion: the local myths were, among other things, titles to possessions, and only owners might commemorate and recite them. In October 1963, members of the Gumatj tribe, of the Yirritja group, reacted, and dispatched a bilingual petition (the "Bark Petition"), inscribed on eucalyptus bark and painted with ocher, to the Parliament in Canberra, in which they observed that "places sacred to the Yirrkala people [. . .] are in the excised land." The figured lath frame was intended as evidence of the tribe's right to its places of worship and its land. It presents the mythical totem ancestors in the form of creatures of land (below and left), and water creatures (right and above). In times of great demand for raw materials, the myths have of course lost much of their power: In 1968, after a brief delay, a contract was signed between the government and a mining firm in the matter of the mining of bauxite. (Hubert Mohr)



TO THE HONOURABLE SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The Humble Petition of the Undersigned aboriginal people of Yirrkala, being members of the Balamumu, Narrkala, Gapiny, Miliwurrwurrpeople and Djapu, Mangalili, Madarrpa, Magarrwanalmirri, Djambarrpuyngu, Gumaitj, Marrakulu, Galpu, Dhaluangu, Wangurri, Warramirri, Maymil, Rirritjingu, tribes respectfully showeth.

1. That nearly 500 people of the above tribes are residents of the land excised from the Aboriginal Reserve in Arnhem Land.
2. That the procedures of the excision of this land and the fate of the people on it were never explained to them beforehand, and were kept secret from them.
3. That when Welfare Officers and Government officials came to inform them of decisions taken without them and against them, they did not undertake to convey to the Government in Canberra the views and feelings of the Yirrkala aboriginal people.
4. That the land in question has been hunting and food gathering land for the Yirrkala tribes from time immemorial; we were all born here.
5. That places sacred to the Yirrkala people, as well as vital to their livelihood are in the excised land, especially Melville Bay.
6. That the people of this area fear that their needs and interests will be completely ignored as they have been ignored in the past, and they fear that the fate which has overtaken the Larrakeah tribe will overtake them.
7. And they humbly pray that the Honourable the House of Representatives will appoint a Committee, accompanied by competent interpreters, to hear the views of the people of Yirrkala before permitting the excision of this land.
8. They humbly pray that no arrangements be entered into with any company which will destroy the livelihood and independence of the Yirrkala people.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray God to help you and us.
(English language translation.)

Bukudjulni gonga yuwa napurrunha Yirrkalalili yulnunha malanha Balamumu, Narrkala, Gapiny, Miliwurrwurr, nanapurru dhuwala mala, ga Djapu, Mangalili, Madarrpa, Magarrwanalmirri, Djambarrpuyngu, Marrakulu, Gumaitj, Galpu, Dhaluangu, Wangurri, Warramirri, Maymil, Rirritjingu malamanapanmirri djal dhunapawa.

1. Dhuwala yulnu mala gelki, 500 nhina ga dhiyala wanganura. Dhuwala wanga Arnhem Land yurru djaw'yunna napurrungala.
2. Dhuwala wanga djaw'yuna ga nhaltjana yurru yulnuwundja dhiyala wanga nura nhaltjanna dhu dharrpanna yulnu walandja yakana lakarama madayangumana.
3. Dhuwala nunhi Welfare Officers ga Government bungawa lakarama yulnuwa malanuwa nhaltjarra nhuma gana wangunaminha yaka nula napurrungu lakarama, walala yaka lakarama Governmentgala nunhala Canberra nhaltjanna napurru ga guyana yulnuyu Yirrkala.
4. Dhuwala wanga napurrunyu bolanu larrunarawu napurrungu mathawa, guyawa, miyapunuwu, maypalwu nunhi napurru gana nhinana bitjarrayi mathilimirri, napurru dhawalguyanana dhiyala wanganura.
5. Dhuwala wanga yurru dharrpalnha yurru yulnuwalandja malawala, ga dharrpalnha dhuwala bala yulnuwuyndja nhinanharawu Melville Baythurru wanga balanda yu djaw'yun nyumukunin.
6. Dhuwala yulnundja mala yurru nhamana balandawuny nha mulkurru nhama yurru nome ga daranun yalalanumirrinha nhaltjanna dhu napurru bitjarra nhakuna Larrakeahyu nomare walalangumuy wanga.
7. Nuli dhu bungawayu House of Representatives djaw'yun yulnuwala mathili yurru nha dhu lakarama interpreteryu bungawawala yolnu matha, yurru nha dhu djaw'yun wangandja.
8. Nunhiyina dhu marrlayun marrama'ndja nhinanharawu yolnuwu marrnamathinyarawu.

Dhuwala napurru yolnu mala yurru liyamirriyama bitjan bili nuur yurru napurru nha gonga'yunna wangarr'yu.

(Australian matha.)

I certify that this Petition is in conformity with the Standing Orders of the House
Clerk of the House

of myth, the new land on which they would have to live would no longer be sacred land. No longer would they know the name of each place, or what had once transpired there. They would be ignorant of the myths connected with it. Their own myth and the foreign place would not be connected. The clan or family that had migrated to a specially prepared locale would become literally disoriented, and the hereditary myths would now be meaningless. The collapse of the traditional, mythically rooted social order would now be but a question of time. The older generation, which had once experienced the conjunction of myth and land, could no longer hand down, to new generations, this connection between the two.

Collapse of the Aboriginal Culture

4. Here we have an important cause of the rapid disintegration of the Aborigines' cultures and religion. This is the result of two hundred years of European colonization, along with the devastation of fields and calculated genocide. The world is no longer the same. Aborigines no longer hunt for their own sustenance—they get their meat and vegetables out of cans now—and have gotten used to eating bread from plastic bags. Their old disdain for all that is material, their enthusiasm for the invisible deeds of the invisible totem ancestors, has given place to the desire for their own automobile, their own television, and the latest fashion. And not only the Aborigines' diet and values have changed, but their perceptions, as well. Now the rain comes down without the rain ritual. Of course, this situation scarcely relieves the 'whites' of their obligation to study the mythic rights demanded by the Aborigines, and at times to recognize them.

Phenomenon of Reception: The 'Dream Time'

5. The cultures of the Aborigines, as with so many other indigenous groups and peoples, are subjugated to the need of the West for its own bestowal of meaning. And a concept like that of the 'dream time' is especially well calculated for the restoration of a little color to the dreamless everyday. And yet few concepts are the victim of such fundamental misunderstanding as that of the 'dream time.' The original word of the Aranda, *altjira*, means "eternal," "uncreated." The Aranda know no delimited 'dream time,' in the sense of a past or particular age. For them, *altjira* is a world that has begun in eternity, but whose end is impossible to predict. The mythical totem ancestors—so it is believed—live today just as they have from all eternity, and just as they will do everlastingly. Of course, the exploitation of indigenous cultures is not limited to their original, spiritual property. In particular, indigenous music is submitted to availability for a price, in a billion dollar enterprise of big industry. And so it is no surprise today that a didjeridoo-player sits at nearly every street corner, making hopeless attempts to get a bit of Australia into the spaces between the shops and the consumption fetishists with their wild plunges.

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→ *Ancestors, Animal I, Colonialism, South Sea*

Gerhard Schlatter

Abortion / Contraception

1. Unplanned pregnancies, family planning, and the limitation of fertility and births have posed a problem for all cultures and eras. Abortion—the termination of an already existing pregnancy—as well as contraceptive means and methods intended to prevent a new pregnancy, are attempts to respond to this human problem, and as such are anthropological universals. In a historical perspective, and in an intercultural comparison, an important role has been played with respect to unwanted or illegitimate offspring by infanticide, exposure of infants, and prescriptions of sexual abstinence during lactation (*post-partum taboos*). The moral attitudes and legal rules that persons of various religious confessions have formulated at various times with regard to these practices cover a broad spectrum of acceptance and legitimization, from taboo to torture and capital punishment. Characteristic of the history of abortion and contraception in Europe is a constantly recurring discrepancy between an everyday attitude toward judicial and moral concerns, and the official opinions of religious elites (just as, later, toward the arguments of legal determination and medical experts). In the course of the twentieth century, abortion and contraception in Europe, the United States, and Israel repeatedly sparked debates on basic questions, in which conflicting positions in the area of morals and → ethics, theological and religious stances, and politico-juridical demands were in mutual opposition.

On the History of Abortion and Birth Control in Europe

2. It is evident that all eras had hosted a broad folk knowledge of abortive and contraceptive drugs and practices, partly of a magical nature, before abortion gradually penetrated, in the eighteenth century, the fields of scientific medicine. Since the nineteenth century, contraceptive products have increasingly become industrial commodities, to be dealt with as merchandise.

Patriarchal motives for proscribing abortion date from → *antiquity*, when exposure of infants, contraception, and abortion were considered morally and ethically neutral in themselves. The fetus was regarded simply as part of the mother's innards. The concept of a fetal right to life in the modern sense was nonexistent. Roman law provided no protection for the developing life. What was protected was the *patria potestas*, the power of the male head of the family to rear and rule. Hence the only abortions punished were those performed against the will of the male.

→ *Christianity* set conception and pregnancy in a religious context. The right of life and death over one's dependents was transferred from the earthly father to the divine, and human existence was shifted from the state of its mere appearances to a transcendence related to God. Contraception and abortion were now characterized as sin, and prohibited. Books dealing with confession and penance, however, present, over centuries, a con-



Jizo Bodhisattva figures in front of a Buddhist temple (Kofu, Yamanashi Prefecture) in Japan. Jizo Bosatu is the patron saint of children, and is especially venerated by family members who have had an abortion, miscarriage, or stillbirth. The figures are gently and attentively provided with caps and bibs as if they were babies. Usual offerings are vegetables, baked goods, sweets, and toys. In so-called 'abortion temples' (e.g., Hasedera, Kamakura), those concerned find guest books in which they may inscribe prayers, testimonials of gratitude, or confessions to obtain inner peace. (S. Beyreuther)

tradictory picture of actual attitudes and behaviors. The ancient Church battled a long while over the exact point in time of the 'ensoulment' of the fetus, and thereby over the degree of culpability attaching to abortion. The theological disputants embraced the notion, originally ascribed to Aristotle, of a 'successive ensoulment': the gestating offspring was endowed with a rational soul, as well as differentiated by gender, only after a vegetative and a 'sensitive' (or animal) stage of development. Only in 1869 did Roman Catholic dogma affirm the simultaneity of conception and a specifically human ensoulment. Charles V's *Carolina* (1532) was the first civil law book to attach penalties to abortion, and this only for the case of an abortion performed during the second half of gestation. This determination corresponded to the ordinary person's common-sense view, inasmuch as a 'pathological interruption of menstruation' in the early months of pregnancy could scarcely be distinguished from an actual pregnancy, nor a spontaneous stillbirth from a planned abortion. Subsequently, and gradually, the supervision of the population, and punishment for abortion, were transferred to the hands of the state. In 1871, in Germany, paragraph 218 of the Imperial Book of Civil Penalties forbade all abortion, irrespective of the stage of pregnancy. In the public controversies conducted during the time of the Weimar Republic, abortion was thematized less as a question of conscience than as the problem of a national policy of population and society. The era of National Socialism showed the true dimensions of the terror that can be unleashed by an adroit technocracy that serves the interests of policies of → eugenics and population control. While abortions performed on themselves by "Aryan" women were punishable by death, women who failed to meet the racist and eugenic standards of the powerful of the time had to submit to abortion and sterilization against their will.

Positions of Other Religions

3. Different religions have made varying assessments of abortion and the status of the embryo. In 1955, an anthropological investigation of four hundred indigenous non-European cultures concluded that, despite the dangers and physical pain involved in abortion, almost all of those cultures researched practice abortive techniques.[1] The overwhelming majority regards an aborted fetus not as a human being, but as a (good or threatening) preternatural being, or as a lifeless object.

In Islam, in Hinduism, in Buddhism, and in the belief of the Parsis, there have been prohibitions against abortion, but they are frequently more leniently formulated and interpreted than in Christianity. The Qur'an formulates no explicit prescriptions. The Islamic jurists and physicians of the Middle Ages gave straightforward and abundant information concerning contraceptive drugs and *coitus interruptus.* Time limits for abortion, as well, are known in Islam. A 1964 Jordanian *fatwa*, for instance, permits the removal of the conceptus from a woman's body during the first 120 days. But such relatively moderate pronouncements are interpreted more restrictively in law even today.

The condemnation of abortion in → *Buddhism* rests on the basic moral position that assesses any destruction of sentient life as a moral transgression. However, for example, in Japan mechanical and medicinal abortion procedures, along with infanticide, were widely practiced, and de facto permitted, beginning in the seventeenth century. In the traditional view, the ideal was three children per family. The appearance of an ensouled

life was indicated by the first cry of the newborn. Even in Japan today, abortion is a customary means of family planning. It is considered morally neutral, and is lawful up to the twenty-third week of pregnancy; from then on, however, the law punishes it as murder.

Ethic Conflicts Today

4. In Western industrial countries, as also in many non-Western societies, contraception is widely practiced as routine, and accepted. This seems also to be the case in traditional Catholic regions, although the Catholic Church itself rejects mechanical, chemical, and hormonal contraception even in marriage, permitting only natural methods (Knaus-Ogino, rhythm). Protestant churches view contraception and birth control as issues to be decided by employing situational ethics for each individual case. Birth control is a matter of debate in a context of the policies of population control in 'Third World' countries.

The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates the annual number of abortions worldwide to be between thirty and fifty million. Despite legal prohibitions, approximately one-half of these are performed in 'unlawful' circumstances. In Europe and the United States, more recent conflict and controversy over abortion has continued to be maintained in a spirit of volatility and emotion. In the 1970s, the → women's movement came forward with vigorous demands for the rights of women over their own bodies, and in many countries more liberal time limits and other conditions have been introduced in the regulation of abortion in penal law. Today, meanwhile, Protestant → fundamentalists and members of evangelical Free Churches in particular have ranged themselves, in a context of the *pro-life movement* originating in the United States, on the side of the Catholic Church, in favor of a strict prohibition of abortion. At the center of the controversy stand considerations on the moral and juridical status of the fetus. Developments in human genetics and in the medical treatment of reproduction have optically (especially with the use of ultra-sound) and practically (e.g., with in vitro fertilization) detached the fetus from the mother's body (→ Genetic Engineering). Such developments are gradually focusing attention on the special and unique nature of pregnancy in the sense of a psychic and physical symbiosis. Juridically, abortion is perceived as a conflict of interest between two apparently autonomous subjects. In these terms, the fetus may be owed protection even against the interests of the mother. Critics of this position claim that to ascribe an independent status to the fetus undermines the personal rights of the woman, and contradicts the feminine experience of pregnancy. Thus, the discourse upon a 'conflict of interest' is by no means morally and metaphysically neutral; rather it reflects the influence of a socially atomized culture.

1. Devereux 1976.

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→ *Death and Dying, Ethics/Morals, Eugenics, Euthanasia/Assisted Suicide, Family, Fundamentalism, Gender Stereotypes, Sexuality, Sin, Women's Movement/Spiritual Feminism.*

Michaela Knecht

Academic Study of Religion

Religious Studies and Theology

1. The academic study of religion (*Religionswissenschaft*), or religious studies, appeared only in the last third of the nineteenth century. Being of such recent date, and disposing of such a limited number of academic chairs, it is not well established in the public consciousness. Not infrequently, the 'new' discipline is confused with Christian theology, and it can easily happen that, when its students are asked what it is they study, they are confronted with the additional question: Protestant or Catholic religious studies? Quite against this presupposition, the discipline of religious studies is to be distinguished vis-à-vis their subject ('object') from → theology, and, in view of its methodology, should instead be listed under the umbrella of cultural and social sciences. Christian theology is first and foremost the 'science' or 'study of the faith,' and works from 'Christian faith premises,' namely, from premises given in biblical revelation. Only in consequence of distinct truths of faith can there be a Protestant, Catholic, or, indeed, Islamic or Jewish theology. The academic study of religion, on the contrary, stands outside religious systems. It concerns itself not with 'God,' but, as its very name declares, with → religion, and this only insofar as the latter can be considered empirically. Reflections, or, rather, ontological speculations upon whether, and in what manner, the reality believed in the several religions as 'supernatural' indeed manifests itself, remain a nameless topic, as far as human naming is concerned, but are not part of religious studies. (Actually, the Belgian Count Goblet d'Avila proposed in 1908 that this 'nameless' subject be denominated "hierosophy," as noted approvingly by Henri Corbin in his 1948 lecture *The Voyage and the Messenger*.) An academic study of religion that was itself religious, and resting on articles of belief, would be a self-contradiction.

Pre-History and Influences

2. The origins of a scientific or scholarly attention to religion are to be found in the era of classical antiquity. As early as the sixth century BCE, the Greek philosophy of nature concerned itself with a more rational relationship to the world of the gods. The Homeric epics and other texts in religious mythology were gradually understood as such, and no longer as representing historical reality. Various religious theories arose in which the central focus was no longer on the gods and their pretensions, but on the human beings,

with their conceptualizations and requirements (Xenophanes, Epicurus, Democrites). Views of this kind were readily open to the suspicion of an → atheism that would be inimical to the state, and their representatives were punished for it. Nevertheless, the reflection on religion that was perceived by so many as desecration represented an essential prerequisite for the understanding of nature and its causal connections. Thus it formed an indispensable component of the ancient foundation on which stands the whole of the Western scientific tradition. The leading Roman thinkers also took up the intellectual impulses grounded in objectivization of religious thought, and developed them in their works of religious philosophy and ethnography (Varro, Cicero, Lucretius, Caesar, Tacitus). After Christianity had succeeded to the legacy of the Roman Empire, confrontation with non-Christian religions was waged first and foremost under the sign of a repulse of → 'paganism.' Here, church apologetics beginning in the early Middle Ages was directed especially against Islam. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, numerous voyages of discovery enlarged Europe's geographical field of vision, and allowed a series of 'new' religions to come into view, unbounded by Christian horizons. The narrow attitude of the Middle Ages dissolved, and a secular conception of Christianity gradually appeared. In their reflections on antiquity, the humanists set up rules for a critical philological analysis of religious texts, thereby contributing to the emergence of a scholarship that could be independent of the dogmatic primacy of the Christian religion (→ Renaissance; Text). But it was only in the era of the → Enlightenment that the autonomy of human reason, and its emancipation from religious thought, had progressed to the extent that a purely scientific treatment of religion could begin. Like all recent scientific disciplines, religious studies, as well, had its point of departure in the Enlightenment, and in the fundamental discrepancy, maintained by the French encyclopedists, British deism, and German philosophy, between the knowledges arrived at through faith and through scientific understanding.

'Phenomenology of Religion'

Finally, Enlightenment thought made its way into theology as well, and led to serious confrontations over the relation of rationalism and revelation. Arising from the effort to compose reason and feeling with religion, an influential line of the scholarly religious tradition proceeded through F. D. E. Schleiermacher (1768–1834), and that line, by way of Rudolf Otto (*Das Heilige. Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*—Ger., "The Holy: The Irrational in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational"; 1917), led to the appearance of a 'phenomenology of religion.' Even though the latter direction, which frequently represented liberal theological views, saw one of its goals in a defeat of the Enlightenment, it had nonetheless become impossible for the academic study of religion to retreat behind a particular position of reflection. The great achievements of biblical criticism, or of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, render eloquent testimony to the success that can be expected from a historicization of Christianity through a comparison with its neighbor religions. Far more important for a genuinely scientific knowledge of religion was the development of classical and oriental philologies, whose representatives undertook the mighty task of collecting, translating, and classifying the religious tradition of all of the peoples of the earth.

Religious Studies as an Academic Discipline

3. Rather correctly then, the Oxford professor, Indologist Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) is regarded as actually the chief founder of religious studies. With his fifty-volume collection of sources of sacred scriptures (*Sacred Books of the East*, 1879ff.), he engineered an important contribution to research in religious history. Furthermore, he drafted a theoretical program for the new religious studies that he had called for, and that soon blossomed in numerous European universities. Engagement of the results of folkloric and ethnological research made it possible to promote a scientific discussion on developmental thoughts in religious history (→ Evolutionism), on the influence of notions of the → soul in their regard, and on the relation of myth, ritual, and → magic to religion. Scholars tried to order these concepts in a connection with human culture, and then addressed the social function of religion as well. In the interdisciplinary dialogue on the complex question of the anthropological structure of patterns of religious behavior, the notion of progress sometimes at hand in these conversations (occasioning the perception of 'primitive' religions, as well as religion *per se* as merely the expression of undeveloped civilization) gradually withdrew into the background. In Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands, academic chairs were in place as early as the 1870s, while in Germany it was only in 1910 that an independent professorial position was created at the University of Berlin. After the First World War, Bonn, Leipzig, Marburg, and Tübingen developed into centers of research in religious studies, which—though the fact is often overlooked—enjoyed more and more favor even under the ideological premises of National Socialism. After 1945, the vigorously anti-Christian character of the religious studies of the 'Third Reich,' which had dubbed itself *völkisch*, or 'Aryan,' inevitably provoked a reaction. Now the attempt was made—except in Leipzig, which gained a special position—to strike a connection with the line of tradition of religious studies typified by theology, or religious phenomenology (G. van der Leeuw, R. Otto, F. Heiler, G. Mensching). This trend did not prevail, however, and was replaced by a progressive self-definition on the part of religious scholars themselves, in the organizational framework of the areas of philosophy.

Social Meaning and Importance

4. As with any other university discipline, certain obligatory tasks in research devolved upon religious studies. Alongside these, however, in the wake of a growing globalization, coupled with a simultaneous decrease in the institutionalization of religion, religious studies came to acquire an amplified sociopolitical meaning and importance. The opportunity is now increasingly at hand of coming to know new religions, in direct or indirect contact with immigrants, on trips, or even in a chair via the Internet, and the number of those seeking their salvation outside the church on the free market of the New Age has climbed into the millions. Whether this comports a growing danger to society is earnestly disputed—rather with occasional exaggeration, with irrelevant sets of questions not infrequently playing an overblown role. A debate less oriented to criteria determined by a worldview, but, instead, to the question of the political rights of religious minorities, or to the relation between state and church generally, would be altogether desirable. On manifold grounds, therefore, there is an elevated need for the communication of a competency in orientation in the area of religion that is not itself guided by a religious interest. Here, tolerance and openness, joined with a scholarly objectivity regarding all religious

meanings and interpretations, constitutes the continued importance of an academic study of religion.

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→ *Animism, Colonialism, Evolutionism, Psychoanalysis, Religion, Science, Theology; see also "Introduction: The Academic Study of Religion—Historical and Contemporary Issues" (vol. I)*

Horst Junginger

Advertising

1. The term "advertising" denotes a competition-oriented form of mass communication, through various media, for economic, cultural, or religious purposes. Unlike other forms of information transmittal, the → communication content of advertising is usually received adventitiously, rather than being purposely sought by recipients. As a significant factor in the economy, and as a part of popular culture, advertising is more and more frequently the object of analyses on the part of cultural studies, as

well as a focus of public controversy. In particular, representatives of the Christian churches hold up their side of the debate over advertising's utilization of religious symbolism, its violation of ethical principles, and its prospective usurpation of religion itself.

Economic Advertising Utilizing Religious Content and Symbols

2. Since the 1960s, and with striking acceleration in the 1990s, economic advertising of goods and services has been calling on the rich store of symbols ready to hand in the usages of the various religions. A basis for this is constituted by the necessity of fixing on, and adapting to, the *Zeitgeist*. For advertising to gain acceptance and attention, it must feature an orientation to themes of current relevance, as presented, for example, in the spiritual quest beyond institutionalized forms of religion. With familiar elements of Christianity—especially the roles of parish priests, nuns, and so on—being presented more and more disdainfully as a negative foil for the modern lifestyle, Buddhism and ethnic religions such as those that come from India are seen as offering a different, idealistically transfigured world. These religious manifestations begin to function as a screen for the projection of longings, and sometimes fears as well, on the part of an audience wounded by civilization. Advertising, consequently, by continuing to rely on persistent clichés and prejudices, contributes to the spread of stereotyped images of religion. Furthermore, television advertising, as well as that of the more traditional media, more and more frequently portrays individualized and privatized religion. Opportunities available to advertisers provide an especially convenient venue for the presentation of individual self-realization and freedom, those salient themes of modern societies, in a religious context. Any product at all, it would seem, from mineral water to a vacation adventure, can be advertised through an appeal to religious practices like → yoga or → meditation. The application of these and other elements, borrowed from the most diverse religions, reflects two phenomena. For one, it mirrors the developing loss of relevance in the existential, life-regulating properties of daily life that had been institutionalized by the churches, and thus reflects the accompanying turn to other religions. Second, the broad overspill of religious elements into various areas of society is endowed with another expression: Religions now compete not only with other religions, but with components of the mass culture, as well (for example, television, newspapers, pop music), that seek ever more comprehensively to assume traditional religious functions—day-to-day living assistance, for instance, comfort in bereavement, or personal orientation—through a strategy of limitation of alternatives (contingency reduction), in order to consolidate economically profitable bonds with consumers. The adoption of religious symbolism in advertising does not necessarily—as it so frequently does in Western countries—lead to public debates and protests. It can, as we observe in India, experience wide acceptance, and even produce new mythic forms.

3. Scientific investigation into advertising has not as yet produced adequate justification for speaking of advertising as a champion of religion. Certain theologians, by way of apologia, and isolated communications researchers do maintain such a discourse, comparing the reception of product advertising to the veneration of religious objects.[1] But no empirical studies on this question are available in the sociology or psychology of religion. Frequently, advertising—in keeping with outmoded models of communication—is ascribed an immense effect on the (religious) experi-

ence of its recipients. Instead, the point of departure ought to be the fact that peripheral social and situational conditions, like the public repertory of value conceptualizations and human experiences, determine the selection, perception, and effects of media.

1. Bolz/Bosshart 1995, 197; Albrecht 1993, 34.

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→ *Media, Popular Culture, Perception, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Private Religion, Symbol, Television*

Markus Saborowski

Africa I: Northern Africa Including the Sahel

1. In the course of history, the part of the African continent lying north of the equator has been constantly spliced into the cultural development of its neighboring regions. Favored by the environment of the Mediterranean basin, the valley of the Nile, and the West African coastal region, Northern and Northeastern Africa were periodically influenced by (and at times out-and-out integrated with) the high cultures of their neighbors. The dry desert area of the Sahara and the neighboring caravan zone of the Sahel, bordering on the South, resisted these phenomena until the end of the first Christian millennium as an insurmountable barrier to such exogenous influences. This internal geographical bisection of the North African continent was decisive for the latter's cultural and religious history.

Ancient and Medieval Christianity

The *Imperium Romanum* knitted the Northern African coastal region into Roman civilization and the confessional politics of the Empire. Thus, Jewish immigrants from Palestine reached Cyrene, Tripoli, and Proconsular Africa. Beginning in the second century, an active Jewish community life developed in the cities of the Roman provinces. The long, meandering history of this Jewish diaspora in North Africa, right through the Islamic era into the present, arrived at a sudden destination—however imperfect—only in the founding of the State of Israel and the immigration there of nearly a million 'African' Jews. Even today, small Jewish communities exist in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, and Ethiopia.

The ongoing and sustained *Christianization* of the North African provinces, first by way of Rome, then through Byzantium, came to expression only in the middle of the third century, with the founding of a distinct African church—that of the Donatists. The Donatist ecclesiastical struggle with Roman Catholics could not, again, be pacified even with the intervention of the doctor of the Church, → Augustine, born at Hippo Regius in Africa. It was not until the beginning of the eighth century that the

Islamic caliphate, with its centers in Damascus and Baghdad, annexed the southern Mediterranean lands and Spain in a lengthy process of conquest. It had been Christianity, until then, and with it the Latin language, that had spread out among the indigenous population of North Africa. That religion had organized itself into hundreds of bishoprics, of which the greater number belonged to the Eastern Roman Church in Damascus. A few survived until well into the Islamic era. In the year 1053, Pope Leo IX complained that, 'in all of Africa,' only five bishoprics remained. He ignored the existence of another African Christian church, which in the fifteenth century motivated a second Christianization of Africa, one originating in Europe and enduring to the present day—the Monophysite Nubian Church, which, beginning in the sixth century, managed to establish itself in various political jurisdictions south of the First Cataract of the Nile. Between Meroe, capital of Nubia, and the Ethiopian highlands, a number of Christian kingdoms maintained their sovereignty against the Islamic movements coming from the Sudan in the North and the Somalian coast to the Southeast. In the year 1542, Ethiopian Christians, side by side with Portuguese colonial troops, won a decisive victory against the Muslims from Harat, who were reinforced by Ottoman troops. The myth of Ethiopian king Prester John, and his liberation from the Islamic yoke—an old Crusader notion—was here conclusively replaced with the double offensive of Christian colonization and mission.

The Islamic Permeation

3. With the year 652, and the negotiation of a lasting peace treaty between Muslim troops and their Christian adversaries in Nubia, and the year 710, as an expeditionary force consisting of Arabs and Islamized Berbers occupied the old Roman garrison-city of Tangiers in Morocco, there began, for the Northern African continent, the most pervasive and longest-lasting phase of its cultural and religious development. The special routes and forms of then prevailing Islamic history swept the African peoples uninterruptedly into the Muslim wake as they entered world history. Camel and Qur'an overcame nature's obstacle, the Sahel, and the groundwork was prepared for an immensely varied Islamic-African culture. Giving and taking defined the imprint of the regional cultures. First, these learned to know one another. Commodities, ideas, and proficiencies were exchanged. As early as the tenth century, a black-slave rebellion erupted on the Euphrates. At the same time, Sudanese princes assumed Arabic pedigrees. In Morocco's West, a Berber clan-prophet revealed a "Qur'an" in Berber. The Islamization and development of the regional cultures thereby flowed by altogether different routes in the North and East, as well as south of the Sahara.

Northern Africa (Maghreb)

a) North Africa retained the impress of Roman civilization well into the Islamic era. Muslim religious policy provided protection for Christian and Jewish communities in exchange for political and fiscal support. The political confusion of the early centuries waveringly allowed the rise of an urban Islamic culture, permitted by the assimilation of the predominantly agrarian and semi-Nomadic Berber population. The latter remained organized in clans, only sluggishly adopting what was Arab, and developing specific transitional forms of Islamic tradition. Individual clans and entire regions were converted to heterodox faith and orientations, through which they attempted to be delivered from the central claim to supremacy of the

Islamic caliphs. Only beginning in the eleventh century can there be any question of a broad Islamization of the Maghreb (Northwest Africa). In the West, the 'scholarly princes' formed their Berber clans into military federations, with the purpose of subjugating to the true faith the only superficially Islamized, or even frankly heretical, Berbers. The largest of these reform movements, that of the Almoravids (1046–1147; from the Arabic *al-murābiṭūn*, "border fighter"), was the agent of North Africa's unanimous confession, from this point forward, of the *Mālikīya* school of jurisprudence, one of the four such schools acknowledged in Islam. This movement and the subsequent Almohads (1116–1269; from the Arabic *al-muwaḥḥidūn*, "the confessors of unity") were of lasting meaning for the spread of the Islamic religion into the Sahara and the region of the Sahel. The West African "Marabout," the Islamic saint and healer, bears a name related to these Arabic ones. As a result of the regional phenomena under consideration, and with the impulse of the Christian reconquest (*reconquista*) of the Iberian Peninsula and the beginning of Portuguese colonization—only in 1415 does a North African city, Ceuta, again become Christian—regional Islamic dynasties throughout North Africa waxed in strength. The result was that, through all vicissitudes, they managed to maintain, predominantly, their independence from the European and Eastern powers all the way into the modern age. At the same time, if in an altogether different manner, they legitimated their claim to dominion utilizing Islamic concepts. Descendancy from the family of the Prophet → Muhammad is the foundation of the legitimacy of the Moroccan monarchs (*sharifs*) even today.

Another trait of the grounding of secular and spiritual authority, and a characteristic one for North Africa, is the → veneration of saints. On the one hand, it led to the foundation of countless so-called *Zāwiyas*—places, scattered round about, for the activity of scholars who developed Islamic organizations transmitting the teachings and rituals of the founder. At the same time, in the wake of this veneration of charismatic personalities, the movement of the Islamic mystical brotherhoods (in Arabic, *ṭarīqa*, "ways, paths") could spread elsewhere in North Africa. The most important Eastern source besides the Shāḏilīya was the Qādirīya, which found followers as early as the thirteenth century. From the end of the eighteenth century, the brotherhood movement acquired new momentum. In Tijānīya (Morocco, Senegal, Sudan), Šanūsīya (Libya), and Idrīsīya (Sudan, Somalia), disciples of Islamic scholar-preachers who had been inspired by revelation and now were revered as saints, formed new brotherhoods. In North Africa, as well as far beyond, these have today developed into tight networks. In terms of their religious, economic, and political influence, these associations have the importance of a supra-state phenomenon.

West Africa and the Sudan Belt

b) From the beginning of the ninth century, the region between Lake Chad and the Atlantic was connected with the lands of the Maghreb by routes that crossed the Sahara. On the long towrope of this commerce—this carrier of persons and merchandise in both directions—swept the Islamic confession. The latter guaranteed the status required for contract and trade security in these inaccessible, unsure territories. With Arabic script and the ritual conventions of Islam and its law—the Shar'ia—a bridge was thrown across the desert. Under the influence of Muslim commercial settlements springing up south of the Sudan, African rulers, as we read in the reports

of eleventh-century Arab merchants, began to 'convert to Islam.' The 'Islam' to which they converted has often been misunderstood—as it is even today—and this precisely in the nuclear Islamic countries. A timeless trait of concrete African religiosity is the preservation of an African identity within the claim to universal unity mounted by the Islamic religious culture. The first 'Islamic' kingdoms—the one stretching from Ghana to Senegal and Mauritania, the Kingdom of Mali around Timbuktu, the one of the Songhay at the midmost bend of the Niger River, and Kanem-Bornu on Lake Chad—constitute singular evidence of a conviction disseminated by way of trade contacts as late as the sixteenth century: that temporal and spiritual power could be assured only with the assistance of the religious framework and conditions of the Muslim trade partners of the North. True, authentic pilgrim caravans to the holy places in Arabia had been organized even before this time. Nevertheless, it is difficult to speak of an indigenous Islamic religiosity or piety in these regions. This phenomenon appeared only with the emergence as renowned centers of Islamic scholarship, of Timbuktu, and a short while later, of Sinqit in the Western Sahara. Arabic was eventually adopted not only as a religious language, but as the script of the regional literatures. Mosques were built and locally colored Islamic law modeled on Malikite norms, was written, taught, and practiced.

Slavery

Here the lines of conflict between a young African Islamicity and African traditions became visible. Tribal organizational forms of state community that depend on spirit and ancestor worship were at odds with the 'righteous Imām' of a community of believers (*umma*). Residual doubts accompanied any explanation of the identity of an individual as a Muslim. The *question of slavery* drew both of these conflicts together in a kind of ongoing African problem. Islamic law prohibits the enslavement of Muslims. In order to safeguard a basic principle of the traditional African economy, a community destined to furnish slaves must be deprived of its 'Islam.' Once identified as polytheistic or unbelieving (in Arabic, *kāfir*, whence the contemptuous "Kaffir"), these neighbors could be 're-Islamized'—that is, collectively subjugated, or, for that matter, individually enslaved, and 'converted' once more to Islam. Here is the complement of the older principle of individual conversion out of motives of commerce and economics, in the new, incomparably more enduring mechanism of an Islamized justification of slavery. The dynamics of this mechanism become transparent when we consider that it was precisely the declaration of one's own Islamicity that legitimated, indeed commended, the organized enslavement of one's neighbor.

Revitalization

The grounds for the introduction, at the end of the eighteenth century, of an Islamic *revitalization movement*, which spanned the Sahel zone from end to end, and revised the religious map, are mostly unclear. Resistance to European colonization, and to the accompanying missionary strategy, along with tribal migrations thereby unleashed or intensified, constituted a contributing factor. But so did the Islamic reform movement of the Wahhābi in Arabia, with which country, after all, contact was continuously maintained by pilgrimage. Unanimously persuaded by the call to jihad, Muslim clan-fighters, led mostly by scholars of the Fulbe clan, subdued the Sudanese belt with 'Holy Wars.' The name that these 'schooled princes' used for themselves was *mujaddid*, 'renewers,' of Islam. The program of their reform movements

saw its reciprocal model in black African Islamic history: charismatic figures, deriving their legitimacy from the 'blessing' (in Arabic, *baraka*) bequeathed to them by prophets or founders of brotherhoods, preached against the syncretistic practices and notions with which the African milieu held its own in the Islam of its co-believers and fellow clan members. The prophets' essential aim was to define the blurry lines of demarcation between 'white' and 'black' magic, between permitted and forbidden techniques for the control of the world of the 'spirits' or jinn (supplications and exorcisms, talismans, oracles). In addition, such movements were directed against French and British colonialism. Again, the thrust of the *Salafīya*, a reform ideology developing in Egypt and Syria around 1900, and seeking to counter Western supremacy with Islamic authenticity, fell on fertile soil in Islamic Africa. Adopted in the *Murīdīya*, a brotherhood founded in Senegal by Ahmadu Bamba (1862–1927), these various motives acquired the effectiveness of an exemplar. Through the call to reform and resistance, fresh doctrinal concepts emerged, in which African identity was also discovered. The emphasis on collective service, mystical prayer rituals, and the spiritual authority of the initiated made it difficult for orthodox nuclear Islamic countries to extend the Islamic concept of unity to Africa.

Sudan's Nile Region and East Africa

c) The infiltration of Arab clans into the regions of the upper Nile ensured an early Arab Islamization of the eastern Sudan. The course of religious history in these regions was determined by proximity to the nuclear Arab countries—to which Nile and coastal water traffic guaranteed easy access—and adjacency to Christian principalities. In 1317, Mamelukes helped transform the Cathedral of Dongola into a mosque. On the other hand, a century later Christian Ethiopians subjugated the Islamic kingdom of Shoa.

South of the horn, along the *coast of the Indian Ocean*, Islam owes its existence to maritime trade with southern Arabia, Ḥaḍramaut, and Oman. Around 1100, a flourishing Islamic island culture flourished from Lamu to Zanzibar (Shirazi culture). In the seventeenth century, immigrant Arabs from Oman erected the Sultanate of Zanzibar, from which the coastal regions (Arab., *sawāhīl*, whence Swahili) were Islamized. The Bantu language of the natives then began to be written in the Arabic alphabet, and the religious and ritual everyday language came to be defined by Arab and Persian concepts. Influences from Oman are also responsible for the fact, unique for Africa, that it was not the Mālikite, but the Šāfiite School of jurisprudence, and the heterodox teaching of the Ibāḍites, that gained entry into Swahili Islam. The nineteenth century was the scene of the quick spread of this Bantu Islam over the mainland toward Lake Victoria. Once more Islam followed on the heels of commerce, especially of the slave trade. German and British colonization pursued a moderate policy in the area of religion, and thus—apart from the case of the notorious Mission School, which claimed to be developing a religious elite—brought about little change in the religious situation. To be sure, the massive immigration of British Indian Muslims to East Africa shifted local confessional relations considerably. The Bantu religions, which almost always lived in peaceful coexistence with Swahili Islam, contrasted sharply with the Christianity of the colonial overlords. This polarization created conflicts periodically expressed in rebellions (and since national independence, in political rivalries).

Islam in Africa or African Islam?

4. The range of the African continent stretching northward from the tenth parallel embraces nearly twenty countries. Here an Islamic majority predominates, with devotees of tribal religions and Christians in the minority. Relations in the North—in the Maghreb states of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, as well as in Egypt—are clearly distinct from those of the so-called Sahel states (from Senegal in the West to Somalia in the East). Like Egypt, the Maghreb states reckon themselves a constitutive part of the Arab and Islamic world, although both regions maintain their solidarity with Africa by way of Berber, or even 'Pharaoh' ideologies. Much the same is to be said in the matter of religious relations. *Egypt*, however, with its ancient Coptic Church, is a case apart. The coexistence of Christians and Muslims, guaranteed by Islamic law and the national Constitution, is a historical Egyptian peculiarity and attribute. In the Maghreb, no considerable Christian minority survived, nor was the Christian mission successful, for instance at the hands of the White Fathers. Unlike Egyptian Islam, its counterpart in the Maghreb exhibits characteristics that tie it to African history. The Islamization of the Maghreb, its emancipation from Arab rule, and the development of a rural Islamic culture manifesting black African influences, are partly responsible here. The major factor, however, was the colonization that began with the invasion of Algeria in 1830 by France, Italy, and Great Britain. The reformed *Salafīya* movements, which took place in North Africa beginning in 1920, provided the religious and ideological armament for the nationalistic liberation struggles. The democratic Muslim community devised by the state, the liberation of woman, and anticapitalist 'Islamic' economic configurations, were among the weapons. Furthermore, the tenacious, traditional Islam of the Sufis and Marabouts, organized in *Zāwiyas* and brotherhoods, fell under suspicion of anti-patriotism and backwardness. This typically 'Maghrebian' conflict is still active today. It was reinforced by imported *Islamic fundamentalism*, which was able—massively in Algeria—to enlist the heterodox traditions of early Islamic times. It rose up against both the 'literate Islam' of the urban scholar, traditional or reformist, and the populist Islam of the Maghreb countryside.

The history of the Islamization of the *Sahel* generated an imaginary line of antagonistic demarcation between 'white' and 'black' Islam. From West to East, in Mauritania, Mali, Nigeria, Chad, and the Sudan, conflicts of identity in the postcolonial nations produced an important phenomenon. The collision made the confession of Islam the touchstone of distinction between cultural and political attachment to the African or the Eastern Arab world. The entanglement of politics and religion expressed itself first of all in the language controversy. Some worried that Arabic, the language of the Qur'an, might be expelled from the formation and education of coming generations by the English or the French. Others argued that the Qur'an should be translated as well into the languages of Muslim Wolof, Peul, Hausa, and Swahili. But this development also expressed itself in the growing internationalization of the conflict. By way of political bloc formations, and carefully calculated economic investments, the Sahel states have been swept into the wake of world politics, and have come under the influence of pan-Islamic currents. With the foundation of the organization, "Islam in Africa," in Abuja (Nigeria) in 1989—in which most of the eighteen African countries that professed themselves Islamic (out of a total of 46) joined a common Islamic program—the concept of 'African unity' slipped into the background. As a consequence of this multi-layered internationalization of the identity

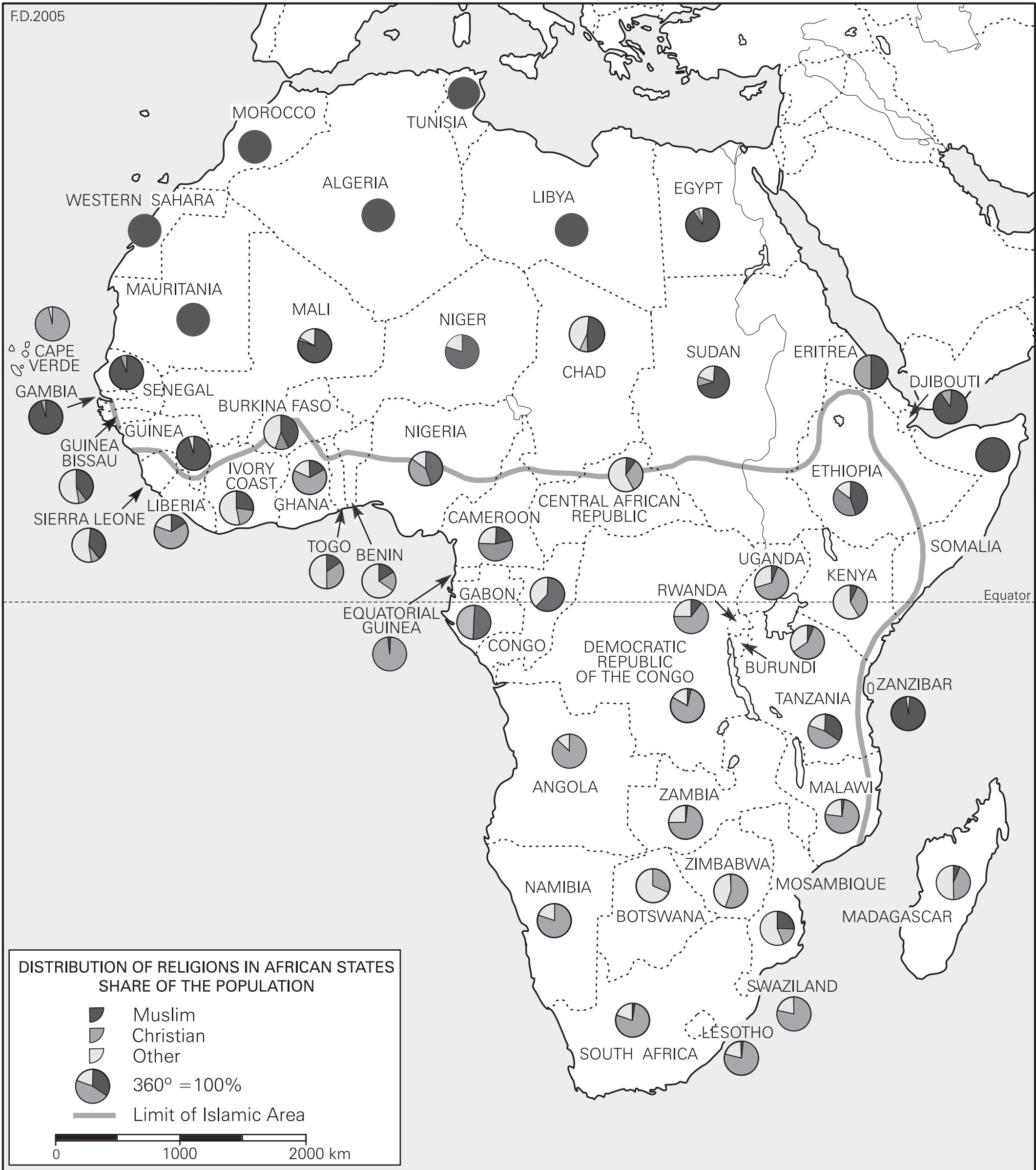
conflict, the national Islamic majorities reached beyond clan boundaries to split into competing religio-political organizations. In *Nigeria*, the *Yan Izala* movement propagated an uncompromising Islam cleansed of all African elements, but altogether open to the world. In the *Sudan*, the fundamentalist direction kept the upper hand. In *Senegal*, the "Way of the Murīdīya" and other brotherhood organizations gained an ever greater importance. Intra-national coexistence with religious minorities, as well, and the general programmatic perception of the need not to lose contact with the secular, technologically advanced Western world, pluralized the religious approach to cultural and political self-determination in an unmistakable African manner. The multiplicity of Islamic ways to orthodoxy, and thus to salvation in the world to come, holds the key to the future development of Islamic Africa. Islamic religion once found its way to Africa as an uncomplicated system of ritual and doctrine. There it came to be at home among nomads and farmers, and finds ever more adherents in the new urban centers. Its power of conferral of identity is weakening the old system of ancestry and clan. Islam has adapted to African requirements, and has thereby become unmistakably African.

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→ *Africa II, Egypt, Islam, Mediterranean Region*

Ulrich Rebstock


F.D.2005
MOROCCO
TUNISIA
ALGERIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
WESTERN SAHARA
MAURITANIA
MALI
NIGER
CHAD
SUDAN
ERITREA
DJIBOUTI
CAPE VERDE
GAMBIA
SENEGAL
BURKINA FASO
NIGERIA
GUINEA BISSAU
GUINEA
IVORY COAST
GHANA
LIBERIA
SIERRA LEONE
TOGO
BENIN
CAMEROON
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
ETHIOPIA
SOMALIA
UGANDA
KENYA
RWANDA
GABON
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
CONGO
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
BURUNDI
ZANZIBAR
TANZANIA
Equator
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
MALAWI
NAMIBIA
ZIMBABWA
MOSAMBIQUE
BOTSWANA
MADAGASCAR
SWAZILAND
LESOTHO
SOUTH AFRICA
DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIONS IN AFRICAN STATES
SHARE OF THE POPULATION
Muslim
Christian
Other
360° =100%
Limit of Islamic Area
0
1000
2000 km

Africa II: Central and Southern Africa

1. Unlike Northern Africa, where Islam is the predominant religion, Africa south of the Sahara is mainly Christian. The process of the Christianization of Africa can be divided into four phases, of which the first, that of late antiquity, was limited to Northern Africa (→ Africa I).

Portuguese; the Catholic Mission

2. a) The second phase of Christianization—this time south of the Sahara—occurred in connection with the establishment of a *Portuguese* trade network, in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, on the west coast of Africa, in the Kingdom of Congo, in the valley of the Zambezi in central Africa, and in the kingdoms of Warri and Benin on the delta of the Niger. The Portuguese protected their port cities from the hinterland, for instance those on the islands of Cape Verde and São Tomé. They were dependent on the cooperation of the native rulers for the accumulation of goods, especially for the most profitable 'goods'—human beings, whom they sold as slaves to North America. When their African trade partners became Christians, it made for economic and political advantages. The Portuguese could then expel rival Muslim merchants, and establish their exclusive right to carry on trade in the area. Wherever the Portuguese flag was raised, Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries appeared at once.

Up until the 1570s, all Portuguese missionary enterprises in Congo, Warri, Benin, and Mutapa exhibited a similar pattern. The baptismal ritual was reserved almost exclusively for rulers. In Portuguese thinking, the religious conversion of a people depended for the most part on a royal decision. Kings and chieftains, and sometimes their sons, were baptized as speedily as could be, and adopted Portuguese names. Without a great deal of thought about the royal motives for this kind of conversion, the missionaries proceeded on the assumption that the subjects would subsequently ask for the ritual as well, and harbored the illusion that they had converted whole peoples to Christianity. This partly explains the failure of these early missionary enterprises. On the whole, efforts at 'Portuguesization' and Christianization left more traces in Congo (if in a somewhat indigenized form) than in Warri, where after two centuries they had come to nothing. In many parts of Africa, there was a lasting Christian presence, but it was always left on the fringes of the African cultures. Catholic mission activity in Africa was closely connected with the Portuguese crown, and as Portugal's imperialistic power dwindled, the missions likewise faded away. The great weakness of the Christian undertaking in Africa in the second phase was its close connivance with the slave trade. Converting Africans and enslaving them at the same time presents a great contradiction.

Dutch, Calvinists

b) From 1652 onward, *Dutch Calvinist Protestants* entered into competition with the Portuguese. Erected at first as transfer stations to their East Indian possessions, their settlements spread out over all the land around the Cape of Good Hope. After 1685, Huguenots on their flight from France also pushed their way to the colony. Furthermore, a considerable number of their slaves were baptized, and in 1683 all baptized slaves were emancipated.

The Imperialistic Race

3. a) In the second half of the eighteenth century, Protestant missionaries, primarily British, began to ply their mission south of the Sahara—the third phase of the Christianization process. A large number of Protestant mission societies, taking their cue from the *Protestant Revival Movement in Europe*, saw it as their task to spread the Gospel everywhere before the end of the world (→ Millenarianism/Chiliasm). Their endeavors were not confined to Africa, but were maintained on the international level. Still, each society concentrated on one particular region for its mission work. Like their Catholic predecessors, many Protestant missionaries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were slave traders themselves or otherwise promoters of commerce in African people. Most missionaries, however, were abolitionists, fighting slavery in the name of the Gospel. The majority of the Africans carried into slavery at the end of the eighteenth century were Christians, either by conviction or at least nominally. Many found in Christianity a force that bound them together and made them strong. Thus they played an important role in the battle for the abolition of slavery, as well as, later, in the propagation of Christianity among Africans in Africa itself. Some slaves emancipated in America returned to Africa, for example to Liberia. Among these returnees was Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who led the Yoruba Christians, the Christians of Buganda and Madagascar, and the African Christians of Southern Africa.

b) Between 1880 and 1920, in the heyday of imperialism, the number of missionaries toiling in Africa rose dramatically. The Berlin Congress supported this development in 1878, when the race for the partition of Africa was regulated among the European colonial powers in terms of areas of interest. Missionaries in the field frequently supported the imperialist ambitions of their states. Thus, → mission and colonization came to be understood by many as 'two sides of the same coin' (→ Colonialism). Mission became a synonym for the transplantation of Western civilization to Africa. The baptized were urged to renounce African culture across the board, and to conduct themselves as 'Europeanized Africans.' This dilemma struck to the inmost core of the missionary undertaking: How much of Western civilization should Africans adopt? To what extent must they abandon African culture in order to adopt the 'white man's religion'? In the attempt to resolve this inner dilemma within a Christianity of mission, a new form of African Christianity arose. The expansion of this Christianity in the twentieth century was for the most part the work of African evangelists.

African Christianity

4. Thus, the West African coast was the first home and cradle of the missions in the nineteenth century, as well as of the *African churches in the twentieth.* African or independent churches can be essentially divided into three groups:

(a) The earliest communities were those that had broken off from the mission churches already in place. They developed especially in Southern Africa (*Ethiopian Churches*) and West Africa (*African Churches*) in the nineteenth century. The circumstances of their foundation were all alike: too strict a discipline at the hands of the European missionaries, discrimination against native preachers, dissension over money and power, a new self-awareness among educated Africans, and, of special importance, apartheid in South Africa. The striking thing about these communities is that, while they changed church leadership, they retained the liturgical and

hierarchical structures of the mission churches. Many were and are largely dependent on the financial resources of their mother churches.

(b) In the 1920s and 1930s, communities arose that belong to the second group of independent churches, including the "Zionists" in South Africa, the Aladura Churches in Nigeria, and the Spirit or Spiritist Churches in Ghana. They also came to be called the prophetic and charismatic-healing churches. Their worldviews hold essential elements in common, which have contributed to the emergence of an utterly African Christianity. The central position of the Bible, prayer, healing, prophecy, visions and dreams, distinctive rituals, church services with spontaneous elements and 'free liturgy,' and, especially, a charismatic leader ('prophet' or 'prophetess'), are among the fundamental traits of these communities. For them, theology must have to do with practical life and with existential problems, thus becoming the Africans' own religion. Although they strictly reject and spurn the traditional African religions as 'fetishistic' and 'demonic,' their doctrinal systems and the structure of their rituals evince an affinity with African cosmology. Thus, many of their members come not from the 'classic' churches, but from other Christian and non-Christian (Muslim or traditional religious) groups. Although the prophetic communities exhibit similarities to one another, each possesses its own religious dynamics. There are differences in their special doctrines and ritual details, as well as in the traditions they have brought with them. Many communities sprang from home and prayer milieus in the 'classic' churches, and founded their own churches in the 1920s and 1930s. Others have materialized simply thanks to the visionary experience of a charismatic figure, independently of a mission church. Most indigenous churches of the prophetic type belong to an ecumenical movement extending throughout the continent under the name of *Organization of African Instituted Churches*.

Pentecostal Communities

(c) The third group of independent churches presents the most recent development in African Christianity: the appearance and escalating spread of *Pentecostal charismatic evangelical communities*, especially since the 1950s and 1960s. Nigeria especially has seen an enormous expansion of New Pentecostal communities in the last two decades. In their efforts to produce ecumenical ties and cooperation, among themselves and with other churches, most of these churches have come under the umbrella of the Pentecostal Fellowship Association of Nigeria. In contrast with the founders of the prophetical communities, founders of the Pentecostal communities have in most cases earned university degrees, and have previously been active in the professions. William Kumuyi, who founded the Deeper Life Bible Church in 1973, was a docent in mathematics at the university in Lagos. In 1987, Chris Okotie, an attorney, founded the Household of God Fellowship. Architects, physicians, and other professionals figure among the leadership elite of these communities, and so speak to an educated audience. However, the Pentecostal communities are not always indigenous and independent. Organizations like the Campus Crusade for Christ, which appear on the scene as products or missions of Pentecostal communities or New Pentecostal groups outside Africa, are dependent on mission headquarters for funds, publications, and sometimes personnel. The native Pentecostal communities, to be sure, have themselves begun to engage in international mission, and have already founded communities in the United States, Canada, Europe, and elsewhere.

A basic characteristic of the Pentecostal communities is an emphasis

on the special conversion experience referred to as spiritual rebirth—being 'born again'—and on charismatic gifts like glossolalia or speaking in tongues. Many of these communities aim at 'holiness' and are more interested in religious experience than in ritual. Others are remarkable for their preaching of a 'gospel of prosperity' that is especially popular among whites in Nigeria and Southern Africa. It teaches that God is a rich God and wishes his followers to be successful in all that they undertake in their lives, and it promises that a miracle will lift them out of poverty, unemployment, illness, or handicaps. For the wealthy there is the 'short way,' in which they give one-tenth of their income to the community, as well as make contributions for the poor and underprivileged. Many of these groups have adopted ideas and features of the American Pentecostals, but enthusiasm for the 'prosperity gospel' overspills into the values of traditional African culture, where polished religious rituals are conducted for the acquisition of wealth, health, and protection from evil powers. Such Christian groups as the Pentecostals, the Aladura, or the prophetical communities, which seek to be responsive to everyday, existential concerns, are continuing to expand in the Africa of today. This makes Southern Africa one of the most important stages of the drama of Christianization, especially that of the twentieth century.

Image of Africa

Europe's image of Africa's religion: The Portuguese maintained that the Africans actually had no gods, but only 'fetishes'—that they worshiped rocks and trees. Underlying these conceptions was Paul's negative image of pagans and their nature religion (Rom 2). It was F. Max Müller, founding figure of the study of religion, who—despite his strong colonial attitude—corrected these mistaken notions in the 1878 Hibbert Lectures. With the appearance of Leo Frobenius and Carl Einstein, early in the twentieth century, archaic Africa began to leave abiding traces in art and pop music of an image in contrast to a decadent Christianity. Today, reacting to representations of African religion exclusively as opposite or kindred to Christianity, postcolonial Africa raises the protest of a properly African self-awareness, beginning with blackness.

Okot p'Bitek, poet and social anthropologist of Uganda, has sharply criticized the prevailing interpretation of African religions, and has refuted their alleged 'anonymous Christianity.' He has applied his methodical approach in an exemplary investigation of the Luo religion. A new African self-awareness is also reflected by the work of E. Ikenga Metuh, and, in the 1990s, of J. Olupona, of Nigeria (on the religion of the Ibo and Yoruba respectively). Furthermore, D. Chidester analyses African religion as a 'colonial frontier' that significantly formed Western concepts of religion.

What is significant is not whether African religion is akin to, or stands in contrast with, the European: the important thing is Africa's own way—where, when all is said and done, even the imposed religions are the germ and wellspring of a Christianity authentically African.

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→ *Africa I, Afro-American Religions, Ancestors, Apartheid, Christianity, Colonialism, Mission, Prophet, Voodoo*

Afe Adogame

Africa: Time Chart

1. *Pre- and Ancient History (c. 4 million–5000 BCE)*

c. 4 million BCE	Australopithecus Afarensis	Skeletal finds suggest that the 'cradle of humanity' lies in Africa.
c. 70.000	Evidence of burials in Southern Africa	
from c. 26.000	Earliest African rock paintings, in Southern Africa (today's Namibia)	The rock paintings document the experience of ritual specialists; the painted places are 'power centers' at which contact may be had with the supra-terrestrial world.
from c. 20.000	Clay figures in Algeria, carved objects in Southern Africa	

2. *The Ancient Kingdoms (c. 6th millenium BCE–1st millenium CE)*

c. 5000–3000	Pre-dynastic Egypt	Erection of temples (Horus, Seth); early pyramid construction.
from c. 3000	Egyptian kingdoms; Nubian kingdoms	At the time of the New Kingdom, failure of Akhenaton's (1364–1347) monotheistic reform (exclusive veneration of the god Aton); spread of the Egyptian pantheon into the regions south of Egypt.
from 9th cent.	Berber states, Punic: Carthage (founded 814 BCE)	Veneration of Fertility Goddess Tanit.
from 4th/3rd cent. BC	Greek/Roman conquest of North Africa	Tanit becomes Roman Juno Coelestis.

3. *African 'Traditional' Religions I: Expansion of African Religions in the Context of Continental Migratory Movements (c. 5th cent. BCE–10th cent. CE)*

c. 5th cent. BC–6th c. CE	Immigration of the Yoruba into the Niger-Benue region	Formation of local *orisha* cults
c. 500–1000	Expansion of the Bantu traditions to Southern, Eastern, and Central Africa	Key meaning of ancestor worship in connection with the important position of community and extended family among the Bantu vis-à-vis conceptualizations of spirits and gods. With the Nilotic peoples, the role of age groups of common initiates.

4. *Beginning of the Jewish Diaspora, and First Phase of the Christianization in Northern and Northeastern Africa (1st–6th cent. CE)*

from 1st cent. CE	Expansion of Judaism from Alexandria into the Roman provincial capitals of North Africa	The Egyptian port and metropolis of Alexandria shelters the largest Jewish community on the African continent (trans. of Septuagint). North Africa receives a Jewish diaspora, which is still present in the twentieth century. Only the undertow of emigration occasioned by the founding of the State of Israel has finally decimated the number of Jews in North Africa.
from 3rd cent. CE	Expansion of Christianity to Northern Africa and into the Maghreb	By 325, there are already fifty-one Episcopal sees in Europe. The third-century persecution of the Christians appears especially in the Berber regions under Bishop Donatus. The Donatists' particular church lasts, despite prohibition (411) and persecution, and survives even after the end of its persecution by Christians.
312	Christianity becomes a tolerated religion in the Roman Empire	By the end of the fourth century, ninety percent of the population is Christian. Rise of the monastic movement (hermits) as counter-movement to the growing establishment of Christianity as the state religion.

from 4th cent.	Axum in Ethiopia becomes Christian	The multi-religious state (including, since the first century, Christianity) becomes Christian, although governed in ecclesial matters by Alexandria (even to the present day).
535	Nubia becomes Christian	'Official' date of Egyptian Christianization, prohibition of the blessing of Nubian harvests through the invocation of a statue of Isis brought from Philae in Egypt.
539	Split of the Egyptian and Byzantine Churches	In Egypt, in the wake of dogmatic quarrels the Christology of the Monophysite faith (belief in a single nature of Christ) with a 'national' Coptic Church arises, with its own papacy.
5. *First Phase of Islamization—Northern Africa (7th–11th cent.)*		
from 639	Conquest of North Africa by Arab troops	The Muslim conquerors are temporarily greeted by the Christian population as 'liberators from the Byzantine yoke.' Important dates for the framework: in 652, a peace treaty with Christian Nubia inaugurates the continuous presence of Christianity until the fifteenth century; in 710, the siege of Tangiers by Muslim troops ensures Islamic predominance in the Maghreb.

from 740	Insurrections of Kharijite groups in the Maghreb	The radically egalitarian movement of the Kharijites, arisen in a framework of the first civil war, mounts to the pinnacle of the separatist movements against the Umayyad Caliphate (657–750).
from 910	Fatimid Dynasty in North Africa	The Shiite Dynasty predominates in Egypt from 969 onward. It is under it that the renowned University of al-Azhar is founded. In 1171, Saladin overthrows the Fatimids.
1046–1147 1116–1269	Almoravid Dynasty in the Maghreb Almohad Dynasty in the Maghreb	From the eleventh century onward: broad Islamization of North Africa; unification through the reform movement of the “Border Fighters” (Almoravids), under the juridical school of the Malikiyya; propulsion of Islam into the zone of the Sahel by the “Confessors of Unity” (Almohads).
1317	Transformation of the Cathedral of Dongola into a mosque	Islamization of the region of the upper Nile; successful resistance by Christian Ethiopia.

6. *African ‘Traditional’ Religions II: Consolidation of African Religions in a Context of the Formation of Great Realms (7th–16th cent.)*

7th–15th cent.	Realm of Greater Zimbabwe	Flourishing: 13th century.
15th–16th cent.	Flourishing of the Congo Realm	

10th–15th cent.	Flourishing of the Realm of Ife	The *orisha* cults find expression in the sacred realm, and are universalized. The oracle cult of Ife expands nevertheless, just as does the divine Triad Olorun (Olodumare), Orunmila (Ifa), and Eshu (Egbara), in the entire region.
14th–17th cent.	Fall of Ife, and rise of various succeeding realms	Superimposition of universalistic *orisha* cults (Storm-God Shango in Oyo; Edo religion in Benin) over local cults.
7. Second Phase of Islamization—Sub-Saharan Africa (c. 11th–18th cent.)		
from 1100	Shirazi culture in the Eastern African coastal regions	A mixed culture, of Persian, Southern Arabian, and African elements is generated by sea trade, and by Arab settlements that actually date from pre-Islamic times.
from 11th cent.	Islamization of the Western African Sahel and Savanna regions; rise of the Sudan states	Beginning in the eighth and ninth centuries, Islam spreads along the great trans-Sahara routes. Erection of Muslim trade-colonies, later the conversion of rulers, and the appearance of a 'duality': of the preservation of an African identity within a universal Islamic religious culture. Establishment of 'Islamic' realms: Ghana (in today's Senegal and Mauritania), Mali, Songhay, Kanem-Bornu, the Hausa states. In succeeding centuries, the

		appearance of centers of Islamic scholarship (esp. in Timbuktu).
1529–1543	Jihad of Ahmad Gran in Ethiopia	Conquest of wider regions of Ethiopia by Ahmad Gran, and consequent centuries-long enfeeblement of the Christian Ethiopian realm.
End of 15th/beginning of 16th cent.	as-Suyuti and al-Maghili	Royal counselors Jalal ad-Din as-Suyuti of Egypt and Abd al-Karim al-Maghili of North Africa demand of Songhay a purification of Islam from African elements, but do not (as yet) prevail.
16th–18th cent.	Conquest of Ethiopia; establishment of the Sultanate of Fung	
from 17th cent.	Growing influence of the Islamic Brotherhoods	From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the brotherhoods begin formally to organize, especially in the case of the *Qadiryya*, which then gain greater importance for Islamization.
	Flourishing of the 'classic' Swahili culture, in East Africa	After the ejection of the Portuguese, Muslims from the Oman build the Sultanate of Zanzibar. This presents an opportunity for the Shafi'itic juridical school and the heterodox teaching of the Ibadites to enter the region.
	Beginning of Islamic Presence in South Africa	Migration of laborers from Southeastern, and later from Southern, Asia, from mid-seventeenth century.

		Now there is a constantly waxing Islamic presence in Southern Africa, especially in the Southeast of that country.

8. *Christian Interlude and Second Phase of Christianization—South of the Sahara (15th–17th cent.)*

from 15th cent.	Flourishing of great African realms	Empire of Zimbabwe; realm of the Congo.
from 15th cent.	Beginning of the *Reconquista;* Portuguese colonization and Catholic missions	In 1415, the reconquest of the North-African Ceuta; the erection of several trade stations, fortified coastal posts, and some rather small colonies. Object of the mission (esp. in the Congo, in Warri, in Benin, and in Murapa) is limited to the native noble class, and is without deep-reaching success, as the Christian presence is confined to the margin of African cultures.
from middle of 17th cent.	Dutch colonization	Presence of Calvinist Dutch, and later the French Hugenots, in the Cape colony. Emancipation of baptized slaves.
end of 17th/beginning of 18th cent.	Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement in the region of the Congo	A young noblewoman named Dona Béatrice assumes her African name, Kimpa Vita, and sets forth a claim of omnipotence. As the incarnation of Saint Anthony, she means to erect the

		bygone kingdom of the Congo as the eschatological paradise. The movement is obliterated, and Kimpa Vita is publicly burned alive in 1706.
9. *Third Phase of Islamization: Reform Movements (18th–19th cent.)*		
from end of 18th cent. until end of 19th/beginning of 20th cent.	Era of the great Jihad movements	Militant movements of revitalization, e.g., for the purification of Islam from non-Islamic, i.e., African, practices—esp., (1) the "Fulani Jihad" in Hausa, under Usman dan Fodio, beginning in 1785, leading to the erection of the Sokoto Caliphate; (2) the Jihad under Ahmad b. Muhammad, from 1818, as well as under al-Hajj Umar al-Futi, from 1851, in the region of the former Songhay Realm; (3) in Somalia, from 1897/99, Jihad under Sayyid Muhammad Abd Allah Hasan. Most famously: the Jihad of "Mahdi" Muhammad Ahmad ben Abd Allah, from 1881/83, in Sudan.
from end of 19th cent.	Expansion of the Tijaniya Order	In the wake of the Jihad under al-Hajj Umar al-Futi, from 1851, the *Tijaniya* order enters into competition with, especially, the already well-established *Qadiriya* Order in the Realm of Sokoto.

10. *African 'Traditional' Religions III: Transformation and Gradual Diaspora of African Religions between Later Pre-Colonial Phase and Post-Colonial Age (from 16th. cent.)*

from 16th cent.	Beginning of formation of → Afro-American religions	In the wake of transatlantic slavery spreading of the *orisha* cults, the *vodun* cults, and other African traditions in America
from 17th cent.	Rise of the *vodun* cults in Dahomey	Local *vodun* cults are established on the area of the later realm of Dahomey; from the 18th century integration of *vodun* cults in the political system of Dahomey; in the 20th century restitution of power of local *vodun* priests, after the French colonial regime had destroyed the empire
from middle of 20th cent.	New religious movements; 're-discovery' of African religious traditions	Transformation of African religious traditions in 'new religious movements'; revitalization of traditions (e.g., of the Yoruba religion by Susanne Wenger)

11. *Third Phase of Christianization—Modern Missionary Movement at the Time of the Colonization and Imperialist Partition of Africa (18th–20th cent.)*

from middle of/end of 18th cent.	Beginning of organized missionary work south of the Sahara by mission societies	Taking their inspiration from the Evangelical Awakening Movement in Europe, Protestant missionaries have extensively combated slavery, whose gradual abolition after 1807 (decision of the British Parliament to prohibit the transatlantic slave trade) was finally legislated—especially because of the engagement of African Christians (the majority of the kidnapped

		African slaves were Christians).
from 19th cent.	Missionary activity of returning freed slaves	Samuel Ajayi Crowther, as African bishop, stands at the head of the organized missionary undertakings in Nigeria. In East Africa, Madagascar, and Southern Africa, similar projects are to be found, again under the leadership of Africans who have returned to their continent.
from c. 1880	Intensification of European missionary work	It is especially after the Berlin Congress on Africa, in 1884/85, that the division of the continent followed; under the colonial powers the activities of European missions grow, mission and colonization not infrequently go hand in hand, and Christianizing is often tantamount to (Western) "civilizing."
12. *Fourth Phase of Islamization—in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Contexts (19th–20th cent.)*		
from end of 19th cent.	Expansion of Islam in the colonial context	A widely successful extension of Islam along new colonial trade routes (e.g., in East Africa) is favored, to an extent, by the concept of 'indirect government.' In some degree, non-Islamized areas are associated with Muslim emirates, and Christian missionary activity is possible only within limits, if it is not indeed prohibited. Islam, to an extent, becomes the frame of reference of

		anti-colonial resistance. Examples would be the movement of the *Mourids* in Senegal, under Ahmadu Bamba, or the *Salafiya* movements in North Africa.
from middle of 20th cent.	Islamic reformism and internationalization in post-colonial Africa	Projects of intentional Islamization, to some extent supported by international organizations, aim at a repression of traditionally African elements in African Islam in Africa. (Cf., here, *Islam in Africa*, founded in 1989 in Nigerian Abuja.) Under the influence of reformist, at times radical, groupings, a secular consensus, seemingly universal at the time of the earlier independence, is increasingly called into question. (Compare the introduction of Islamic law in a number of northern federal states of Nigeria since the end of the year 2000).
13. *Fourth Phase of Christianization: Rise of an Independent African Christianity*		
from end of 19th cent.	First separation of independent African churches	In Southern ("Ethiopian Churches") and Western Africa ("African Churches"), churches now split off from the mission or mission churches. This shifts church leadership to African hands. The religious practice inculcated by the 'mother churches,' however, continues largely to be maintained.

from the 1920s	Appearance of 'prophetic' or charismatic-healing churches	The 'Zionist Churches' of Southern Africa, or the *Aladura* ('of Prayer') Churches of West Africa, are the most important examples of a new type of African churches. These are conspicuous not only by their administrative independence and self-reliance, but also by their series of independent common practices vis-à-vis the mission churches: prayer healing, visions, charismatic leaders, 'prophets,' elements of African cosmology (and yet a sturdy criticism of traditional African religions, as well). Most important in terms of numbers is a new popular church, the *Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu*.
from middle of 20th cent.	Appearance of Pentecostalist charismatic churches	Especially, although not only, in West Africa, Neo-Pentecostal communities appear. One is the *Deeper Life Bible Church*, founded in 1973. These are not, however, all of African origin, but are at times sprigs and shoots of North American or European communities. Basic traits commonly manifested are: conversion, spiritual experience of being born again, gifts of the Spirit (speaking in tongues), belief in miracles.

Klaus Hock

Afro-American Religions

Name	Gender	Function/ Sphere of Activity/ Sphere of Responsibility	Color for Worship	Day of the week	Christian Analog
Exú	m	Revelation / Foretelling of good or evil	Reddish brown	Monday	Devil
Ogum	m	Air, energy, activity, war	Sea blue	Tuesday	St. George
Xangó	m	Thunder and lightning	White and red	Wednesday	St. Jerome
Inhansã	f	Wind and storm	Red and brown	Wednesday	St. Barbara
Oxóssi	m	Forest, hunt, vegetation, fertility	Light blue	Thursday	St. Sebastian
Oxumaré	f/m	Water and air, rainbow	Yellow and green	Thursday	St. Barbara
Oxalá	m	Supreme divinity, Lord of Starlight	Pure white	Friday	Jesus
Oxum	f	Fresh water, waterfalls	Golden yellow	Saturday	St. Ann
Iemanjá	f	Goddess of the Sea	Light blue	Saturday	Virgin Mary

1. Afro-American cults alloy a number of cultural and religious traditions. They constitute a sequel to the kidnapping and enslavement of millions of West African tribesmen and women to Brazil and the islands of the Caribbean (→ Afro-Caribbean Religions) from the sixteenth to the end of the nineteenth century. This long and difficult episode brought various worldviews and diverse cultures into mutual contact: the Christianity of the Spanish and Portuguese colonizers, West African tribal religions, and the new religion of the spiritism of Western modernity. The result is a religious syncretism, as found particularly in Brazil. In the Caribbean area, however, we find similar phenomena, as in Cuban Santería and Haitian → Voodoo.

2. Of the manifold forms of traditional African religiosity to be found in Brazil, two have developed with exceptional strength: Candomblé and Umbanda.

Candomblé

a) *Candomblé* is Brazil's most extensively studied religious manifestation of African origin. Candomblé comes originally from the Yoruba people of Nigeria. The word "Candomblé" is probably from the three root words *can* ('rope'), *dom* ('eject'), and *bla* ('tie up'), which belong to the Adsha-Ewe language group (Kingdom of Dahomey), and may offer a symbolic description of cultic praxis, or it may simply mean 'dancing place.' In the Yoruba religion, the world of earth (*aiye*) is apprehended as a reflection of the world of the divinities (*orun*). To achieve a harmonious condition, persons must possess a reciprocal relationship with their personal deity, their *Orixá* (pronounced "oreeshá"). The word *Orixá* comes from the Yoruba language and means 'copy.' Orixás have very human particularities: they smoke cigars, drink-sugar cane liquor, love bright, multicolored clothes, demand their favorite foods, and are recognizable by distinct character traits. Only when a person presents his or her personal Orixá with the appropriate foods, and observes all of its commands and prohibitions, can he or she receive magical powers (*axé*) from it. The Orixás' operation and



The phenomenon of the trance, or possession, is one of the most important features of Afro-American religion. In the course of a *Candomblé* ceremony in a private locale reserved for worship, the Babalorixá (high priest), in a state of trance, incarnates an American Indian spirit of the forest. The green color of his cloak symbolizes the forests. (C. Mattes)

activity is assured only in this basic mutual relation. Their very existence is dependent on human beings' ritual veneration. In worship, each Orixá has a personal drumbeat, personal dance steps, personal songs and color symbolism (see schema).

Together, all of this yields a kind of magical tableau of the complex Yoruba mythology, with its numerous legends. The Orixás manifest themselves through → trance. All Afro-American cults attach an importance to possession by the spirits. For believers, the trance ritual affords the only opportunity to enter into direct contact with the Orixás.

The Afro-American religions also include Christian elements, especially in equating Christian saints and Orixás. In addition, the Christian calendar was taken over from the African slaves.

Umbanda

b) The *Umbanda religion* has its origin among the West African Bantu people, whose relatives were settled as slaves in the Southeast of Brazil. In general, the term *Umbanda* ('High Priest') is derived from its Bantu synonym, *kimban-da*. In Brazil, the Bantu cult is called *macumba*, after the tree under which the Bantu held their religious gatherings. Macumba, then, in the narrower sense, denotes the place of worship itself, often a private home. The religion of Umbanda is a pure cult. Cultic acts and rites enclose and imprint the entire life of its followers. Everything is concentrated on the cultic center, called the *terreiro*. Umbanda has little doctrinal consistency, and each cultic center and each high priest (*Pai-de-santo*, 'Father of the holy thing') is relatively autonomous in a given area. As a result, cultic acts and rituals differ from one cultic center to another.

Umbanda was founded on the occasion of the incipient urbanization and industrialization of Southeastern Brazil at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. In contrast with Candomblé, Umbanda developed as an urban phenomenon, precisely in the two metropolises, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, which registered the greatest population increases. *Umbanda* gained no foothold in the Northeast. With the urbanization of Brazil came the spread of the teachings of European → spiritism, which was enjoying ever greater popularity with the 'white' middle class. The spiritist direction that became especially popular in Brazil is based on the teachings of Allan Kardec (1804–1869). → Reincarnation, and the possibility of communication between the living and the dead, constitute basic elements, and they are of the same importance in spiritism as in Umbanda. As with Candomblé, here too, Christian elements are to be found, and the Christian calendar was adopted. Chief among the first Umbanda activists were small retailers, skilled workers, and civil servants. Today, journalists, engineers, teachers, military personnel, lawyers, and physicians are found among the adherents. The result is a tendency to a 'whitening' and westernization of African traditions by way of spiritistic influences. Thus Umbanda today has become a typically middle and upper class phenomenon.

3. In Europe, the Afro-American religions, in their variety, are a favorite subject for everything from science to literature and cartoons (→ Zombie). Numerous investigators, such as Mircea → Eliade, the historian of religion, and French sociologist Roger Bastide, have addressed the theme. In an entirely different, sensitive, and intuitive manner and fashion, the literary and ethnopoetic works of Hubert Fichte and Leonore Mau have sought a European approach to the Afro-American religions.

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→ *Africa II, Afro-Caribbean Religions, Central America, Possession, South America, Spiritism, Trance, Voodoo, Zombie*

Claudio Mattes

Afro-Caribbean Religions

The Concept

The category 'Afro-Caribbean Religions' may be defined as religious initiatives by people of African descent in the Caribbean region. They are often characterized by the preservation and development of religious beliefs and practices brought from → Africa during the period of the slave trade, particularly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the majority of enslaved Africans were transported. While each region of the Caribbean presented different patterns of governance, social structure, and racial demography, Afro-Caribbean religions can be understood by certain patterns of adaptation and resistance to the forms of European Christianity that the enslaved Africans were enjoined to adopt. In general, where Roman Catholicism was the established religion of the colony, such as in Haiti or Cuba, Africans created religious traditions that were *alternatives to Christianity* in that they developed separate and sometimes corresponding ritual and symbolic structures. Where Protestantism, particularly bibliocentric Methodist and Baptist denominations, was present in colonies such as Jamaica or Trinidad, Africans developed *alternative forms of Christianity* through creative, African-centered interpretations of biblical imagery.

Voodoo

The oldest documented and most famous, if not notorious, of the Afro-Caribbean religions is Haitian Vodou (Vodun, → Voodoo). In 1791 a Martiniquean naturalist named Moreau de St. Méry published an account of a dance among the Haitian slaves from the African city of Arada that combined snake worship, erotic frenzy, and dangerous potential for political rebellion. He called the spectacle 'Vaudoux' (after the Fon word for 'spirit') and the name has remained as a term to cover the diverse African-derived religious traditions of the island. The power of the description might be

attributable to its publication in the midst of the Haitian revolution when the slave-holding world, including the newly born United States, looked on with horror as black Haitians waged a successful war of liberation. 'Voodoo' has become seemingly indelibly associated in the popular mind with irrational and malevolent black mischief, and this characterization continues to serve to denigrate African independence and power.

Beyond these politicized images, Vodou might be described as the folk religions of Haiti, a variety of interlaced rites practiced by the great majority of the population and distinguished by their reputed 'nation' of origin in Western Africa. The Rada rite, alluded to by Moreau de St. Méry above, is the best known and features devotions to a pantheon of *lwa*, invisible personalities or forces whose intercession can bring the devotee success in worldly and spiritual undertakings. Devotees seek to please the *lwa* through offerings of food, music and dance and they construct elaborate altars to localize this veneration. While the devotee is often asked to offer service to several of the *lwa*, it is common that one *lwa* will demand special devotions as the devotee's *mèt tèt* or 'master of the head.' This relationship is sealed in an elaborate initiation where *lwa* and human are joined in an intimate ceremony of union. This is usually sealed by the *lwa* 'mounting' the devotee, as a rider mounts a horse, taking over the personality and using the body of the medium to sing, dance, prophesy, and bless the congregation.

Santería

Vodou's devotional features of call by spirit, initiation that seals an intimate psychological relationship between human and spirit, and the manifestation of the spirit in trance for communal benefit, can be found in most of the African-derived religions of the Caribbean. They are at the core of another 'alternative' Afro-Caribbean religion, Cuban Santería. The name Santería ('way of the saints') comes from correspondences that enslaved Africans made between the *orishas* of the Yoruba people who were carried to Cuba in great numbers, and the *santos* of Roman Catholic piety. As in Vodou, Cuban *santeros* juxtaposed an official Catholic identity with an unofficial and even covert one as devotees of the African spirits. Africans were taken to Cuba well into the nineteenth century and African ethnic identity was subsequently stronger. Afro-Cubans also formed legally chartered mutual aid societies called *cabildos* that were organized on ethnic lines. In Cuba today there are distinct religious systems of different African origin: *Santería* or *Ocha* from the Yoruba/Lucumi; *Palo* or *Mayombe* from the Congo; and *Abakua* from the Efik/Carabali.

The template of spiritual call, initiation, and ceremonial trance also holds in the Protestant Caribbean where Afro-Trinidadians and Afro-Jamaicans might be said to have developed alternative forms of Christianity. In Trinidad the Spiritual Baptists have integrated African forms of divination and worship into their devotion to the Christian Trinity. In Jamaica various Revivalist congregations identify biblical prophecy with a millennial return to an African Zion. Both these groups of Afro-Protestants develop intimate spiritual relationships with biblical prophets, angels, and evangelists who act as guides to discern the signs of the immanent apocalypse.

Rastafari

The affirmation of the Africanity of the biblical worldview gave rise in the 1930s to the well-known Afro-Caribbean tradition of Rastafari. Spurred

by news stories of the crowning of the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie and his heroic resistance to latter-day European imperialism, a group of spiritually minded Jamaicans saw in these events the dramatic fulfillment of biblical prophecy. They discerned an African messiah (Selassie—Ras Tafari) had been anointed to deliver his oppressed people from captivity in a Caribbean Babylon to new life in an Ethiopian Zion. In anticipation of this deliverance followers of Rastafari were to lead pure lives as natural African men and women. As the true children of Zion they followed many biblical prohibitions and let their hair grow naturally. Their long, striking locks were said to strike dread in the hearts of those who would suppress African pride and virtue. In the 1970s a number of Jamaican musicians professed Rastafarianism and popularized its style and philosophy in the worldwide spread of reggae music. Rastafarianism is now a global religious worldview that has been adapted among many cultures and ethnicities.

Global Spread

The global reach of Rastafarianism is one example of the spread and influence of Afro-Caribbean religions beyond the region. Haitian Vodou and Trinidadian and Jamaican Afro-Protestantism have come with the diasporas of their peoples to the cities of North America and Britain. Cuban Santería has been brought to Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Mexico, and every major city of the United States. Santería in particular has spread beyond its original Cuban exile community and has been enthusiastically embraced by black and white Americans and many Europeans. In 1993 a Santería community in Hialeah, Florida won a unanimous decision from the United States Supreme Court overturning a local ordinance that prohibited animal sacrifice. Inspired by this victory, many practitioners are assuming public identities as devotees of the African *orishas*. Many would discard the name Santería, as it connotes a forced relationship with Catholicism from which the religion may now declare its full independence. 'Orisha Religion' may indeed claim to be a world religion in its own right with millions of devotees in Africa, Europe, and the Americas.

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→ *Africa II, Afro-American Religions, Ancestors, North America, Possession, Spiritism, Trance, Voodoo, Zombie*

Joseph M. Murphy

Age

In a modern understanding, the concept of age refers either broadly to one's life span, or in a narrower sense to its last phase. The commencement of the latter can be marked in various fashions, depending on the social context. However, it is often reckoned in terms of discharge from important formal social functions, especially from the labor process (retirement), and the loss of the capacity for sexual reproduction. Age is therefore always 'social age,' as well, and—as with gender—an essential dimension of the structure of society. While an orientation to chronological age is the usual norm for Western industrial societies, a like concept is missing in many non-industrial societies. Here, instead, the pivotal notion is an orientation to age, class, and an individual's generation, as well as to one's place in the family unit. Age, then, is frequently connected with ritual power and social prestige, as reinforced with the more intimate association that may be ascribed the elderly with the powers of the world beyond (→Marginality/Liminality).

Age has emerged as a key consideration in contemporary surveys of European religiosity. Older persons, especially women, are stronger believers, and are more frequent and more faithful church members, than are the young. Here a close connection is evinced between religiosity and one's location in the → life cycle.

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→ *Death and Dying, Initiation, Life Cycle, Prestige*

Monika Wohlrab-Sahr

Agrarian Religion / Agrarian Magic

Agrarian Ritual and the Formation of a Nation

1. In 1865, folklorist Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831–1880), through the use of questionnaires, undertook extensive research in the cultural usages of various agricultural groups. The study of harvest customs in particular, he anticipated, ought to yield information on vestiges of Teutonic paganism—relics that would have survived as testimonials of earlier stages of culture among farming people. He tied this to an investigation of the Romantic myths, thereby seeking to reconstruct traces of the creation of nations—traces of a pre-Christian store of ideas characteristic of the people. Inspired by Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* ("German Mythology"; 1st ed. 1835, 4th ed. 1875–1878), Mannhardt went further, investigating rural customs and rites by way of questionnaires. Here he claimed to have rediscovered the paradigms of usage and rite that had prevailed in an agrarian culture until mid-nineteenth century, relatively untouched by history. These paradigms he contrasted with those of the educated social class. With all of the material



Rice-planting Festival (*Ta-ue-matsuri*) in the field of the *Fushimi-Inari* Shrine in Kyôto, Japan. Celebrated in June in honor of Inari, Goddess of Rice and Nourishment, this festival invokes her blessing on Japanese rice farming. The celebration commences in the Shrine, where a Shintô priest consecrates rice plants. These are then borne in procession on wooden trays to a field belonging to the shrine, where the shoots are solemnly planted. Traditional music, and dancing over the field in honor of Inari make up part of the ceremony. Along with its cultic function, the festival has become a tourist attraction, drawing many visitors. (Benita von Behr)

he had collected, Mannhardt tried to introduce such picturesque figures as vegetation and crop demons, or the rye wolf and the rye dog, into the scientific interpretation of agrarian customs.

Agrarian Cults and Magical Rites

In the wake of Mannhardt's writings, English ancient historian and cultural anthropologist Sir James George Frazer (1854–1941) drew the agrarian cults under the broader concept of → magic rites, and distinguished them from religion. (In fact, this was the beginning of a scholarly differentiation between 'religion' and 'magic.') In the framework of an evolutionary model, Frazer thought he could use the concept of magic to identify an early form of thought still identifiable in European agrarian societies and non-European tribal cultures. Untouched by the progress of civilization, which was speedily traversing the religious stage and arriving at science, magical thinking was a 'bastard child of science,' recognizing that nature had its own laws, but seeking to influence it by incorrect means. Unlike Mannhardt, who had reconstructed the agrarian rites as guarantors of the project of the formation of the (German) nation, Frazer's concept of a persistent magical thinking in the German rural way of life saw civilization threatened with savagery in its own country.

The Farmer as Witness to the Past

A disregard of the processes of societal change was common to both of these antithetical interpretations of 'rural culture' on the threshold of the twentieth century. The changes in agricultural knowledge and methods entering the scene with industrialization, the social class comprising day laborers and farmhands that appeared with the agrarian reform, trade unions beginning to materialize in the cities, now formed a background of contrast with the image of the farmer as witness to the past. A hundred years later, Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann reviewed Mannhardt's material, and came to the conclusion that harvest customs had spread precisely in regions where the new social group of farm workers had already replaced the traditional rural village communities in cultivating the fields. Obviously, harvest rites precisely do not reflect 'ancient Teutonic paganism' (→ Reception).

National Socialist Ideology and the Agrarian Phenomenon

2. The *National Socialist ideology* politicized the folkloric, pre-Christian thematics emerging from the Romantic period. Agrarian society, in terms of which the social order was to be 'naturalized,' returned to *Blut und Boden* ('blood and soil'), to its original authentic roots. The introduction of the National Socialist Calendar of Feasts harmonized with the reinterpretation of the feasts of the church year as rural Teutonic worship celebrations, for which folklore furnished the reading template. Easter and Pentecost were 'restored' as Teutonic festivals of spring and reinterpreted as deformations of the festival of the summer solstice celebrated on June 21. The celebration of the First of May underwent the same Teutonization. The farmers of the countryside assembled on the Bückeberg, in the vicinity of Hameln, for the State Harvest Holiday, to confer the Harvest Crown on the Führer as a symbol of the bestowal of the harvest on the 'community of the people' (→ National Socialism).

Development Model in Terms of Cultural Anthropology

3. Studies in cultural anthropology refer various kinds of religion to various types of economy. They work from a general, ideal-typical, developmental model, in which the transition from hunting to farming culture (Neolithic

revolution, c. 8000–6000 BCE) is described in parallel with a corresponding change in religious ideas and practices. For rural cultures, characterized by sedentary and cyclical cultivation of the land, concepts of the gods as a central element can be composed that are bound up with the fertility of seed, farmland, and persons. However, the notion of rural religion is too imprecise to provide a basis for comparison when it comes to religions of altogether diverse historical coinage.

Research Interests

To be sure, inquiry by the sociology of religion into the connection between religion and economic configuration is justified. It can be fruitful even under the conditions of technological and economic modernization. Thus, we find in contemporary Indonesia the attempt to invoke a traditional fertility ceremony both against and in favor of a market-oriented production: with the rice farmers of the Rejang society (southwestern Sumatra), state officials exploited the ceremony performed before the sowing to promote support for modern harvesting techniques by way of a conventional religious framework. Traditional religious specialists were excluded from the presentation of a training film on the adoption of modern high-yield techniques. The religious specialists—altogether with the approval of Rejang, which preferred to hold to subsistence-oriented production and the corresponding social structures—then carried out a counter-ceremony in the name of rice-goddess Nyang Serai, patroness of traditional rice farming.

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→ *Economy, Evolutionism, Magic, Regeneration/Fertility*

Claudia Naacke

Altar

In order that a gift may be offered in such a way that no others may use it for themselves, but rather be given—as a rule—to a god, a holy place is required. Normally the place is an elevated one, so that it can display the offering to the eyes of all. It may be a rock, for example, or a board or slab, or an arrangement of stones. Altars erected by the Greeks for their animal sacrifices stood outside the temple. They had to stretch far enough to accommodate a hundred beasts at once on the occasion of great feasts at which a hecatomb (the sacrifice of a hundred animals at once) was offered, and they had to be provided with a drainage gutter for the flow of blood. The transmission of the gift to God (→ Sacrifice) can be accomplished through destruction, for example by spilling or burning, or indeed by consumption at a community meal. In the latter case, the altar is erected



A woman strews flower petals on the crimson altar in a temple of Dakshinkali in Nepal. Thus she offers a sign of her reverence for the goddess, who is represented by a picture, and at the same time beautifies the sacred space here, as have others before her and as others will after. She has taken the petals from a bowl on the stone. The red part of the altar is enclosed, and functions as a conduit for offerings. The sacred image over the altar is that of the dark-blue Kali, standing at a cremation site dedicated to the god Shiva. In Tantrism, Shiva and Kali embody the tension between the static and the dynamic, essence and vitality. For the believers, Kali, because of her destructive force, can be a terrible person; but she is mighty and one may well place oneself under her protection. (Christoph Auffarth and Kirsten Holzapfel)



In his house in Lomé, Togo, priest André Kunkel has set up a room for a Voodoo ritual to be performed over the telephone. As persons can use this modern medium to carry on conversations with one another, so here the priest inserts coins into imaginary slots, and then, through the handset, makes inquiries of the guardian spirit, represented by the figure, into possible solutions to his clients' problems. The traces left after preliminary rituals, usually drink offerings, remain at the altar, thus testifying to the importance of the protective spirit, while orderliness and aesthetics withdraw into the background: what is asked is 'mighty deeds.' (Christoph Auffarth)



A simple table as the central point around which the 'people of God' gather for their common celebration, was introduced in the Catholic Church in 1965 through the reform of the Second Vatican Council. Now the community of the laity are no longer observers at the offering of a Mass in a foreign tongue, celebrated at a distance at the high altar by a priest with his back to the people. Instead they are participants in the event. Here we see the consecration of such a table in the Cathedral at Frankfurt. New altar tables are ordinarily placed before the high altar as a second altar. In the ninth century, Christian churches began to observe the consecration of an altar with incense, which here burns at the four corners and in the middle of the table. Catholic altars are places of sacrifice and entombment at once: each altar contains relics of the body of a saint. (Christoph Auffarth)



An altar of sin—an utter contradiction, presented in the Munich Bohemian style of the turn of the century. This "assassination attempt" on "everything Christians held sacred" was commissioned by 'artist prince' Franz von Stuck (1863–1928) for his pomp-and-program villa of 1898, which he had ordered in the Pompeian style. A Russian icon lay against the altar, while the retables presented symbolic figures of vitalism and self-creation: Man = Atlas = force, and woman = maenad = dance. The celebrated (or notorious) 1893 "Allegory of Sin" had, of course, already prepared observers to appreciate this artwork. A provokingly self-aware, goes-without-saying sexuality, radiated by a new Eve in oil, reflects the hedonistic feeling for life in newly arisen big-city Munich and its anti-bourgeois aesthetic culture. Like many of his contemporaries, Stuck reached back to the ancient myths (Titan Atlas) and cults (worship of Dionysus), with this sort of 'pagan' stockpile of images (→ Paganism/Neopaganism), in order to justify life conceptions and styles calculated to leave a Christian 'program of duty' in the dust. Was it any wonder that, in response to such frivolities, Thomas Mann staged a Savonarola who rigoristically draws his *Gladius Dei* ("Sword of God"; 1893) and cries after the stake? (Hubert Mohr)

as a table, and God symbolically 'partakes' of the meal. The Christian high altar, before which the priest must turn his back to the gathering, contains relics of a saint, and is in the form of a grave, and only the priest's select assistants are allowed to approach it. Thus, it serves not as a community table or place of transmission of the gift, but merely as a ceremonial altar. In its artistic form, or in the sweet odor that wafts from a censer, it is perceived by those visiting it as the 'beautiful' central point of a sacred place, and as a sign of the invisible God.

→ *Materiality, Sacrifice, Orientation*

Christoph Auffarth

Amazons

Myth and Fantasy

1. Rarely has an ancient myth fired the fantasy as has that of the Amazons. Those warlike women, men's equals, even play a key part in modern discussions of gender roles, which of course fails to do justice to their significance in the framework of Greek culture. The Amazon people, descended of Ares, god of war, and the nymph Harmonia, constitute in a number of respects a 'nonsociety': one either made up of women alone or at all events dominated by women. They perform activities otherwise reserved to men—hunting, horse breeding, the art of war. In order to be men's physical equals, and lest they be hampered in combat, they burn out their right breasts. They tolerate no men in their society, then, except physically disabled ones. They mutilate their male offspring—when they do not expose or even directly kill them, to prevent a development of their physical strength. In concrete life, the enslaved males, with whom the Amazons develop no very intimate emotional relationship, serve only for purposes of propagation. The other method of conceiving children is through ritual, anonymous copulation with the males of neighboring peoples.

2. a) The head of state in this gynecocracy (rule by women) is the most valiant warrior, who wears a (sexually connotative) belt in token of her queenly rule. Although warlike women accepted in male societies appear repeatedly among other peoples, or in later literature (as does Camilla in Virgil's Aeneid, or Clorinda of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*), the Amazons' governmental organization sets them apart as a special case. This might also be the reason why it is precisely they who have stood at the center of feminists' attention and scholarly research.

Rule by Women—the 'Nonsociety'

As a 'nonsociety,' whose extreme configuration includes no males, the Amazon state is only a part of a society, from the standpoint of real relationships, while posing as a complete one,[1] and is 'contrary to nature.' True, the facts that they neither conclude marital contracts, nor demonstrate legal subordination to a patrilinear kinship, indicate the exercise of a free, untrammeled (masculine) sexuality. Still, their behavior is stamped by unrestricted destruction of themselves and others. This negative image served as a bolster for the prevailing societal system in ancient Greece: the other side of the Amazonian coin was emphasis on the exclusion of women from political activity and the waging of war, and their assign-

ment at the same time to a 'natural' task in the framework of the family—a task inalienable in a civilized state. On the level of myth, the Amazons symbolized an unsettling, inconceivable alternative to prevailing society. After all, not only do they arrogate male rights, but they despise both family ties and the bodily integrity of the human being. This makes them a predestined 'other,' and in antiquity they fell under the competency of the ethnographers. Indeed, by means of its separation in time and space, this 'nonsociety' is imagined as living at a safe distance, so to speak, from one's own society. Even in the earliest texts, it is either projected into an antiquity shrouded in legend and story, or exiled to various locations at the ends of the then known earth—to the mythical city of Themiskyra, on the Thermidon in Asia Minor, to Thrace, to Scythia, to Libya. From this position on the periphery, the Amazons mount pillaging expeditions into the Greek world.

b) In epic poetry, where individual female warriors like Antiope, Penthesilea, or Hippolyta are assigned more specific traits, the Amazons are present from the outset. They are almost always defeated, and slain, by great heroes like Bellerophon, Achilles, Theseus, and especially Hercules, who according to various traditions is responsible for their collective demise. It may be part of the fascination of these androgynous, mighty women that they die 'beautifully,' and that, in the amalgamation of beauty and death, they become the projection of manly, otherwise repressed or inexpressible fantasies. In addition to the function of the Amazons as the justly slain adversaries of a justly equilibrated society, the unquestionable eroticism of the battles with the Amazons contributed to the perpetuation of their myth, which presents a battle of the sexes of a special nature. Achilles, for example, falls in love with Penthesilea as he deals her her deathblow, and with shock and longing, recognizes that she is a woman, who under other circumstances could have been his partner and equal.

Reception

3. Over the course of the centuries, the function of the Amazonian myth undergoes an observable alteration. In antiquity, it served the reinforcement of and law and order and male superiority. In later centuries, it has served woman as an alternative female image, and one that has come to constitute a tradition. Modern attempts at a reconstruction, oriented to social reality, nevertheless often stand in stark contrast with the ancient conceptualization. Johann Jacob Bachofen's influential work, *Das Mutterrecht* ("Maternal Law"; 1861)[2] has been decisive in this development. Behind the myth, Bachofen postulated the historical core of an actual gynecocracy, which, to be sure, he regarded as a primitive and appropriately transcended preliminary step in the direction of authentic societies. It is not only against this background that it must be regarded as a fatal error on the part of early feminists when, contrary to Bachofen's intent, they enlisted the Amazons as a prehistoric matriarchate, and thus as an endorsement of their own claims. Modern Amazon mythologies, too, are especially striking examples of the productivity and magnetic power of myth, which acquires a new meaning in another society and in another time, and can serve societal processes as a catalyst. Nevertheless, it would seem that the warlike, devastating Amazons can scarcely serve as a representation with which one would seek to identify in traversing the path to equal rights for women. In his tragedy *Penthesilea* (1808), in which he

reverses the tradition of antiquity, Heinrich von Kleist makes the Amazon the unintentional murderer of the Achilles she loves. After the revelation of the deed, Penthesilea slays herself. True, requited love is in the foreground here, but the artist develops the impracticability of 'Amazonia,' as well, which he presents as an attitude to be overcome in a genuinely emancipated society.

1. Dowden 1997.
2. Bachofen, Johann Jakob, "Das Mutterrecht," in: Idem, *Gesammelte Werke*, vols. 2-3, Basle 1948.

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→ *Antiquity, Eroticism, Gender Stereotypes, Sexuality, War/Armed Forces*

Christine Walde

Amulet

By way of the French or the Italian, the words 'amulet' (Arab., *hammālāt*, 'necklace') and 'talisman' (arab., *tilsamān*, 'magical images') were adopted in European languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The character of the amulet tends rather to be protective and resistant (apotropaic), while that of the talisman is more positive and fortifying. The quality of an amulet, to be sure, depends on the 'material' (precious stones, noble metals, rare minerals, or striking appearance), but such quality is always overlaid with symbolic content through its inscribed or pictorial representations, as through its ritual engagement and dedication. The amulet is acquired as a good luck charm, or as a 'magical stone' with healing powers. It is frequently engraved with script: excerpts from the Babylonian poetry of Erra, god of the epidemic, were used as a protective amulet; a biblical text, affixed as a *Mesusa* to the door of a Jewish home, likewise serves as a protective amulet. Concealment or secrecy prevents the cancellation of the amulet's protective quality by an 'antidote,' and at the same time shrouds it in mystery. Amulets are de facto used worldwide, and in all religions. When officially discountenanced, their utilization migrates to the realm of personal piety. On the other hand, when they are encouraged or tolerated, they are frequently endowed with a theological reinterpretation. For example, the symbol of a hand as a protection against the evil eye has the function of an amulet in Near Eastern and North African popular Islam, where it is conceived as the "hand of Fatima"; in theology, however, it is reinterpreted as a symbol of the Five Pillars of Islam.

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→ *Evil Eye, Magic*

Manfred Hutter

Anarchism

Rule without State

1. Walter Benjamin's celebrated statement—that there has been no radical concept of freedom in Europe since Bakunin (1814–1876)—goes to the heart of anarchistic theory and praxis: anarchism is a freedom movement. Its goal is social order without the rule of human beings by human beings. Like the other revolutionary currents of the nineteenth and twentieth century, anarchism, too, seized on the emancipation of the middle class and the thinking of the → Enlightenment, and proposed to go beyond them radically. Of course, while the Social Democratic and Communist Party component of the labor movement inscribed its banner with conquest of political power, the anarchists struggled with the state as the most powerful amassment of organized force. It was to be replaced by free association: a network of voluntary, always terminable, agreements, among sovereign individuals and groups. The goal of (Gk.) 'an-archism'—the absence of rule—corresponded to an *anthropological optimism*: only let the organs of oppression and ideologies of authority be dismantled, anarchists were convinced, and human beings would regulate their relationships in spontaneous solidarity. Not only the state, but every form of organized compulsion came under anarchist fire, especially religious dogmas and the system of capitalistic wage-earning. A closed canon of anarchist doctrines is of course nonexistent—it would be a self-contradiction—rather, anarchism comes forward as a heterogeneous, direction-switching movement, between individualism and collectivism, nonviolent and militant, destructive and constructive, unified only by its single goal of the complete dismantling of the state. The rejection of ecclesiastical and civil authority alike ultimately bespeaks an ideal of equality and siblingship, to be realized in a communistic community of goods. Thus, anarchists are at home in bohemian enclaves as in radical union organizations, settlements and communes, just as they are in secret societies that bind themselves by oath. It was not in appeals and petitions, nor in parliamentary participation, that the anarchists placed their hopes for society's deliverance, but in direct action and egalitarian organizing. It was a resounding voluntarism of praxis that begat the moral pathos of anarchistic writings: when all is said and done, everything is to depend on the decision of the individual to join forces in revolutionary association with those of the same mind, and to organize the disintegration of power.

Critique of Religion and Christian Anarchism

2. a) The anarchist *critique of religion*, formulated most sharply in Mikhail Bakunin's *God and the State* (1871), attacked religious convictions as a 'renunciation of human reason,' and the 'most decisive rejection of human freedom'—and thereupon concluded, "If God did exist, He would have to be eliminated."

b) Leo N. Tolstoy's (1828–1910) social ethics is frequently denoted a 'Christian anarchism.' Tolstoy began with an understanding of Christianity strictly oriented to the Sermon on the Mount, to conclude on a wholesale condemnation of any application of force, and therefore called for disobedience to civil laws, especially to military conscription. Hope for a revolutionary overthrow of the state power structure, of course, was self-deception in the eyes of the social philosopher, as violent rebellion could only reproduce evil, and further spin the spiral of violence. Deliverance from the cycle could be attained only through inner change, and rejection of all un-Christian demands of the state, especially of that of military service. Tolstoy's postulate of universal freedom from physical constraint, however, stood in sharp opposition not only to doctrines of the state, but to the social teachings of the Christian churches, as well.

c) Notwithstanding the thrust of its thoroughgoing anticlerical and preponderantly atheistic route, the anarchist movement exhibits parallels to Ernst Troelsch's 'sect type' category in his sociology of religion. After all, like the religious sects, anarchist 'free association' is likewise a 'community of volunteers in conscious connection,' and thereby the contrary image of an 'institutional' organization type. In anarchism's implicit anthropology, we witness the return, in secular form, of the doctrine of the 'primordial condition' of an 'unspoiled nature,' a nature without violence, compulsion, law, war, power, or private property (→ Garden/Paradise; Utopia).[1]

Historical Development

3. The first to denominate himself an 'anarchist' was Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865). In his writings he advocated a type of federative community organization (mutualism) that would be erected on just and fair laws of exchange. Ecclesiastical and civil authority alike would necessarily collapse, in his conviction, if income corresponded to time expended, and income without work were excluded. Under the influence of Mikhail Bakunin, anarchism developed into a movement of social revolution. Beginning in the 1860s, in sharp differentiation from the 'authoritarian state capitalism' of Marx and Engels, Bakunin propagated the concept of collectivist anarchism. Means of production, capital, and land ought to be transferred to the ownership of workers' associations, organized as federations, and the right to inheritance should be abolished. Bakunin rejected any political activity on the part of the proletariat, especially participation in elections, and called for the seizure of the means of production, and the destruction of political power, in a social revolution. Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921) countered Proudhon's call to a full work output with the principle, "To each according to his needs, from each according to his capacity." Kropotkin's writings amalgamated scientists' conviction of the reality of progress with a backward-looking idealization of the medieval guilds or Russian village communities. To him, these constituted a model of the coming free society.

After 1880, the anarchist movement was gradually sidetracked, owing not least of all to a series of successful and attempted assassinations, and the accompanying state harassment. Only its alliance with the unionizing

component of the labor movement brought a new heyday. The anarchists attained their greatest historical influence in Spain, where, after the 1936 revolution, they undertook short-lived attempts to create free-communist social organizations. Anarchistic ideas were revived, at times with an explicit appeal to historical roots, in the anti-authoritarian student movement of 1968, as in the alternative movements of the 1970s and 1980s.

1. Troeltsch 1912, 372, 379.

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→ *Conflict, Criticism of Religion, Group, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Utopia*

Ulrich Bröckling

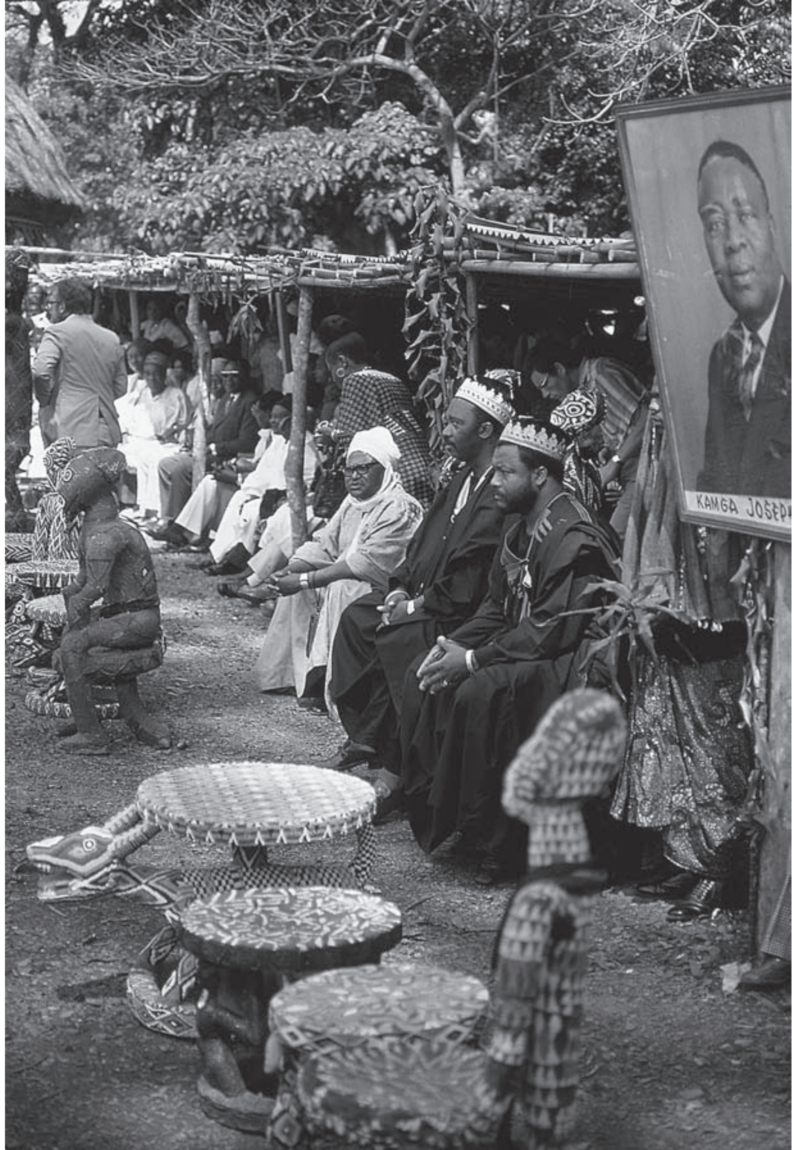
Ancestors

Ancestors as Culture-Specific Figures

1. Ancestors are figures of immortality, specific to a given culture, who stand in a strong, identity-bestowing relationship to an individual and/or group. They may be 'mighty,' deceased, direct relatives, now reverenced and remembered by a family in ancestor worship. But they may also be personalities of high status (such as rulers) who are important to the community and whose veneration is characterized by periodically recurring rituals. A conceptualization of ancestors who, fortified with their experiences, assume protective, normative functions vis-à-vis the life journeys of the individual and the community, is a broad, multi-layered phenomenon finding its forms of expression, specific to a given culture, in Africa, Eastern Asia, southern Asia, and Oceania (for example, in → initiation). The recollection of ancestors in worship festivities can be expressed by way of material objects, as → masks or steles.

Concepts of the Person in Tribal Societies

2. The figure of the ancestor indicates not only a community's notions of the 'beyond,' but also the concepts of the person, and the forms of society, associated with these other notions.[1] In *tribal societies*, ancestors are indeed beings of a world beyond, but they are also part of the present world, and the living charge them with concern for their well-being. In order to ensure their beneficence, descendants must adhere to their



Bandjun, Cameroon: Festival of the Dead for deceased King Kamga Joseph (closing ceremony). Nine weeks after the funeral, the notabilities assemble once more. Chairs in the foreground represent the presence of the ancestors. The latter, it goes without saying, belong to the community. The figure (left) at the middle of the row represents the founder of the dynasty. Behind it sit the regent and the new king, along with the chief of the neighboring tribe. While the chiefs present themselves in traditional raiment for this occasion, the photographic portrait shows the deceased king in Western dress. (Benita von Behr)

instructions and laws most exactly, as they learn them in, for example, myths and ritual songs. In exchange for prayers, meals, and other gifts, the living receive the ancestors' protection and blessing. In rites of initiation, in which young members of the tribe are familiarized with the rules and obligations of adulthood in this society, the new initiates are vouchsafed by their elders an introduction to the skills and wisdom of the ancestors. This ritualized recall of the wisdom and knowledge of the ancestors is bound up with a differentiation of social status among the living. It renews, for one thing, the social order of the community (through a hierarchy of status) in periodically recurring rituals. For another, it renews the moral integration—the reciprocal association—of the individual in this com-

munity. Recalling the memory of the dead instills individuals with the relationship that confers their identity upon them; it also transmits to the group the binding norms, values, and expertise in their trades that have been found to be existentially necessary for the survival of this particular community.

European Reverence for the Dead as the Cultivation of Reminiscence

3. Ancestors are figures of a collective → memory. It is as such that they function as intermediaries and vehicles of a system of values. The system of values in question is the one attaching to the culturally specific tradition of a given time and space. The veneration of ancestors in tribal societies is not the same as the memorial culture (→ Monument/Memorial Places) of the modern European political reverence for the dead. In the latter case, the secularized figure of the ancestor emerges in two ways. For one, it is presented by way of public reverence for important political personalities (in the Pantheon in Paris, for instance, or at the Mausoleum of Lenin in Moscow). For another, it is presented in the form of military monuments, erected to ensure that the collective memory is engraved with the death of each individual for the political community (the 'republic,' the 'people,' the 'nation,' the 'fatherland').[2] Thus, the mythologizing of individual personalities contributes to the rise of new national communities. How faith communities or families reconstruct themselves through the veneration of spiritual or family ancestors is evident from Christian feasts like All Saints and All Souls. One aspect here is that believers recall and venerate the saints as their 'advocates.' Another is that family members remember their departed in cemetery visits and in their tending of graves on those occasions. Christian Penance and Prayer Day is intended to purify the guilt of a community, a people, or the Church, through common fasting and penance; and the collective confession of sins accomplishes an individual reformation within the community.

4. In the various models of the ancestor, a given community's concepts of past, future, and transcendence become clear: through 'ritualized remembering,' the continuity of the collective takes precedence over the individual's experience of transience. The members of a society interiorize its underlying system of values in the form of a collective remembering. This process can also be called → tradition. Through an individual's referral to his or her ancestors by recollection, there arises a relationship to the past that confers a meaning and an identity on this individual. In these terms, the conceptualization of a life after death has consequences on emotional, intellectual, and social organizational models in the world of the living. The abstract idea of ancestors is carved into the individual memory as a trace of the collective memory, and thus creates a psychic and value-oriented social continuity. It remains an open question which developments in this area will draw the attention and aim of modern industrial societies, where a strong tendency to individualization is observed, and yet where the need abides for the construction of new collective identities (for example, in new religious groupings).

1. Carrithers et al. 1985.
2. Koselleck et al. 1994, 14.

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→ *Mask, Memory, Monument/Memorial Places, Spirits/Ghosts/Revenants, Spiritism, Tradition, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Lidia Guzy

Ancient East

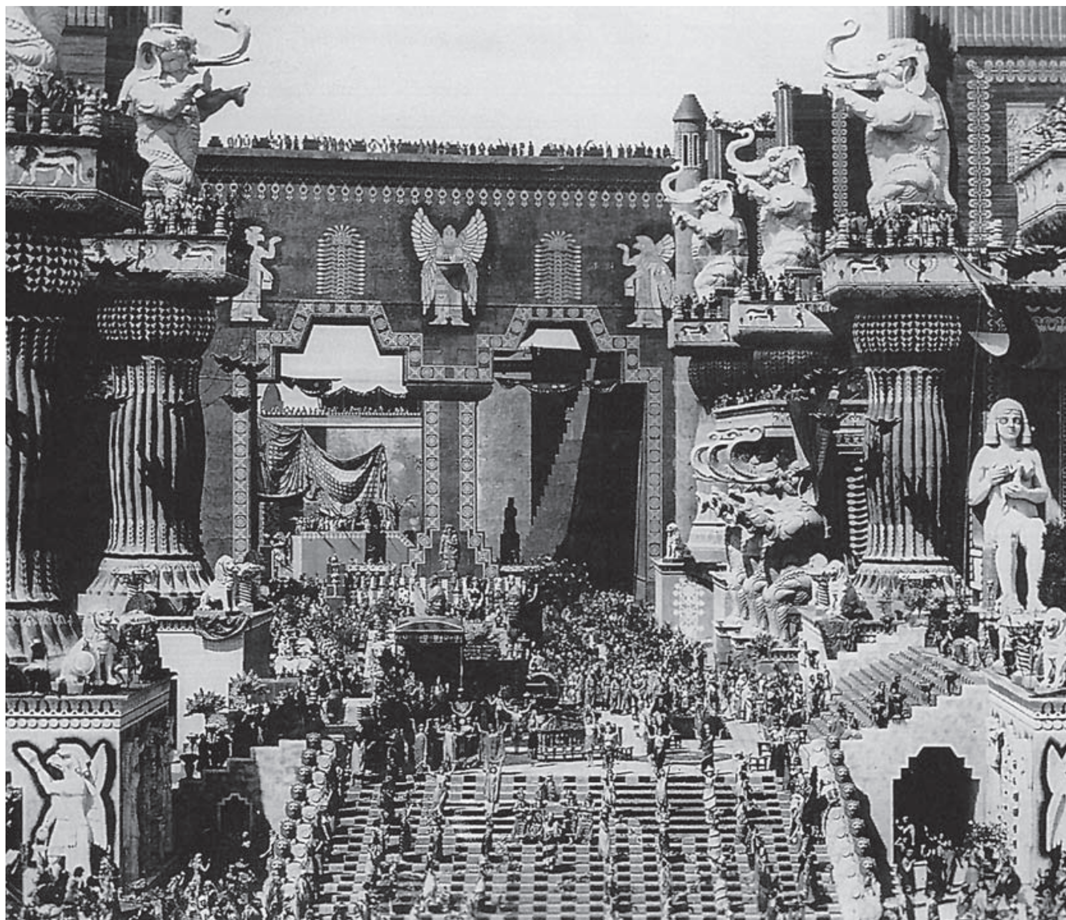
1. a) In extensive parts of the East, in the 'Fertile Crescent,' just enough rain falls for farming. By contrast, the culture of the Mesopotamian lowlands relies on a *supraregional irrigation system*. This achievement of civilization is fundamental to the Mesopotamian worldview. Still, it places laborers and planners in a class society that must be controlled by a (city) kingdom. Creation narratives, then, are not by and large accounts of first beginnings; instead, they establish the prevailing order and permanent relations of power, which guarantee the building of cities and places of worship and thereby the worship of the gods.

The Ruler and His God

b) The religious concept we first encounter in the Sumerian city-states is orientated to a society of a multiplicity of gods (*Pantheon*), who, like human beings, stand in a genealogical or societal relationship with one another in the form of a courtly state. Their liturgical images were served and honored in the temple daily, with sacrifices and new attire according to the particular time of day. Standards, emblems, and steles (pillars, found principally in the region of Anatolia and Syria) represented the image to be worshiped, whether according to need or by legal decree. Festivals popularized theological systems of interpretation, through for instance the processional order in which the gods were presented. Here too, the population could enter into contact with the image to be worshiped, which otherwise remained hidden and unapproachable in the temple. Regardless of its rank, any divinity could be chosen as one's personal deity, to enter before the other gods as mediator and advocate, as well as functioning as protector from all deadly powers. Unlike the gods, the → *demons* had a mixed image, and threatened human beings with illness, death, and misfortune. Positioned before the entries to buildings, however, or engaged through the use of an → amulet hung about the neck, they might also be constrained to lend their power to ward off misfortune.

The Formation of Empires

2. a) The independence of the Sumerian city-states, resulting from the conditions of water distribution, determined the introduction of a *city god*, whose principal functions consisted in guaranteeing fertility and offering protection to the city. Political dependencies were presented in family relationships, reflected ritually in the visitation of gods of lower rank to the temples of higher, city gods. The case was the same later in Babylon, when



David W. Griffith's monumental film *Intolerance* (1916) is Hollywood's first bible film. Two parallel plots refer to material from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament—the decline of the Babylonian Empire with the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus (539 BCE) and four episodes from the life of Jesus. Griffith's film stands at the beginning of epic treatments of biblical themes in the new medium of → film. It is based on new academic images of the Ancient East that resulted from detailed research in the disciplines of archeology and biblical literature in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the same time, the film reveals fantastic images of the 'Orient' (→ Orientalism/Exotism), formed by colonial experiences of France and England with the contemporary Islamic cultures: Belshazzar's banquet (Dan 5) is a prototype of the 'orgy,' the symbol of 'oriental' voluptuousness, vice, eroticism, prodigality, enormity—a bizarre dream of *decadence*. (Hubert Mohr)

the relation between the cities of Babylon and Borsippa was presented as Marduk's relationship to his son, Nabû.

As Semites came in, in early Sumerian times, they equated their own gods and goddesses to those of the Sumerians, so that the number of divinities remained substantially unchanged. On the other hand, the equivalence of a particular god with other gods, or with aspects of a god, was an expression of theological speculation or personal piety. Each of the two phenomena, however, is to be appraised not as a tendency to → monotheism, but rather in context (in a hymn, for example) as an emphasis on and laud of a particular deity.

'Divine Kings'

b) With the development of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires in the course of the second millennium BCE, Babylon and Assyria not only attained the status of political capitals but became religious centers as well, in which cultic specialists, singers, exorcists, astrologers, and soothsayers generated and wielded their knowledge in the temple and palace libraries, for the protection of their identity and rule.

A *god-kingdom* (thus J. G. Frazer) did not exist in Mesopotamia. Naram-sin alone had himself venerated during his lifetime, since Akkad, his newly founded city of residence, needed a city god, and he raised himself to that status. To be sure, the Sumerian age attests the worship of statues of still-living rulers, as well as the deification of deceased rulers in ancestor worship.

New Years Festivals and Rituals of the King

As Babylon became the political axis of worship, and Marduk the supreme god of the Babylonian pantheon, a change was needed in Babylonian theology, and in a corresponding worldview. The theology of Nippur, city of the worship of the once supreme Assyrian god Enlil—namely, the notion of that city as the cosmic center—was now transferred to Babylon. On the occasion of the Babylonian celebration of the New Year, the visitations of the gods to the once important cities of worship were, for all cultic and political purposes, connected to the capital city Babylon. The recitation of the king's statement of account ('negative confession of sins') before Marduk, and his participation in the *New Year's Procession*, functioned as the annual renewal of the sacralization of the royal authority, an element later adopted in the repertoire of invading Assyrian, Greek, and Persian rulers as well.

As early as the Mari era (first half of the second millennium BCE), communication with the gods in the form of divining practices such as oracles, dream oracles, the auguries in the entrails of birds, and later, → astrology, was not only of service to the legitimization of the ruling authority. It was also installed as a general means of coming to political determinations, and of authorization for various acts. By contrast with the prophecies of Israel, oracle praxis in Mesopotamia was pro-royalty. The rare critical exceptions were accounted 'false prophecy.'

When a religious statue fell into enemy hands, it was ascribed to the wrath of, and to abandonment by, the god in question, provoked by transgressions on the official level, or by ethical misconduct in the private sphere. Evil omens and royal illnesses were to be countered with cathartic rituals.

'Export' of Religion

3. Trade with, and military/political expansion into, Syria and Anatolia favored export of the Mesopotamian cultural store. Mythic and ritual texts, series of divinatory exercises, knowledge of tricks and deceptions, together with cuneiform writing, were adopted, without, however, the suppression of the strong local elements betraying Hurritic, Hethitic, and Aramaic contributions. The policy of deportation, practiced especially by the Assyrians, led to the expansion of Mesopotamian cults into other cultures as well. Thus, with the deportation of Chaldaean Aramaic tribes from Southern Mesopotamia, the cult of the Nanaja , beginning in Uruk, reached Bethel in → Palestine, and, from there, Elephantine in Egypt. In contrast with the Yahwist religion of ancient Israel, the polytheistic system of Mesopotamia was sufficiently tolerant to integrate the cult of the enemy gods into its own worship after a conquest.

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→ *Antiquity, Astrology, Divination, Egypt, Image/Iconoclasm, Mediterranean Region, Monarchy/Royalty, Palestine/Israel*

Beate Pongratz-Leisten

Angel

Rush of Angels Today

1. Despite the extensive loss of importance and meaning that marks the overall situation of Christian piety in post-war Europe, angels have anything but fallen out of fashion. In secular and neo-religious contexts, representations of angels have been the subject of an extraordinary renaissance. Independently of church traditions, and to some extent in direct competition with them, a significant 'reception' has occurred of the notion of the angel as a benign, efficacious manifestation of transcendence. True, angels in this sense, especially in esoteric circles, are understood less as the 'emissary' of a far-away God. Rather, they are seen as independent spirits, who, as invisible forces of succor, or as nature spirits, or beings resembling human persons (except for their supernatural quality), protect and guide individuals or groups.

Angels in Films

By contrast with traditional and neo-religious concepts of angels, in which the supernatural existence of these beings represents an unquestionable fact, the quantitatively overwhelming extra-religious popularity of angels has led to a different manifestation of angels: terrestrial and tangible, they are now 'visible' to earthly eyes. Their presentation becomes low-key—as hand-carved or painted 'cherubs,' as poured chocolate figures, as the graphic and literary content of a publishing boom that can no longer be ignored, or as the main or accessory character in any of a multiplicity of films and television series. Angelic figures of this sort reflect private piety in only a relatively small number of cases. They are more often utilized aesthetically (in interior or exterior home design), positioned as sales-oriented eye-catchers in → advertising (especially before Christmas), or above all, reinterpreted in literature and film as codes for human nature—symbolic figures of the human being's quest for meaning and orientation in the world. Conceptually combined with this last notion is a decided upward revaluation of the human condition, replacing the contrasting incontestable, sublime transcendence of the heavenly messenger in the religious tradition. The new, secular angels are drawn into the focus of this world, and are caught up in its contradictions—in the ups and downs of the sensible world.

Pre-Christian Angelic Figures

2. Already in the most ancient textual strata of the Hebrew Bible, an important role falls to certain divine emissaries of revelation—entities in YHWH's heavenly court. Following the terminology of the Septuagint, Christian theologians designated these figures 'angels.' Post-Exilic Judaic



A good example of a new interpretation of angels is Wim Wenders's eminent film, "Der Himmel über Berlin" (1987). It is based on Peter Handke's story of the voluntary transformation of an angel into a human being: invisible until now to human eyes, an angel forsakes his celestial world for the love of a trapeze artist, a 'mere' mortal. Thus, he abandons his heavenly role as a compassionate, but often helpless, bystander for an 'earthbound,' human life. Now he discovers joys and enchantments from which he has ever been excluded: human sensory perception (colors, scents, and so on), feelings, and emotions. (Hubert Mohr)

theology smelted these presentations together, stylizing angels as key figures in a new, rather apocalyptic, anthropology and cosmology. The tradition of the Hellenistic period classifies the angels hierarchically, and gathers them in various groups. Angels comprise an independent coterie of heavenly (but not divine) beings, who deliver and expound divine messages, function as human beings' escorts and protectors, serve as companions of the dead and guides of souls, or act as 'popular angels' in charge of the history of humanity.

Early Christian literature and painting took up these conceptualizations of angels and combined them with the winged-deity motif of Greek-Hellenistic iconography (Hermes, Nike, Tyche). Apart from certain developments in the history of the motif, belief in angels has remained stable in all Christian confessions until our day, if in the most widely varying degrees of intensity. Here, angels have been understood as supernatural beings charged with a key role as intermediary between a transcendent, distant God and human creatures, benignly intervening in the lives of individuals as 'guardian angels.'

3. In terms of the *history of religions*, the language-game 'angel' is the particularly powerful expression of any of a number of concepts deriving from the sphere of Christian theology. As such, it functions as a medium of discourse upon that theology. Islamic angelology, for example, rests on material borrowed from Jewish and Christian traditions, sometimes to the extent of adopting angels' individual names (*Mikha'il* = Michael, *Djibril* = Gabriel). Somewhat as does the Hebrew Bible, the Qur'an presents angels as the courtiers of the one God, Allah, and as his couriers and conveyers of revelation. True, an essential conceptual modification occurs in the Qur'an in the diametrical opposition of the two classes of 'angels who stand by God' and the 'keepers of the fire' (Suras 4:172, 74:31).

We observe a crass depreciation of Jewish and Christian concepts in *gnostic texts of late antiquity* (→ Gnosticism). Here, angels appear as assis-

tants to a hybrid demiurge, in whose service they have the task of binding to matter the rays of light that compose human beings' actual self, thereby keeping these latter from the pursuit of their authentic destiny of becoming one with the divine in a transcendent world of light. In this devaluation of the demiurge and his angelic associates, he and they are appropriately assigned negative traits, like those attributed to the 'fallen angels,' the demons, in Judaism and Christianity.

In the investigations conducted in comparative religions, a discipline that straddles defined cultural radii, neither category, that of 'angel' or that of its contrary, → 'demon,' is particularly helpful. The principal reason for this is that, while the intermediate beings of polytheistic cultures cannot be interpreted as hierarchically ranked emissaries of a transcendent monotheistic God, neither do they fit the thought pattern of a strictly dualistic ethic. Hermes, for example, the Greek courier of the gods, ranks among the Olympians, the highest deities, while the sensual message of the love-god and *daímon* (!) Eros is worlds apart from the communication of the Angel Gabriel to Mary. Just so, neither can the seductive arts of the 'Apsaras,' messengers of the Hindu gods, whose machinations are designed to sustain the cosmic order, be evaluated by the norm of a dualistic ethic; and even the Tibetan Dakini, often coming in terrifying, 'demonic' apparitions, can eventuate as symbols and reflections of the human being's inner powers of meditation and enlightenment, and (feminine) dispensers of initiation. What all of these figures have in common is not their character as angels, but merely their general function as ligaments between an earthly world and a reality pointing beyond it. Angels, then, insofar as they fulfill the function of messengers and intermediaries, form a kind of subspecies of a descriptive category that would be called something like 'religious border-crossers'—a category calling for more precision in terms of the history of culture, and, indeed, standing in need of a more appropriate description.

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→ *Channeling, Communication, Demon/Demonology, Dualism*

Gregor Ahn

Animal I: Hunting Societies

1. In the way of life maintained in hunting societies, which owe their economic support to the activities of the women who gather wild fruit, roots, and so on, as well as to the male hunt for wild beasts, animals occupy a

most important position. Here, hunting is not just a way of securing the wherewithal for nutrition; it is bound up with religious concepts, as well. Despite the unquestionable multiplicity and variety of the religious notions characterizing the hunting cultures, certain general, basic attitudes can be attributed to them.

Notions of Human Being and Animal

2. As a western observer, one might be struck by the relatively unimportant distinction between the human being and the animal: animals behave as human beings, have souls as human beings do, and frequently owe their origin to a transformation undergone by the people's → ancestors; human beings can be transformed into animals. The idea of a mystical identity of forest, animal, and human being is characteristic here. With the Aché Indians of Paraguay, for example, the soul of an ancestor passes through forest animals and plants into the body of a newborn child. *Bestowal of a name* is connected with the hunting and killing of an animal: The meat last eaten by the mother in her pregnancy forms the body (the meat) of the child. It is especially in hunting cultures that we find concepts of an identical life in human beings and in animals. Part of every human being's soul is in a particular wild beast: If a person's 'double' or 'sacred self' (*alter ego*) is killed, then that person will die as well. The hunter therefore avoids this species of animal, lest he put at risk either his own life or that of his fellow. The idea of an alter ego can yield to that of an *exchange of lives*, as in the case of the Bolivian Sirionó, among whom, on the occasion of the birth of a child, a hunter attempts to bring down an especially powerful animal (tapir, jaguar, peccary), thereby releasing that part of the animal's

The Maya of Yucatan, Mexico, hold a hunting ceremony, at which they entreat of Sip, Lord of the Animals, permission to hunt the beings in his charge: the animals felled will be a welcome supplement to the everyday diet. For ceremonies, red deer and wild boar are sought. After every thirteen animals taken, the hunters offer thanks, and a sacrifice is made to the Lord of the Animals for the generous gift of these animals. Now the hunters ask the gift of another thirteen, as well as the



soul that is bound up with its name. Now this component helps the child to reach its social position.

3. All animals (or else only certain species) have a spiritual owner, the *Master of the Animals*. The Desana of the Colombian Amazon region, a planting culture among whom hunting is much esteemed as a male concern, imagine the Master of the Animals as a red-skinned, phallus-like dwarf, or else in the form of a lizard. The Lord of the Animals lives in sacred caves in rocks, or else, as lord of aquatic animals, at the bottom of deep, dark ponds. In → caves, the Indians' Birthgivers of Nature—the prototypes of the various animal species—hang on the walls, to be multiplied through the sexual activity of the Master of the Animals (Reichel-Dalmatoff 1971). In mythology, animals may arise from body parts of the Master of the Animals. The Eskimos believe that the water animals have sprung from the severed fingers of Sedna, Mother of the Animals (Duerr 1984). Common to all of the different elaborations of the Master/Mistress of the Animals (Sedna, forest deity of the African Bambuti Pygmies, ancient Greek Artemis, and ancient Roman Diana) is the notion that they protect their animals from human beings. The latter dare bring down only those that have been given to them in an understanding with the Mistress/Master of the Animals. He or she punishes excessive hunting with disease or by a hunting mishap to come.

4. Hunting is *ritualized.* The hunter must observe practices of purification (dietary prescriptions) and purity (sexual abstinence, the shunning of menstruating women, and so on): Hunting comprises a powerful erotic element, and animals, or lords of animals, could grow jealous, and cause a long string of bad luck in the hunt.[1] Hunters of the Sirionó sink into a deep meditative mood on the morning of the hunt, and entice the beasts with singing. The Aché must keep the 'rules of politeness' in dealing with the beast they intend to fell, 'greet' it, and convince it in conversation that, in the intent of a higher order of things, it is better that it die. Hunting means more than simply the killing of animals, which, after all, have more value than their sheer worth as meat.[2] The meaning of this 'comedy of innocence' (K. Meuli) lies in the attempt to forestall an offense to others of its kind: After all, a testimonial of respect is being offered to the animal to be killed. The hope is that this will bring these others, as well, to a willingness to be killed. Besides, the fear reigns in hunting cultures that vengeance may be wrought by the animal to be killed, or by its protector, the Lord of the Animals. The notion of a 'power of revenge' ensures the special handling of certain power-charged animal parts (blood, innards), which one will prefer to leave unscathed, if not indeed to integrate them into oneself.[3] And even the Master of the Animals must frequently receive his pay: a Desana shaman enters into communication with him through the ingestion of drugs, and promises the souls of human dead in exchange for animals to be hunted and killed. This exchange is supposed to even out the cosmological and ecological imbalance of energy occasioned by the killing.

boon of their own safety. The hunters' firearms and dogs receive a blessing. The 'evil winds' that have been gathering while the men hunted, threaten harm, and are scattered. Using a hyssop of *Sipilche* leaves, the Mayan priest sprinkles ceremonial wine on the guns lying in a row before him, from a bowl fashioned of calabash leaves, and pronounces the prescribed prayers. (M. Gabriel)

Distribution of the Meat

Along with the killing, the *distribution of the meat* is ritually regulated. With the Aché, the one who delivers the lethal blow must not eat of the animal felled: fear of the beast's power of vengeance, or of unluckiness in hunting, plays a role here. This dietary prohibition has the social function of keeping the group together instead of running free, since the individual must hunt for the others, and receives his own sustenance from them.[4]

Pressure is eased on the process of allocation of the meat by the ecological abundance or scarcity of the prey, according to codified rules of distribution dictated by social or family requirements. Thus the social cosmos receives its acknowledgment. Not least of all, hunting rites of this kind point to the praxis, doubtless first deriving from them, of animal → sacrifice. *Burial* of the skull or bones—the 'bone soul' (bear ceremony among the Tungus)—ensures reconciliation with the beast, compensation for the kill, and the → regeneration, the rebirth, of the animals which have died.

5. Since the demise of the hunting cultures, for which no niche remains in modernized lands, basic traits of the hunter's way of thinking are still to be found in the cultures of fruit and vegetable planters, grain farmers, and shepherds: The hybrid sedentary people of the Brazilian Amazon region (Cablocos), for example, still sacrifice to Compira, of Tupi Indian mythology, who is the guardian spirit of wild animals and rain forest, as well as to Water Mother Tabak, for her bestowal of hunting prey or fishes.

Hunters as 'Ecological Saints'?

6. Today's ecological movement (→ Environmentalism) frequently cites the hunter's attitude as a model for an alternative set of behaviors with animals. The romanticized reception of the 'universe of the shaman'—a world actually reticulated with documented religious sociological and ecological contexts—leads ecological programs of Western modernity to neglect the fact that the primary interest of the hunting cultures is to maintain the specific foundations of their life. Thus, an interpretation of hunters as 'ecological saints' would doubtless constitute an inappropriate, spiritualizing representation.[5]

1. See Smith 1996, 101 ff. for the Brazilian Caboclos' *panema*.
2. Clastres 1984, 104.
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→ *Animal II, Animism, North America (Traditional Religions), Sacrifice, Shamanism, South America, Vegetarianism*

Josef Drexler

Animal II: World Religions

Relation of the Animal to the Human Being

1. The relation of the human being to the animal is ambivalent. Animals are both superior to human beings, and inferior; they are endowed with human capacities, yet remain foreign to human nature. Like human beings, and yet unlike them, animals receive a place in belief and ritual, and are part of a world of religious conceptions. Since the development of an asymmetrical relation between animals and persons in the course of history, the commonalities and distinctions have been described anew time and again and frequently defined by allusions to religious categories. Whether the accent is on biological similarity, or biological and cultural dissimilarity, the indirect theme of the interchange is always the prevailing self-definition of the human being.

Use and Commodification

Some 10,000 years ago, the 'Neolithic revolution' produced the transition to the farming economy. With the success of domestication, a part of the animal world came to be regarded as a human possession. Complementing their cultivation of plants, people raised domesticated animals, which gradually became different from the untamed forms. Profitable animals became economic goods. In view of their significance for human beings, animals are classified by the latter into groups, such as 'game,' animals for 'profit,' 'farm animals,' 'pests' or 'predators,' and 'pets.' Their bodies are used for nourishment and clothing, their strength as mounts, beasts of burden, and draft. The utilization of animals includes their function in battle (military use of, for example, horses or elephants), exhibition in zoos for the purpose of pleasure, and simple possession as a status symbol. Under the special conditions of animal husbandry—reliability and proximity, selection and availability for breeding, slaughter without risk to human beings or the opportunity of flight—specific uses result that are distinct from those of a hunting way of life (→ Animal I).

Religious Status in the Scriptural Religions

2. a) The sacred scriptures of Jews, Christians, and Muslims reflect the circumstances of the societies in which they have appeared. A particularly important role in these societies falls to the raising of profitable animals. The relationship between human beings and animals is partly defined in terms of creation myths. Here the concepts of a common *creatureliness* (animals and human beings as God's creations) and God's *injunction of stewardship* come into confrontation. The use of wild and domesticated animals by human beings is legitimated in Gen 1:28, and animals are seen as subordinated to human beings by God's decree. In the Hebrew Bible, there are loci in which concern for the welfare of cattle is uttered with emotional detachment, for example, the Sabbath injunction regarding work animals in Ex 20:10. In the Qur'an, God is praised as having created animals for the good of human beings (sura 16:5-8). Less frequently, voices are heard in an emphasis not on the difference, but on the similarity. Thus, in the Book of Qoheleth we read: "For the fate of humans and the fate of animals is the same; as one dies, so dies the other. They all have the same breath, and humans have no advantage over the animals" (Eccl 3:19). In the translation of human piety to the world of animals, the latter may be perceived as religious subjects: "Every [being] knows how it has to pray and to praise [God]," we read in the Qur'an (24:41).



A temple elephant, representing the god Ganesha, whose image appears in the left background over a doorframe, attends to its visitors with an attitude of blessing. The animal's hide is artistically painted and decorated. Next to the elephant stands its *mahut,* who guides, feeds, and cares for it. The wild Indian elephant (*Elephas maximus bengalesis*) once roamed the whole subcontinent. India has a millennial tradition of the domestication and use of elephants. Indian rulers often kept elephants in great numbers, not only for 'show,' but also as beasts of battle. Even in the economy of the forest, elephants were introduced as work animals. Herds of wild elephants were encircled in battues, roped one by one, and then subjected to hunger, thirst, noise, and touching, to break their resistance. Subsequently came the *mahut*, to train them with the help of sugar cane and thorny goads. Today, there are still wild herds living in remote areas—at the foot of the Himalayas, in Orissa, and in the mountains of South India. Many elephants fell victim to large-scale hunting or to ivory traders. They are now rarely used as work animals, but tame elephants are still objects of prestige or tourist attractions on reservations or in temples. Temple elephants must be gentle, and not easily 'stressed,' since they often are together in a small space with a great number of persons. (Kirsten Holzapfel)



Ganesha: everything starts with him. The elephant-headed god is invoked for protection, whenever a new project is in store: a change of domicile, the celebration of a wedding, the conclusion of an agreement, when examinations are in the offing, and so on. He is regarded as the remover of all obstacles. Crowned and adorned in gold, he reigns over his devotees in a royal posture (*lalitasana*). The occasion here is the festival of Ganesha Chaturti, which is held, according to the Indian calendar, on the fourth Shudi of the month of Bhadrapada (August/September). To celebrate the day, the participants in the festival have showered one another with red powder. It is customary, on this occasion, to carry temporary cultic images of the god, of clay for instance, through the city. At the end of the festival, they are immersed in a pond, or, as here in Bombay, in the ocean. His name, *Ganesha* or *Ganapati*, glorifies the god as 'Lord of Hosts' (pre-Hindu deities and beings). He owes his fat belly to the sweets that he chews so gladly, extended up to him as special offerings. Legend has it that he wrote the monumental epic Mahabharata with the tusk that he has broken off. In a myth, Ganesha's form as a composite being is explained as follows: Parvati, wife of the ascetical god Shiva, lamented that her husband had left her without a son. So she fashioned Ganesha for herself. As Shiva, jealous, encountered the child, however, he struck off his head. Then, at Parvati's sorrow and rage, he promised her that he would get him a new head—that of the first living being to come by. It happened that that was an elephant. Like every Hindu deity, Ganesha has his companion (*vahana*)—in this case, a rat. The rat, like the elephant, brooks no hindrance to her course. She just gnaws her way through it. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

This motif of the 'praise of the creatures' is also found in the Hebrew psalms and in Christian hymns.

In Europe, with its past of a Christian culture, the attitude toward animals is imbedded in the notion of an unbridgeable, essential *difference between animal and human being.* In the Middle Ages, behavior with animals was governed by the interests of human use, interests bolstered by the notion that animals were the slaves of human beings. The thought that behavior with animals neither could nor should be the subject of moral considerations acquired the underpinnings of theological argumentation. The question of an animal → soul was answered variously in Christianity. The possibility of a solution was found in the notion that animal souls could be mortal. For the theological authority Thomas Aquinas (1224/25–1274), animals (and plants) would be superfluous in the world to come, since their function (to serve human beings as food) would no longer be needed. More rarely, tendencies to include animals in the expectation of salvation arose, based on the eschatological vision of their peacefulness in Isaiah (11:6-8), and the 'waiting' of all creation in Paul (Rom 8:19-33), for whom "creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay."

Hinduism and Buddhism

b) As religions that include belief in → reincarnation, Hinduism and Buddhism posit a distinction between human beings and animals that, in principle, is temporary and changeable, in the perspective of a continuing existence after death. Rebirth as an animal often is regarded as a birth to suffering and the result of evil deeds performed in a previous life. To be sure, animals are presented in abundant *animal fables*—for example, in the Brahmanic *Pañcatantra* and the Buddhist *Jātaka* (Pali, 'birth histories')—as religious and ethical subjects, and attain to a 'good rebirth' if they comport themselves in exemplary fashion.

Ethics: The Concept of Ahimsa

In an examination of ethics as relating to animals, we must consider a special concept arising in India—that of the *aḥimsā* (Sanskrit, 'not to injure,' 'non-violence')—in a context of the possession and use of animals. The economic viability of the tribe will dictate a limited, temporary prohibition of the killing of animals among cattle-raising nomads. Here the intent is the protection of the supply of beef, and later, in the transition to farming, the maintenance of the supply of work and milk animals. Extended to a comprehensive proscription of the killing of animals, *aḥimsā* is of central importance for the reform movements of Jainism and →Buddhism, in the context of a criticism of Brahmanic sacrificial worship (→ Sacrifice). Both movements reject animal sacrifice as being without utility, and as entailing untoward karmic consequences. The Brahmanic tradition took up the *aḥimsā* ideal once more. → Vegetarianism, or at least abstinence from beef, is admired as the sign of a very high degree of purity. In these societies across the board, a general, religiously motivated abstention from killing—as formulated in, for example, the first self-obligation of Buddhist morality—is always bound up with attention to the interests of animal use. By transference, not to kill is obligatory for the members of an order who are not involved in economic activities. It is true that a vegetarian tradition has appeared in Buddhism only within East Asian Mahayana. When belief in ill karmic consequences from the slaying of animals comes in conflict with economic forms—as with cattle farming among Tibetan nomads—compensatory rituals of exoneration are accessible. Animal dealers and butchers, who, from a

Buddhist viewpoint, pursue a dubious calling, are often of a different belief, and it is to them that animal slaughter is committed (if in strictest secrecy). The same holds true for India, where the 'not to injure' cattle are consigned to Muslim slaughterers. Doubtful consequences of this legalistic ethic include a sheerly ritual ransom of animals for the accumulation of karmic merit, and recourse to indirect forms of killing (death in extreme distress). By contrast, Buddhist vegetarian principles emphasize a compassion for all living beings.

Animals in Cultic Praxis

3. A special use of animals occurs in cultic connections. From a ritual standpoint, animals may be regarded as unclean, clean, or sacred, and as fitting sacrificial victims (→ Sacrifice). These classifications can occasion *dietary prescriptions*, which distinguish between permitted and prohibited animal foodstuffs (→ Eating/Nourishment). Pigs, which are unclean in Islam (and Judaism), in countries of Islamic influence are scarcely kept even by non-Muslims. *Sacred animals* can be regarded as representing divinities, and thus can receive reverence and sacrificial gifts. Their special status can lead to a limitation of any profit from them to immaterial, religious benefit—as, for example, with India's sacred monkeys, which are seen in a connection with the god Hanuman, and fed by members of the community. On the other hand, as shown in reverence for cattle, the sacred animal can serve the economy, and at the same time have their products applied to cultic uses (→ Penance/Penitent). The bloody *animal sacrifice* attained to high importance in ancient cultures of the Near East and the Mediterranean basin—for example, at great state festivals, where a hecatomb (lit., 'one hundred animals'; i.e., a large number) was slaughtered and consumed. One of the important new departures of Christianity was the eviction of the bloody sacrifice from worship. Now animals were slaughtered in a secular ambience, even on the occasion of festal meals. Animal sacrifice is to be found today in, for instance, the → Afro-American religions, → Voodoo, in Islam, and, here and there, in Hinduism. Food offerings and cultic meals that make use of slain animals are more widespread. Finally, religious uses include that of the → oracle, in which responses are sought in animal behavior or by inspection of their internal organs.

Mythological Animal Forms

4. Animal-like divinities and epiphanies, animals as attributes and companions of the divinities, animal myths and symbols, occupy an important place in the store of religious expression—and it is not always completely clear with which of these categories one is dealing in the case of a given animal figure. Only knowledge of the real or ascribed peculiarities of a given animal makes an interpretation (specific to the culture at hand) possible. In India, snakes, and mythical serpentine composite beings (*nagas*), are associated with water: During the rains, snakes indeed come to the surface of the earth, to keep from drowning.

Divinities in Animal Form

Gods represented either as composite beings or as altogether animal in their form (theriomorphic, zoomorphic), are known especially from ancient → Egypt. In Greek antiquity, a hierarchy prevailed between the high, anthropomorphic gods and lower deities, or demons, of theriomorphic traits, although individual local cults retained the divine animal image throughout. Among the deities of Hinduism today, Ganesha, who has the head of an elephant, and the monkey god Hanuman both enjoy great

veneration and popularity. Zoomorphic presentations may also refer to mythical → epiphanies, as for example in the descents (Sanskrit *avatāra*) of the Indian God Vishnu as a fish, a tortoise, a boar, and a composite lion and human being; or, in the four Christian gospels, the descent of the Holy Spirit as a dove at the baptism of Jesus (Matt. 3:16 and parallels).

Animal Companions

In many religions, animals are present as companions of certain divinities, and the traits connected with them contribute to the characterization of the deity in question. A pair of ravens (Hugin, 'Thought,' and Munin, 'Memory') perch on the shoulders of Teutonic god Odin, and report to him what they have seen in the world. Athena's owl companion is pictured on ancient coins, where it represents the goddess. The like is to be observed in Hinduism, where gods and goddesses are assigned their respective animal mounts and companions (Sanskrit, *vahana*, 'vehicle'). Shiva's bull Nandi can be pictured either together with, or representing him. The boundaries among divine animal form, animal companion, and symbol are fleeting here.

Symbols

Animal forms as *symbols* can refer to (mythical) persons, abstract concepts, or occurrences. In Buddhist art, the hog, snake, and cock symbolize the driving power of the passions of greed, hatred, and blindness respectively. Gazelles recall the Buddha's first sermon in the animal park near Benares. Having rejected the worship of animals, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have reduced representations of animals to a symbolic function. In Islam they come little into account, owing to the prohibition of images: exceptions are, for example, figures of animals in calligraphy. The rich Christian symbolism of late antiquity and the Middle Ages is now only partially understood by Christians. A central image of Christ is the innocent sacrificial Lamb of God, also referred to in the liturgy.

Demonic Animals

All claims to superiority and control notwithstanding, animals are repeatedly regarded as the bearers and representatives of murky, fearful powers (→ Fear/Dread). In the time of the European witch crazes, for example, many animals were looked upon as the → witches' companions and guardians. 'Border crossers' (witches that transform themselves into animals, as, for example, werewolves or vampires) were regarded as menacing.

Wondrous Tales

Unusual events in the lives of holy persons are at times reported as having involved animals. These persons' special quality is attested by the animals' behavior—especially when it is a matter of the calming of dangerous animals, as, for example, the taming of a wolf by Saint → Francis of Assisi, or the → Buddha's pacification of Nalagiri, the elephant that had been set upon him. Ascetics in particular, as outsiders of a culture, are ascribed a special familiarity with wild animals (and the powers of the wild that they embody). This holds for Christian hermits as well as for tantric yogi Milarepa, from Tibet, for example, of whom the story is told that his words of wisdom once calmed a fleeing deer, the pursuing hound, and finally the hunter himself. The longing for a peaceable common life of human being and animal, without eating and being eaten, finds its utopian expression in the wishful fantasy of the already mentioned peacefulness of the beasts, in a 'golden age' when the unmolested lamb takes its rest at the wolf's side.

Modern Times

5. a) Especially productive for the allocation of a place to animals in modernity has been the philosophical proposition that it is not the human image of God that constitutes the essential difference between animals and human beings, but the *gift of reason*; and this will legitimate the right of human beings to make use of animals. Indeed, if the question of sensation is bracketed *a priori*, and understanding is reserved to the human being alone, then the animal is but a → machine, however perfect, constructed by God (Descartes). Since the Enlightenment, animals have represented a (usually negatively evaluated; less often, positively) 'state of nature,' and were set over against a perfected (or defective) race of human beings. With the advent of the theory of evolution in the nineteenth century (→Evolutionism), the difference that had until now been regarded as essential was relativized, and animals were shifted into an—uncomfortable for so many—proximity to human beings.

Current Views and Debates

b) The keeping of profitable animals in today's industrialized countries has subordinated them, to an extent hitherto unknown, to the principle of economic growth. Features of the intensification of animal keeping include: a shortened individual life span for the sake of the highest possible degree of exploitation; increased numbers kept per unit space with reduction of freedom of movement and social contact with other members of their species; the routine medication of disease-prone, long stressed animals; the subsequent industrial keeping, slaughtering, and processing of animals out of the sight of consumers; animal carcasses processed, beyond recognition, as hamburger or fish sticks. Not only profitable animals, but wild animals in Western cities are withdrawn from direct perception, except in artificial presentations in the captivity of the zoological garden. Human estrangement from animals, and the deprivation of any existential or emotive contact with them, goes hand in hand with the anthropomorphization of animals in fiction (children's books, Disney Films; → Trickster) or in pampered pets, to which—at times as a substitute for human contacts of any depth—an emotional bond is referred, and which, after their death, may even have a grave in the pet cemetery. Still the possibility of observing animals without assuming control over them does find some advocates. In these circumstances, symbolic animals are sometimes extensively perceived as dissociated from living animals. The white dove in church, representing the Holy Spirit, is scarcely perceived as in any way akin to the doves whose presence in the yard is an annoyance. Nevertheless, for example in → advertising, but also in the area of religion, symbolic animals remain present.

Animal Protection and Animal Rights

With the relegation of wild animals to spaces afar and the ever more efficient exploitation of profitable animals (to the point of genetically 'optimized' test-tube breeds, or the torture of animals in experimentation supposedly in the interests of human emolument), deeper and more serious reflection has begun on the relationship between animals and human beings. In reaction to the extermination of species, the *preservation of species*, under the umbrella of the preservation of nature, has been adopted as a theme in → environmentalism, and *animal ethics* is present as a subdivision of →bioethics in the media and in public debates. For a long time, the animal preservation movement made use only of secondary arguments (monetary advantages to animal keepers, threat to human beings in the form of a brutalization of

the animal-torturers, respect for the Creator). But with the animal rights movement, animals have come to individual and societal attention as potential *subjects* of pain and suffering, and as actually having their own needs and interests (as in the 'biocentric' environmental ethics of 'deep ecology'). Positions previously held regarding the relationship of animals and human beings, including precisely the positions of the traditional religions, are being subjected to critical reflections on their anthropocentrism, or indeed of their 'speciesism' (an a priori preference for the interests of the members of one's own species). The legal institutionalization of the notion of animal preservation, provided in Parag. 1 of the German Animal Preservation Law, was complemented in 1986 with the concept of 'fellow creatures'—a religious notion drawn from the area of secondary arguments for animal protection, thus nullifying (at least nominally) the ancient Roman Law definition of an animal as a 'thing.'

Religion and Animal Protection

Conflicts can arise between modern animal protection and religious usage, as for example in the question of whether ritual slaughter (slaughtering by venesection), according to ritual prescripts of Jewish and Muslim tradition, without antecedent anesthetization, ought to be permitted. This triggered an intrareligious debate as to when meat is *kosher* or *halal*, ritually pure. In some European countries, slaughtering according to Jewish and Muslim rights without anesthetization must be licensed as an exception. Questions of → bioethics and animal protection have sparked debates of principle among representatives of various religions. Such questions have been taken as the occasion of a review of the attitude toward animals maintained in the respective theological systems of these religions, and of taking positions based on religious arguments. The wide spectrum of current attitudes and behavior vis-à-vis the animal world, ranging from its unreflected devaluation to the vision of a development that the ultimacy of the human position in the universe is itself relativized, has been described by Peter Høeg in his novel *The Woman and the Ape* (1996).

Whales and Dolphins, the New Sacred Animals

c) Also in the present, many animals are objects of an upward revaluation under the auspices of religion. The → *New Age* has discovered whales and dolphins as sacred animals. As species threatened with extinction, they stand indirectly for human survival anxiety as well. The strange, remote world of the seas, a world charged with the living experience of their special sensory abilities, and their outfitting with qualities so highly prized today (intelligence, communicative and social competencies), confers upon them something akin to the status of mythic beings. The urgent task of rescuing threatened species fuses with a yearning to come in contact with beings that might—possibly—be ready with a message of salvation for human beings. While their populations, in the seas of the world, continue to be decimated, their voices have been preserved on CDs, and heard as incorporeal communications for human beings' spiritual needs. These voices, it is hoped, will have positive effects on our own psyches, even though—or precisely because—we do not understand them.

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→ *Animal I, Animism, Bioethics, Cosmogony, Composite Beings, Devil, Eating/Nourishment, Environmentalism, Evolution, Genetic Engineering, Nature, Nature Piety, Regeneration, Sacrifice, Trickster, Vegetarianism*

Kirsten Holzapfel

Animism

The concept and theory of 'animism' are linked to the name of religious anthropologist Edward B. Tylor (1832–1917), who, in his *Primitive Culture* (1871), thus designated any belief in the ensoulment of nature and the existence of spirits. Tylor sought to answer the question of how human beings came to develop the concept of a → 'soul.' He supposed that the religious conceptualizations of the primitives had their origins in dreams or hallucinations, through which they must have arrived at the conviction of having an *alter ego*, a 'second I.' The latter departs from the body in sleep and dreams, as well as in illnesses. At death, it does so definitively. Then it lives on as an independent soul-spirit. Since →animals and plants, as well, live and die, they too have souls. Even stones, sticks, weapons, or clothing are alive, since they too appear in dreams. Tylor derives the development of religion from this soul concept. In his evolutionistic approach, religion begins with the notion of the soul-spirits (→ Evolutionism). Spirits are the cause of all apparitions, and exert influence on human lives. Subsequently, in a later stage of development, they become gods.

Animism no longer plays an important role in the literature or debates of religious studies. The originally progressive theory that prepared the ground for the reactionary degeneration theories, directed against Darwin's discoveries, soon became reactionary itself, in that it supported the evolutionistic schema of the development of religion in human history as the lowest stage of that schema. Today scholars reject speculation on the development of religion by stages is just as they reject the emergence of religion from belief in souls and spirits. To be sure, the concept repeatedly surfaces in popular scientific contexts, as well as in scholarly milieus that do not take into account advances in the study of religion. It is put forward as a name for tribal religions, or magical belief in spirits among 'nature peoples.' Nor has animism been expelled from an (in part trivial) connection in the art world or from writings inspired by missionary theory and practice.

As a positively charged concept of self-identification, 'animism' is used in → neopaganism, 'neo-shamanism' (→ Shamanism), ecological movements, (→ Environmentalism) and in 'nature-based spirituality' (→ New Age).

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→ *Academic Study of Religion, Evolutionism, Neopaganism, Religion*

Gerhard Schlatter

Antichrist

The expression "Antichrist" (Gk., 'Counter-Anointed') occurs in the Bible only five times, and exclusively in the two Letters of John (see 1 John 2:18 and 22, 4:3; 2 John 7). There it denotes enemies (plural!) who deny that Christ is the Messiah, or indeed that he ever lived. From there the concept was set in connection with other biblical loci that make the Antichrist (singular), as the devil, Christ's all but equal adversary in the universal combat to be waged at the end of the world.

What the very different concepts of the Antichrist hold in common is opposition to Christ. Thus, in the years 950, Abbot Adso of Montier-en-Der defines the Antichrist as the 'antithesis of Christ in every way,' and presents his vita in a series of descriptions and events exactly contrary to those of the life of Christ. A Christology therefore finds its correspondence in an Antichristology, so that we have what doubtless must be accounted the most overt form of Christian dualism. To look for equivalencies of the Antichrist in non-Christian religions is less than meaningful, then, despite the coinciding of individual traits.

The advent of the Antichrist is generally understood (following Rev 12 ff.) as the commencement of the end of the world. This does not mean, however, that that time is thought of as impending. On the contrary, the imminent expectation of the Antichrist must be regarded as exceptional. Furthermore, it usually accompanies a polemic seeking to identify the Antichrist or his precursors in unwelcome emperors (e.g. Frederick II) or popes (e.g. John XXII), or in entire collectivities ('heretical' groups or enemy peoples). Beginning in the high Middle Ages in particular, conceptions of the Antichrist have enjoyed a broad currency, particularly by way of sermons, plays, church painting, and pamphlets. At the time of the Reformation, its use was downright inflationary.

The concept of the Antichrist took a new turn at the end of the nineteenth century, in philosopher Friedrich → Nietzsche's critique of religion.[1] In his last, no longer self-published, writing, Nietzsche attempts a 'revaluation of all values.' He characterizes Christianity as a life-rejecting compassion, as weakness, disease, and suffering, and understands it as an 'exponential Judaism.' Over against it he sets an Aryan-Hellenic religion of the peoples of the North ('Hyperboreans') distinguished by health, strength, and a natural difference.

1. See Cancik, Hubert, Nietzsches Antike. Vorlesung, Stuttgart 1995, 134-149 and 194-199.

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→ *Antiquity, Apocalypse, Devil, Dualism, Millennarianism/Chiliasm*

Achim Hack

Anti-Cult Movements

The anti-cult movement was born as a reaction to the rise of new religious movements (also known as *cults*; → New Religions) in the United States in the early 1970's. The initiators of the movement were parents concerned about their children joining non-conventional religious groups. The movement remained local at least until the events in Jonestown, Guyana, where in 1978 a new religious group called The People's Temple committed a widely publicized mass suicide. After these events the largest national anti-cult organization, the still-operational American Family Foundation, was formed.

The anti-cult movement has been from the beginning a secular movement, as opposed to the *counter-cult movement*, which distinctively has its roots in conservative Christianity. Whereas the counter-cult movement's claims center on the doctrinal evils of new religions, the anti-cult movement's concerns are focused on the ill effects that non-conventional religious groups have on the unsuspecting youth that join the groups. Consequently, the anti-cult movement's claims against cults are of secular nature, most important of these being the notion of 'brainwashing.'

'Brainwashing'

Brainwashing has been a central concept in the activities of the anti-cult movement. The often-repeated claim of the anti-cultists is that 'normal' youth do not willingly join deviant cults, but that they are mentally manipulated, e.g. brainwashed to join. The method of brainwashing includes techniques like sleep and food deprivation combined with suggestive rhetoric to recruit new members. The allegations were often bolstered up by the testimonies of ex-cultists who affirmed the anti-cultists' claims. Although proponents of → freedom of religion opposed the concept of brainwashing, and professional psychiatrists and psychologists soon abandoned the concept, it has been regularly used in popular discourse and the media.

'Deprogramming'

The premise of brainwashing also offered the anti-cult movement a guideline for action. The most controversial of the methods used to combat cults was so-called deprogramming. The aim of deprogramming was to have cult members renounce their new faith and way of life and return to their former values and faith, which were invariably their parents' values and faith. The procedure included suspect techniques such as interrogation and strong psychological pressure, some of which are depicted in the popular 1990's film *Holy Smoke*.

Serious criticism by secular and religious parties concerned about the procedure led the anti-cult movement to abandon deprogramming as a strategy. The movement then shifted its focus to influence legislation. Despite multiple attempts and several hearings, the regulation of cult activities by law did not succeed.

Anti-Cult Movement and the Courts

However, failure to influence legislation did not hold the anti-cult movement back from the courts, where parents of cult members tried to obtain conservatorships to get their children out of the groups. These cases rarely proved fruitful as most decisions were reversed on appeal, if not earlier. Moreover, soon the cults themselves started taking advantage of the court system. Attempts at deprogramming etc. were becoming increasingly risky as the cults started having success at counter-cases against the anti-cult movement.

Although concrete attempts to stop the cults in the United States have not been very successful, the anti-cult movement nevertheless influences public opinion greatly with its extensive publication and information dissemination campaigns. Testimonies of ex-members and journalistic exposés of cult activities have been published as popular books and pamphlets. The Internet has also become a major medium for disseminating anti-cult information. The mainstream media have also largely upheld a negative picture of non-traditional religious groups which has affected their activities in many ways.

The Cult Awareness Network

The American anti-cult movement suffered a major blow when the Cult Awareness Network (CAN) went bankrupt in 1996. The property of the 'old CAN' was purchased by a member of the Church of → Scientology and a 'new CAN' was formed, this time headed by a coalition of groups the 'old CAN' had targeted in its publications and communications. Nevertheless, despite the setbacks and the relative diminution of its influence, the anti-cult movement continues to be active in the United States.

Europe

In Europe the anti-cult movement was a relatively unknown phenomenon until the end of the millennium. Before that, visiting American anti-cult activists were usually responsible for anti-cult activities in Europe, especially the UK. This has radically changed since some governments, namely France, have passed laws against non-traditional religious groups, usually referred to as 'sects' in French. Where the anti-cult movement has failed in influencing legislation in The United States, it has succeeded in the aforementioned countries and also in Russia and some other eastern European countries. The French law has made discrimination against so-called sects possible and has also again invoked the notion of brainwashing under the label of 'mental manipulation.' Although the law was applauded at the time in the French media, many observers, both secular and religious, claim

that it violates international statutes concerning freedom of religion and conscience.

Even if the anti-cult movement is diminishing in influence in the USA, it has gained a new weapon against the cults with the example of the French legislation. It remains to be seen what the effects of the French legislation are, and not only in Europe, but also in other countries, which have shown interest in it but do not have the history of respect for human rights that France has.

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→ *Fanaticism, Fundamentalism, Freedom of Religion, Group (religious), New Religions, Scientology*

Titus Hjelm

Antiquity

Biases of Periodization

1. a) The Protestant humanists accustomed us to a tripartition of history: geographically into old world, new world, and third world; and historically into antiquity, Middle Ages, and modernity.[1] This determination also provides a help in practical ordering, especially in our method of counting by centuries (*saecula*), as it expresses an assessment of our times. Our enumeration of centuries begins with the 'birth of Christ,' runs forward and backward, and, with 'new world'—or 'new age'—indicates the hope of an era 'according to the will of God.' In the Reformation image of history, the present returns to the primordial (*reformatio*), and then goes on building: The humanists return *ad fontes*, to the 'pure springs' of first beginnings. Contrariwise, they look down on the in-between time, the 'middle age' (*medium aevum*), along with the Third World, with all contempt, as if peering down into a blind gully.

Classical Antiquity

b) An even stronger value judgment attaches to the delineation of 'classical antiquity' as the exemplary epoch 'for us.' This denomination denotes the



Ancient religion can be beautifully comical—only for the innocent bystander, of course. The actors who staged a festive masquerade at the Munich home of poet Karl Wolfskehl (1869–1948), Leopoldstrasse 51 in 1903, mounted their attempt to revive the pagan orgiastics of Dionysus in bitter earnest. Wolfkehl, with the beard, as Bacchus, is crowned with ivy. Franziska zu Reventlow (1871–1918), reclining at Caesar's (Stefan George, 1868–1933) side, is a god-possessed maenad, and holds the Thyrsus staff (a stalk of *narthex*—giant fennel—crowned with ivy and tipped with a pine cone) in her left hand. Granted, unlike the ancient cult, no goat was torn to shreds and the pieces gobbled down raw (*sparagmós*, *omophagía*), nor did anyone fall into a trance. And in any case the entire

time stretching from Homer up to the year 529 CE, when pagan philosophy in the quality of an institution, the Academy of Plato, shut its doors for good and all—and as, in the same year, Christianity founded the institution that laid out its route to the future, Benedict's monastery on Monte Cassino. The new foundation of Plato's Academy at Florence by the Medici in 1470 was hailed as the 'rebirth' ('Renaissance') of antiquity. First of all, the Latin language stands as an example: It conveyed clarity of thought differently from church Latin, a clarity to be striven for. Then there were the exemplary free scholarship undetermined by Christian dogmatics; a dogma-free, non-repressive religion (→ Paganism/Neopaganism; Polytheism); and political self-determination, which found in tyrannicide, and in the symbol of ancient emancipation from slavery, its model for the revolution, the 'republic,' and → 'democracy.' Here the supreme splendor was to see oneself as 'standing on the shoulders of giants'—small, it is true, but superior to them by virtue of one's elevated vantage.[2] After 1870 there was a switch in criteria. Now ancient times were dubbed 'archaic' in respect of any creativity, and seen as the antithesis, the *anti*-exemplar, the other extreme, of ossified modernity. Now at last the dark side of antiquity, for example the Dionysiac, manages to break out of its prison of the present (→ Nietzsche). It was at about this time that the state of the question began to change. The alien quality of antiquity when compared with foreign cultures (rather than its continuity with our own) no longer permitted antiquity to be regarded as a self-evident exemplar. Formulae like 'the neighboring foreign' were an attempt to integrate both.[3]

production, to be on the safe side, was put off until Carnival (*Fasching*). It was Reventlow who, as chronicler of the Schwabing bohemian in her novel *Herrn Dames Aufzeichnungen* (1913), described—with appropriate complacency—the efforts to revitalize the *Kosmiker* (the "Cosmics"), as the group was called. (Hubert Mohr)

c) 'Classical antiquity' was also regarded as exclusive. It transferred the ideal of 'Western rationalism' to antiquity, simultaneously projecting an exonerated irrationalism on the East, and conceptualizing Christianity as an Eastern religion of deliverance. → Orientalism as a negative identity in the eyes of the West became the new thought pattern, especially in the age of imperialism and anti-Semitism. The higher cultures of the East could be labeled decadent, limp and brutal, petrified, hopeless: India, with its 'Indo-Germanic' primitive religion; China, which knew script, books, the compass, and gunpowder long before they were invented in the West; and Islam, which cultivated antiquity and passed it on to Europe; the towering development of Judaism. All of these were to be replaced with a Europe youthful and fresh. However, Oswald Spengler logically extended the thought pattern to *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918; Engl. as *The Decline of the West*)—a shock for Europe after the catastrophe of the First World War.[5]

Epochs of the World

d) Another perspective on world history with an Oriental coloration was opened by Max → Weber. Arnold Toynbee set himself in opposition to it, as did Karl Jaspers with his concept of the "axial age" in antiquity, positing a rational thrust in the great world cultures around or after 500 BCE and since—a drive that included the founding of the great world religions and philosophical systems. While the concept affords little intellectual advance, it did break away from the prevailing Eurocentrism.[6] 'Antiquity,' then, can be conceived in three models: (1) The narrowest model extends only to classical ancient times. (2) A broader one also embraces the high cultures of the Mediterranean region and the Near East. (3) The broadest model sees antiquity as a cultural stage of humanity worldwide. The second of these models expresses the purview of the present entry of this dictionary.

Early Antiquity

2. a) *The first cities*: After a lengthy phase in which human beings lived in small groups of hunters and gatherers, the cultivation of grain, animal products, and fruit crops occasioned a cultural leap that entailed larger settlements, and the specialization of skills: the 'Neolithic revolution.' The slaughter of animals, however, remained one of the central elements of the ancient religions—the bloody → sacrifice—along with other forms. This feature is a possible continuation of the behavior of the hunting cultures (→ Animal I), as the latter offer atonement for the killing, outwardly reproducing it, in skin and skeleton, with their sacrifices. Still, God is drawn into the slaughter of the animals and the consumption of their flesh. After all, God, too, partakes of the sacrificial meal in which sacred and profane nutrients are reciprocally transformed. The concern that seed sprout into plants has never enjoyed a like religious importance. Not only there (with Çatal Hüyük and Jericho being the oldest cities not built on rivers), but especially on the great rivers, cities merge into realms—on China's Yellow River, on India's Ganges and Indus, on the Euphrates and Tigris in Mesopotamia, on the Nile in Egypt.

Egypt

b) *Egypt*: The thin stretch of fertile land, ever threatened by the desert, unless the river overflows its banks as the year begins, seems to demand of nature itself a dualism of order and chaos, friend or foe, life or death,

paradise or hell. And yet such a division, crisp and clean, fails to hold. Thus, the mythic enemy of Osiris, Seth, is at once an adversary and the god of an expanse of land. → Egypt's typical representation of the gods in the form of birds and beasts is a manifestation of their strength, swiftness, and difference vis-à-vis human beings, while elsewhere in antiquity the deities are often conceived anthropomorphically.

Mesopotamia

c) *Mesopotamia*: An irrigation system that stretched beyond the immediate oasis of the river into an otherwise sterile wilderness stood in constant need of maintenance. The latter must be organized and overseen by a pyramidal command that can compel labor for community profit even after the death of the ruler. The index of continuity consists in the immortal gods, who are presented as clients of the king. Inasmuch as the king maintains contact with these, he can represent his commands, his campaigns, and his calls for funds, as the decrees of God. Ritual procedures identify him as God's 'servant,' and everything from the daily nourishment, clothing, and bathing of the idol, impetration of counsel, and petition for consent, to written endorsement in historiography can be said to have gone forward in accordance with the will of God. Failures are reckoned as signs that God has withdrawn his friendship. But God is compassionate, as well, when 'his people' are vanquished in war: he must accompany them into exile, as booty, and receive his daily nourishment ('sacrifice') no longer. But it may also occur that he be gallantly received as a guest in the house of the victorious god. Through aggressive policies of the imposition and extension of power, for which the Assyrians were particularly notorious, but also by way of trade, the realms of Mesopotamia expanded their outlook on the world. Through the medium of (cuneiform) script, *tales of the gods* entered neighboring peoples' store of thought. Images of palace revolts, in which a younger god would expel the elder ones from their 'hegemony in heaven,' images of the journey to the underworld (not of 'death and resurrection'), images of the parliament of the gods on the Mountain of the North, images of the 'Isle of the Blessed,' became model recitations, to be recounted around the Mediterranean, even in societies without palaces: in great realms like that of the Hittites, in city states like Ugarit, or in regularized anarchies as in early Greece.

Israel

d) Israel abundantly illustrates acceptance and resistance. On the one side stands the institution of royalty (which follows authoritarian procedures of divine appointment; → Monarchy/Royalty), priests, ceremonial prophets, and Zion in Jerusalem—the last named demonstrating its religious institution in the fact that the king in his palace and God in the Temple reside together on the Mount. Over against the same stands another image of God, of a God who would have no kings, who dwells not in the City but in the wilderness, and who, from Mount Sinai, communicates his commandments to nomads. Men rise up who are 'called by God,' who resist the king, and who transmit 'God's words.' Especially when City and Temple have been destroyed, and the people of God have been abducted to Babylon and exile, the image of the God who resides in the wilderness receives new meaning. Independent of the Temple, he can move about freely, on a throne with wheels. He dwells no longer where the King dwells, but where his social program is a matter of ongoing experience, and where there is no alternative to him, the one sole God (→ Monotheism). The ideal

condition is a retrojection to the time when the people had been freed from exploitation under the rich Egyptians, in the departure (*exodus*) to the wilderness. Plans for the 'new Jerusalem' (Ezek 40-48) require the equality of all ('siblings'), a condition safeguarded by regular release from guilt, on the Sabbath and in the Year of Jubilee. The royal government is assumed by God himself, in a 'theocracy'—on the level of social reality, by a government by the priests.

Middle Antiquity

3. *Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans*: Around 1000 BCE, a new focal point in ancient history appears. Seafaring peoples ply the coastal waters and settle on suitable river-mouths. Now they are peoples connected like islands, across the sea, and having no contact with the geographic interior or the native population. Any such contact came only with the Phoenicians, predominantly on the southern and western Mediterranean; then with the Greeks, on the northern and eastern coasts. The Romans ruled the waves only from the second and first centuries BCE on. The → Mediterranean region became the trade hub, and remained so until the close of the sixteenth century, when Atlantic trade assumed central importance. Religion turned equally mobile, and spread to remote regions—into Etruria, for example, where it took on a quasi-regional character.

Phoenicians

a) From its port cities on the eastern Mediterranean, the Phoenician and Punic culture spread abroad, and Carthage became a great city. As we know them largely by reports from foreign observers—and only in recent times has archaeology altered the picture—a god of the character of Moloch stamps the image: now a god is said to require the firstborn children, who, in his honor, are burned to death. The Israelites recounted anti-myths, to the effect that their God did not want the sacrifice of the firstborn (Gen 22; Exod 11), and transformed the name of the spot where a temple to Moloch had stood to 'hell' (*gehenna*). The sacrifice of children may have been a kind of 'abortion' of the handicapped at birth. On the other hand, their highly developed culture was a model for which to strive: the Greeks believed that they had learned the alphabet from a Prince Cadmos of Phoenicia, and also that Zeus had taken to mistress a Phoenician princess by the name of Europa. The Greeks knew Eastern religion in the formative phase of their culture, as they had annexed the Hittite and Phoenician city-states.

b) After an unsuccessful phase in the Minoan-Mycenaean palace culture, the *Greeks* formed a very different culture of self-assured city-states, which were willing to have any political arrangment except for monarchy. Religion reflected the self-confidence of the individual states, inasmuch as it brought to expression an adaptation or a detachment from neighboring states in the selection or rejection of gods. The number of gods to be worshiped was limited: 'New gods' must be officially invited in. The society of the gods (the pantheon) reflected the social groups at hand (men, mothers, laborers, girls, boys), each group having its particular god, who was not subordinated to any supreme god, to represent it. Zeus was the mythical 'Father,' although his decisions were frequently overridden. In worship he was seldom chosen as a city's principal god. Religion did not aim for an ultimate principle or single truth. Myths were ambiguous, and were not that which one must believe, nor were they a sacred justification of the institution ('charter myth'). Rather they were the narrative experiment of

their inversion.[6] Thus, Greek religion was not suitable as the foundation of a general ethics and set of laws. Unification, and, later, philosophical rules, fulfilled this function.

c) The *Romans* formed their religion in immediate contact with developed religions: the Etruscan in northern Italy, and the Greek in the South of that peninsula. Accordingly, non-Roman religious specialists were accessible for the reconnaissance of the divine will: Etruscans with their oracle of birds' innards, and Greeks with their oracles of the Sibylline Books or temple healings at the hands of Asclepius. The Romans kept under control the possibility that the foreign cult-specialists might manage to cripple political life. When rituals produced the divine prohibition of a scheduled assembly or military campaign, they had to be repeated until they endorsed the desired project. The official state religion guaranteed the traditional acceptance of the state gods along with that of the ruling families (→ Family Cult). The latter knitted together the various social groups (each with its own worship). Religion, especially, proved to be a clamp of unity between Rome's upper classes and the military, which was increasingly composed of social drifters. An oath (*sacramentum*) bound soldiers to loyalty to the Romans and their gods. There was no room in the state religion for the wishes and needs of the individual; numerous private cults were available for this; these were viewed with suspicion by the government, however, and frequently prohibited as magical or Oriental or placed under censure. They were often organized into associations to which one might be admitted only through an initiation, also called *sacramenta* and mysteries. At critical moments, the Romans found them as convenient targets to be incriminated and contested, as 'criminal organizations' planning an assassination of the Emperor: Christians, astrologers, Manichaeans. Ultimately, in 341 CE, sacrifices were outlawed, because they might yield up a prophecy concerning the Emperor. Christianity, having become the state religion, simply continued these persecutions. Nearly eight hundred years later, circa 1200, the Roman Church appealed to Roman imperial authority to justify the execution of persons merely for their beliefs, even though they had committed no crime. Heretics and witches were supposed to have 'assaulted the majesty' now no longer of the Emperor, but of God, and must be found out (*inquisitio*) and put to death.

Christians

d) Ancient *Christianity*, emerging from Judaism, and surviving conflict with the Romans, was not constantly at odds with the Imperium. The fierce polemic voiced in, for instance, Rev 12, is counterbalanced by pronouncements that see the Imperium as a God-given protection (Rom 13; Luke 22-25; Acts 25:16). Persecutions were almost unexceptionably local and short-lived. True, the survival of the Christian religion was less assured by men than it was by women, as the latter were less career-oriented; and later, as the religion of the Empire, it emerged as a new religion: ancient 'Catholicism.' Monotheism conveyed the monarchical ideal to religion. Out of egalitarian communities arose hierarchically organized churches. Roman law became the foundation, and the Empire the warranty, of religion. As Christian Rome was nevertheless destroyed (430) in the course of the great migration, North African →Augustine solved the identity crisis with his outline of a double 'citizenship': both in Rome and in the Kingdom of God (*civitas terrena*, *civitas dei*). The Constantinian turn became current once more in twentieth century thought, in the modern discussion maintained in 'political theology'

(Carl Schmidt; Erik Peterson, 1932/33) between the form and content of the Kingdom.

Late Antiquity

2. a) *Late antiquity* must be understood as an era of its own: as a transformation, and not simply a breach and destruction. The change came both from within and from without (migration of the peoples). The ideal of the community as a 'communion of saints' gave way to that of the saint—first of all of the 'God-Man' (*theíos anēr*). Other than the few 'top athletes' (Gk., *askétes*; lit., the 'person trained'), no one could any longer live in a holy manner: one must fetch salvation: make pilgrimages to holy places, drink at holy springs, touch holy persons. The ascetics became 'producers of salvation,' far from the city, out in the 'desert,' living on a pillar and walled in, while the rest became 'consumers' of salvation. On the other hand, massive 'Christianization' required the legally based emergence of a homogeneous organization. To this end, Roman laws were adopted. The Catholic Church arose with a strict hierarchy of offices. Local and regional churches lost their independent status and proper traits. Opposition was suppressed by force, and opponents were driven back into the Church. In parallel, city culture, with its manageable community size, crumbled.

Fall of Rome

b) When and why antiquity (Rome) fell has been Europeans' question from early modernity onward. And yet the inquirers regarded themselves as its heirs, and deluded themselves into looking at antiquity as having been resurrected in the 'Renaissance.' Later, confronted with the (Italian) Renaissance, they discovered ever more 'renaissances'—continuity in interruption. Just as the 'youthfully' brutal Teutons—the 'fresh blood' that was needful—were promoted to the status of model for Europe's rescue and renewal, Belgian Henri Pirenne (1937) suggested that it was not the Teutons who had put an end to antiquity, but Islam, inasmuch as the Mediterranean had now switched from connection to barrier, and that, in the North, Islam had indirectly helped Charlemagne (the European, not German 'Karl the Great') to the throne. But the Arabs and Sassanids, along with the remainder of the Roman Empire of 'Byzantium,' preserved far more of ancient culture than did the 'Christian West.' The eastern Mediterranean nourished the ancient centers of communication through their 'city culture,' and did the same for various stores of scholarship, along with literature, economics, and foreign trade. Beginning in the twelfth century, the ancient cultural current flows back into the West, first through contact with the Islamic cultures, and then thanks to refugees from Constantinople, which fell in 1453.

Religion of Late Antiquity

c) Despite all their difference, the Judaism, Christianity, and Islam of antiquity were, to a great extent, of a piece. They shared one another's towering respect for theo-logy, their monotheism with its dualistic stamp, the position of their Holy Book, their locally approved city religion, their application of the law of the Roman Empire, their close bond between ruler and religious leader. In the West, on the other hand, and in the regions of Europe that had never been Romanized, a cultural variant of the Christian religion developed ('Iro-Scottish mission'), rooted in feudal culture. Only Jewish communities and Christian monasteries continued to be models of the old city culture.

Presence of Antiquity

5. a) Through the European system of 'formation,' with its high regard for a linguistic and philosophic 'intelligence,' ancient learning became present in modern times. Even the authorities of the Christian religion learn ancient languages, know the images of myth and the concepts of ancient bestowal of meaning. Beginning in the Renaissance, and especially in the nineteenth century, the Christian religion was seen with 'ancient' eyes; but it was also criticized for elements of antiquity that served as a counter-model of the European present, and these elements furnished the criticism with a historical justification: → Prometheus versus God the tyrant, Dionysus versus theology, Stoic pantheism versus a humanized God (→Paganism/Neopaganism; Religion; Reception).

Antiquity as a Model?

b) In this manner, Greek → polytheism supplied a pattern of tolerant multiplicity, as over against the fanatical intolerance of monotheistic religions. These wholesale classifications, however, are inadequate. Only when state and religion come to form a single unit does religiously motivated repression materialize, and then only temporarily. Islamic rulers were usually tolerant, Roman emperors occasionally very intolerant. Jewish precepts of exclusivity, in a context of other religions, and in a minority situation, are a path of survival, particularly after Jews had lost their political autonomy. One of the characteristics of antiquity, of course, is the multiplicity of religious identities, which can accept 'individuals,' in groups or one by one, along with their social group, without the need to convert them. The difficulties of finding and keeping one's own religious 'choice,' in a plethora of religious bestowals of meaning, against a background of ancient polytheism, appear as a problem only if and when the choice is to be exclusive. Modernity's polytheism seems rather to be the normal case with religion.

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→ *Amazons, Christianity, Egypt, European History of Religion, Judaism, Late Antiquity, Mediterranean Region, Reception, Rome, Sacrifice, Theocracy*

Christoph Auffarth

Antiquity (Graeco-Roman Ancient World, Ancient East, Late Antiquity): Time Chart

a) *Ancient Near East, Greek Mediterranean (Christoph Auffarth)*

Era 1: The First Cities and Realms

around 8000	Cities (Jericho, Çatal Hüyük)	The 'Neolithic Revolution' makes it possible to store nourishment all year long. This is the basis for the sedentary condition, and the maintenance of rulers, the military, and laborers.
around 3000	Realms (Egypt, Mesopotamia)	Civilizations on the great rivers extend their living space by irrigation, but this functions, in the long term, only through close organization.
1351–1334 around 1200	Monotheistic revolution of Akhenaton in Egypt	Pharaoh revolutionizes religion by prescribing that veneration be rendered to the sun (Aton) alone. The project ultimately fails.

		According to biblical accounts, an Egyptian prince, Moses, later leads the Hebrews through the wilderness, to the promised country, and gives them the Ten Commandments of the One God.
	Destruction of the palaces	The 'Sea peoples' destroy the foundations of the luxurious culture of the palaces at the shores of the Mediterranean Sea (Crete around 1500, Hittites and Ugarit around 1400; Mycenae, Egypt). Commerce, luxury goods, plantations for oil, wine, figs, grain, all perish.
Era 2: Prophets and Judge-Arbitrators (1000–500 BCE)		
since 1000	Colonization of the Mediterranean world by Phoenicians and Greeks	Instead of the realms, with central palaces, decentralized nets form, which stand in cultural and commercial exchange with one another, and which establish their religion as a model for local cults—e.g. the Phoenicians/ Punics with the large city of Carthage, and the Greeks with Naples or Marseille.
	Delphi	Large sanctuaries, such as the oracles in Delphi, become communications centers for all of the peoples of the Mediterranean world, who fetch counsel and news there.

around 750	Social criticism of the Prophets of Israel in the name of God	Amos, Hosea, Isaiah: criticism of large landholding, exploitation, war profiteering. Religion becomes the opposition mounted by the 'men of God.' JHWH becomes the social program (Ps 82). Hesiod provides parallel social criticism.
594	The law is 'the King'; Solon in Athens	In conflicts in the Greek cities, an impartial judge, such as Solon in Athens, is sent for to decide the case. For protection against the more powerful side, laws are written down and sacralized.
6th cent.	Ionian philosophers	The world comes from a single principle or origin (Thales, Anaximander). Parmenides's Two Worlds, the false one of experience and the true one of philosophical vision.
622	Monotheism in Israel	In 622, destruction of rural sanctuaries by the King (Josiah), and centralization of worship in Jerusalem alone.
586 520/515	Jerusalem Temple destroyed: Israel's exile in Babel Building of the Second Temple	The process is radicalized by the fact that the only remaining place of worship, the Jerusalem Temple, is itself destroyed. Where is God dwelling now? Response of the Deuteronomists:

		God lives in the midst of his people, and thus can be reverenced even in Exile. Restoration of the Temple notwithstanding, now religion can also be lived and experienced without Temple worship. In its place comes written Law (Deuteronomy).
Era 3: Conceptualization of the Afterworld (6th–5th cent. BCE)		
?	Zarathustra in Persia	Dualism, Last Judgment and resurrection, heaven and hell.
539	Persians overcome Babel New Year festival in the universal realm of the Persians as a 'religious market'	At the royal court of the Persians, peoples gather from all parts of the earth, and become acquainted with one another's religion. Israelites learn of resurrection and life after death, Greeks of the transmigration of souls (from the Indians). Persian magi offer their religious techniques to the entire world.
490/480	Persians fail to subjugate the Greeks	Greek decentralized culture places itself in opposition to the central rule of the Persian realm.
450/400	Eleusis and its Mysteries	The Athenians build Eleusis into the central sanctuary of their maritime realm. Eleusis, the mystery cult, cuts through political and social structures rooted in kinship.

	Orphics: Free entry into the Afterworld for members of the group	Life after death is no longer tied to rituals to be performed by family members, or to a particular social position, but neither is it thought of as depending on a good life.
399	Socrates's trial for 'atheism' ends with death sentence	Socrates (c. 470–399) declines to save his life, since he believes that through death the soul is delivered from captivity.
	Plato's *State* sketches a constitution with a religious hierarchy	Socrates's disciple Plato (427–348/7) calls for justice, instead of honor and wealth, as the highest goal in life. A glimpse of the afterworld justifies his ideal of a philosophical asceticism. Until late antiquity, his intellectual authority persists as an outsider.
after 400	Rulers reverenced as gods	For the first time, a Greek ruler is honored in cult. The Greeks had rejected the ancient Eastern connection between power and divinity.
Era 4: Universalization of Religion		
324	Mass marriage in Susa	Alexander the Great overcomes the lands from Mesopotamia to India. He seeks to produce his universal realm by mixing the peoples and adopting all great cults in one religion.
304–330	Ptolemies in Egypt; Alexandria becomes	The Greek (Macedonian) dynasty

	cultural and economic metropolis	founds, in the city on the Mediterranean, a cultural capital in which Greek religion and cult are no longer necessarily combined.
297	'Rescue' of Delphi from the Gauls	Delphi is saved from the Gauls by a miracle. In thanks-giving, a 'Festival of Rescue', the *Sotéria,* is instituted. 'Savior' becomes a key con-cept of the history or Hellenistic religion, with which rulers are honored.
163–161	Maccabean crisis in Judaea	Antiochus IV erects a religious image of Zeus in the Temple of Jerusalem; the Jews, already deeply impregnated by the Hellenistic culture, rise up against this religious affront. The Temple is dedicated anew. The Jewish Feast of Hanukkah commemorates this event.
44 respectively 7 BC	Sidus Iulium, and 'Star of Bethlehem'	After Caesar's murder, his followers see the dictator as a star in heaven, immortally ravished. The Star of Bethlehem, as a sign of the birth of the Ruler of the World, answers this claim of the Romans.

b) *Chronology of Antiquity II: Rome and Late Antiquity (Hubert Mohr)*

	Note: The dates of early republican time, to the beginning of the third century, are frequently	

	legendary or tendentious. Thus, scholarly opinions and temporal estimates frequently differ considerably. For the reception of antiquity in the European history of religion during modern times, see → *Paganism/ Neopaganism*.	
Era 1: Early History and Republican Period		
753 BC	Legendary founding of Rome by Romulus	The history of the Roman religion is broadly identified with the state cult of the city of Rome. The Roman cult is spread by way of the political and military power of 'colonies,' but adopts the cults of the conquered. Along with the ancient traditions of the city of Rome (e.g. the cult of Janus; the triad Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus), Etruscan and Etrusco-Greek (seventh to sixth centuries BCE), Hellenistic Greek (third to second centuries), and Hellenistic—Near Eastern influences (beginning second century BCE) go into the melting pot of the history of Roman cult.
7th–3rd cent. 6th cent. (traditionally 616–509)	Etruscan necropolises in Central Italy Rome an Etruscan city under kings	Belief in the afterworld: tomb as dwelling; journey to the realm of the dead (Greek and Ancient Eastern influences).

509	Dedication of the principal temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoleum	Legendary date. The Temple is supposed to have been begun by Etruscan King Tarquinius Superbus, and dedicated by Consul M. Horatius Pulvillus. In the cultic space (*cella*), the triad of gods Jupiter, Juno Queen, and Minerva are venerated (Capitolian Triad).
311/302	A *Templum Salutis* (Lat., 'Temple of Salvation'), of 'public pilgrimage,' is 'praised' (dedicated) during the Samnite Wars.	The state religion consisted of, among other things, a system of personified values of civil religion reverenced in cult. A further example consists in the temple and cult of the 'Loyalty'—the *fides publica,* or *fides populi Romani* (258–247 BCE)—on whose walls the treaties with other states were recorded.
293–291	Cult of Greek god of healing Asclepius is brought from Epidauros to Rome.	The *translatio* [Lat., 'transfer'] occurs after consultation of the *libri Sibyllini*, a collection of writings or scriptures. Romanized Aesculapius is given a temple on the Island of Tiber (today Saint Bartholomew of the Island, with hospital).
264	Gladiator games first held in framework of burial ceremonies	The usage was adopted from the Etruscan culture, where the games functioned as bloody death offerings (e.g. to Phersu, god of the dead).

228	Introduction (?) of human sacrifice in Rome	A matter of an extraordinary sacrificial ritual in military emergencies: two pairs of Greeks and Gauls are buried alive in the Forum Boarium. The rite is also attested to in 216 BCE (Cannes) and 113. It was prohibited in 97 BCE, but perhaps performed later, despite the prohibition.
205/4	Introduction of the Cybele/Magna Mater cult from Pessinus (or from Mount Ida?), together with the *Ludi Megalenses* (Lat., 'Megalese Games'), in Rome	The deity was venerated in the form of an aniconic stone of worship, perhaps a meteorite (cf. the Black Stone of the Ka'aba, of → Mecca).
since beginning of 2nd cent.	Cult of *Dea Roma* (Lat., 'Goddess Rome') in the subjugated provinces	The Roman realm (*imperium*) is consolidated not only by military and bureaucratic means, but with sacred elements, as well, and centrally bound to the capital, Rome. Along with the cult of the Goddess Rome, there existed personal cults of the Emperor, as well as the cult of the *Populus Romunus*. In all cases, it is a matter of a form of civil religious veneration of the central political power.
186	Scandal of the Bacchanalia	Celebrations of the mysteries of Bacchus in Rome are suppressed in blood.
139	Astrologers first driven from Rome	Further expulsions: In 33 BCE, as well in the 1st century CE (on the

		basis of a fear of unauthorized and subversive prophetizing).
second half of 2nd cent.	Monumental terrace-temple of Fortuna Primigenia (Lat., 'Fortune the Firstborn') in Praeneste	The Latin goddess was venerated as Goddess of Birth (presentation as the 'one nursing the child' (*Kourótrophos*) and Goddess of Oracle. Her temple came into a competition of cults at Rome that was to be taken earnestly.
89	Magical practices fall under *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficiis* (Lat., "Cornelian Law of Assassins and Traitors")	
59	First persecution of Egyptian cult of Isis in Rome	E.g. destruction of places of worship; broader persecutions in 58, 53, 50, and 48 BCE, as well as under Augustus and Tiberius.
c. 47	Marcus Terentius Varro (116–1227 BCE) composes *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum* (Lat., "Ancient History of Philosophical Theology"), in 41 books	The encyclopedic "Religious Antiquities," influenced by Stoicism, are the most influential works of Roman theology; unfortunately, only fragments survive.
Era 2: Cult of Persons and Religious Restoration: Early Principate (46 BCE–14 CE)		
46	Gaius Julius Caesar (d. 44 BCE) represented in a statue as 'Companion in Cult,' and *Deus Invictus* (Lat., 'Unconquered God'), in the temple of Romulus Quirinus at Rome	Formation in Rome of an 'Emperor Cult,' with deification of the ruler and posthumous apotheosis (*consecratio*): in 42 BCE, Caesar is posthumously assumed

		among the state gods as Divus Julius, and is given a temple, with personal (cultic) statue, personal cultic personnel, and sacrificial service (dedicated in 29 BCE).
27 BCE–14 CE	Religious restoration by Caesar Octavius ('Octavian'), since 27 BCE *Imperator Caesar Divi Filius Augustus* (Lat., 'Emperor Caesar, Son of the Divine Augustus	The reconstitution of Republican cultic buildings and colleges of priests, along with an expansion of the Emperor Cult (which now includes a cult of Genius Augusti).
27	M. Vipsanius Agrippa founds the Pantheon in Rome, the Temple of All Gods	
17	Secular Celebration	*Ludi Saeculares*, to open an originally Etruscan era of 110 years (*saeculum*). Poet Q. Horatius Flaccus writes a hymn for the festal liturgy, the *Carmen Saeculare*.
Era 3: Multi-religious Empire		
c. 30 CE	The Roman Prefect of Judaea, Pontius Pilatus, permits the execution of Jesus of Nazareth	Jesus's discipleship constitutes itself as 'the Way,' or the 'Christians,' as an independent faith community, and splits off from Judaism (→ Christianity).
64	First persecution of Christians, by Emperor Nero	Execution of Christians as scapegoats for the burning of Rome.

81–96	Emperor Domitian	Permits himself to be addressed as *Dominus et Deus Noster* (Lat., "Our Lord and God"), and, during his lifetime, is given a temple in Ephesus. After Domitian's death, cultic rededication of the temple, with the deletion of his name (*damnatio memoriae,* Lat., 'deletion of [his] memory').
130 ff.	Emperor Hadrian's Antinous Cult	After his beloved, Antinous, had drowned in the Nile, Hadrian not only had the city of Antinoupolis built on the site of the accident, but ordered that Antinous receive quasi-imperial *consecratio*, with temple service and numerous cultic statues, and established solemn games (*agones*).
180–220	Strong expansion of Persian-influenced Mystery Religion of Mithras	From the second century onward, this cult, influenced by Iranian and astrological doctrines, spreads especially in military circles and is practiced in subterranean meeting places called "Mithraea."
249/51 and 257	Persecution of Christians under Emperors Decius and Valerian	More persecution under Diocletian, 302–305; the background is the attempt of the central government to popularize a unitary → civil religion for all citizens.

253–268	Under the influence of his advisor, Plotinus, Emperor Gallienus promotes Greek Philosophy, and the Mysteries of Eleusis	Egyptian Greek philosopher Plotinus (205–270) develops the Platonic doctrine into the religio-philosophical system called 'Neo-Platonism.'
c. 271 ff.	'Desert Father' Anthony (251–356)	founds Christian eremitical monasticism, on Mount Kolzim, in the eastern Egyptian wilderness.
274 (?)	Emperor Aurelian elevates *Sol Invictus* (Lat., 'Unconquered Sun') to the status of God of the Empire	
276	Mani (b. 216), founder of Manichaeism, dies in a Persian prison	Despite being subjected to repeated persecutions, → Manichaeism subsequently spreads along the Silk Route to Northern China, and outlives antiquity.
279	Persecution of Manichaeans under Emperor Diocletian in the Roman Empire	More persecutions: 372, 379, and after 388, based on the polemics of → Augustine. Thus, Manichaeism arrives at extinction in the Mediterranean region.
Era 3: Constantinople and Byzantium: Christian Empire of Late Antiquity as the 'New Rome' (330–1453)		
312 (October 28)	Battle at the Milvian Bridge before Rome: Constantine I defeats rival Maxentius	Turning point in governmental policy regarding Christianity, which, within one century, burgeons to become the only state religion.

321	Constantine issues a law concerning Sunday rest	Sunday becomes the weekly day of rest (Codex Theodosianus II, 8, 1). In Constantine's syncretistic court religion, *Dies Solis*, 'Sun's Day,' the day of *Sol Invictus* is celebrated with a Christian sacred service.
325	First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (today Iznik, in Turkey)	The general (worldwide) council was convoked on the initiative of Emperor Constantine, and conducted under his supervision; condemnation of Arianism as a heresy. Councils are instruments of imperial policy, for safeguarding the unitary religion of the Empire.
330 (May 11)	Constantine dedicates Constantinople as 'New [Christian] Rome'	The political, cultural, and religious center of gravity shifts to the Eastern Mediterranean. The state of Greek-speaking *Rhomaioi* ('Romans') develops a decided Christian identity. Its Constantinian model of a Christian antiquity lives 1100 years more, until, in 1453, on the threshold of modernity, it is annihilated by Islamized Turks.
361–363	Pagan restoration under Emperor Julian the 'Apostate'	An attempt at the institutionalization of a pagan 'state theology' and 'state church,' on the Christian model, and in competition with the latter, is

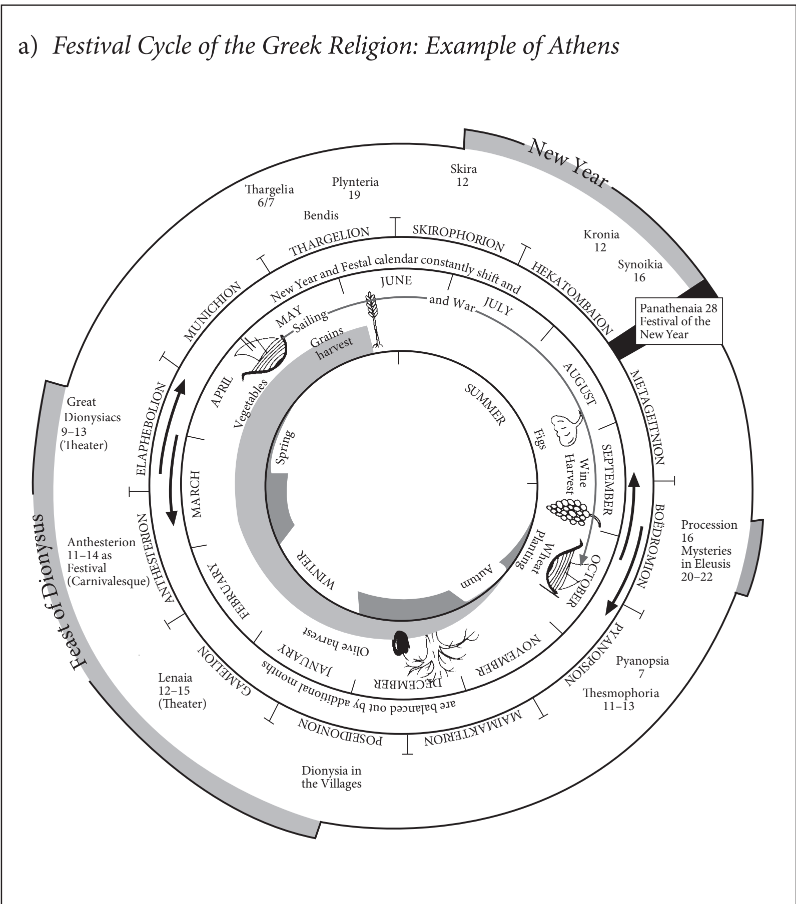
		ineffectual. The 'pagan reaction' fails to survive its originator.
382–384	'Conflict of Altar of Victory' in Roman Senate	The decision of the Emperor Gratian to remove the statue of Victoria from the Curia, the meeting room of the Roman City Senate, stirs the patriciate's last official resistance to Christianization. For Gratian, it had been a 'heathen' symbol, but now it tumbled. State Prefect Symmachus, adherent of the Old Roman religion, cannot prevail over the opposing party, Christian Bishop Ambrose (at the Imperial Court in Milan).
391	Emperor Theodosius I prohibits all state and domestic cult, including bloody sacrifices and the practice of divination	Christianity becomes the state religion, the Greco-Roman cult of the gods a crime of lèse-majesté (Codex Theodosianus XVI 10, 10ff.). For implementation of the decree, Pretorian Prefect Cynegius acts as plenipotentiary extraordinary in the Eastern provinces. Iconoclastic attacks and riots of Christian monks against centers of pagan cult. In Egypt, widespread pagan opposition, with bloody street battles (including destruction of the Serapion in Alexandria).

396–430	→ Augustine is Bishop of Hippo Regius (Province of Africa, today Tunisia)	In church policy, as in theology, Augustine becomes the most influential Church Father of the Western, Latin Church.
497	Legendary conversion to Christianity of Frankish King Clovis I (466–511)	Founding myth of the French nation.
590–604	Pope Gregory the Great	Through successful management of the latifundium, lays the groundwork for the *patrimonium Petri* (Lat., 'legacy of Peter'), the Papal States.
596	Gregory initiates the mission to the Anglo-Saxons and Irish	This initiative leads to a blooming monastic culture, which bequeathed its ancient legacy to medieval Europe (Anglo-Irish mission in the seventh to eighth centuries).
632–732	After the death of its founder Muhammad (ca. 570–632), rapid expansion of → Islam and its Arabic culture	End of the religious and political unity of the Mediterranean area, which Greco-Roman antiquity had defined since Hellenism.
1453	Fall of Constantinople	End of the last ancient state, the Christian Roman Empire of Byzantium. The Christian thrusts are borne forward by the Orthodox Churches of Russia ('Third Rome') and the Balkans, while the pagan impulses through Pletho

and Cardinal Bessarion (1439, Council of Ferrara) inspire Florentine humanism ('Academy' under Marsilio Ficino, founded 1459).

Antiquity: Festival Cycles

a) *Festival Cycle of the Greek Religion: Example of Athens*



Festivals and Work in Ancient Greece (Commentaries)
In ancient Greece, each city had its own festal calendar. Despite regional commonalities, each city received its identity with its selection of gods and heroes, and its festivals. Here the calendar of Athens is presented. Greek calendars are lunisolar. Lunar months are reconciled with the solar year at irregular intervals. The months usually have their names from their principal feasts. These names reflect the religion. The seasons determine two lengthy annual interstices, when little work is done. It is in these spaces, then, that most festivals fall. The summer interval extends from the wheat harvest until just before the wine harvest (still the case today—with the festal season climaxing on August 15, the Assumption of Mary), from the Skira festival to the New Year feast of the *Panathénaia.* On the latter feast, the whole city turns out. Great festal processions mount the Acropolis, with its Temple of Athena. The perpetual fire that burns in Athena's lamp there is extinguished, and in nocturnal torch procession it is rekindled by young men now received among the adult citizens. The other interval falls in winter, after the sowing, when the rains have begun, and the hardest work, that of the olive harvest, is to be accomplished—the reaping of the fruit from which the whole pride of Athens, its olive oil, is pressed. But then follows a time of little work. In these months, Dionysus 'visits' the city—as God of Wine for the men, God of the Maenads for the women, and as God of the Theater for all, in tragedy or comedy. At the *Anthesteria,* the 'Festival of the New Wine,' there is a kind of carnival. The women's feast, the *Lenaia,* drives the female 'insane'—makes her leave her husband and break the daily rules to which she is accustomed. Theater is presented especially at the *Dionysiacs*. As with all of the festivals, the dramatic, festive play opens with a sacrifice to a god. The play preserves ancient rituals, such as choral singing and dancing, but is not strictly bound to a ritual or religious service. Dionysus is addressed in the play, in his sanctuary stands the great theater, with an altar in the midst, but the pieces are spontaneous, and each is free to develop in its own way. They are not strictly bound to a religious service. Characteristic of these is that they are not to be celebrated in the daily order patterned by the family. On the contrary, it is precisely at seasons of festival that women separate from their spouses; that men celebrate among themselves; that the young men, then in turn the young women, take central position; that the winegrowers celebrate their own festival, and the soldiers, the fishermen, each quarter of the city, each for themselves. The festal calendars, chiseled in stone, determine which social group is to finance the festival, along with the size and kind of the sacrificial animal. This sort of data is a measurement of social degree: persons who have more, for instance in prosperous years, can contribute beyond their obligation, and thereby demonstrate their wealth. In poor years, there is a minimum that can be unpleasant to have to present. Everyday and holiday, toil and celebration, belong together, but each has 'its time'; work does not devour life. The time of enjoyment has to be earned, and well prepared. Each festival gives one group the opportunity to present itself before the others, but not the individual stands in the foreground—rather, the group. Those who do not wish to are compelled to do the financing. There is always the chance, however, to make a name for oneself.

Christoph Auffarth

b) *Festal Cycle of the Roman Religion*

Carmentalia (January 11 and 15): Feast of Goddess of Birth, Carmentis.

The Calends of February (February 1) were the foundation festival of Juno Seispes (Sospita), Mater Regina in Lanuvium (Alban Mountains), at which the consuls brought her a sacrifice. Further, at this festival, a serpentine oracle was performed. A virginal girl was made to offer food to a serpent, in the cultic cave, and, by whether or not the serpent accepted it, a fruitful or unfruitful year was foretold.

Between February 13 and 21, at the former Year's End, families commemorated the *divi parentum* (Lat., 'gods of the ancestors'), their own departed, at the *Parentalia*. Family members prayed at the hearth, and, at the graves or cremation sites, sacrificed fruit, bread, wine, salt, and garlands. Meals were set on the streets for the circulating souls of the dead (who were perhaps represented by masked persons). The private celebration of the dead was incorporated into the state cult in such a way that a sacrifice to the supreme Vestal, the *Vestalis Maxima,* was performed on February 13, to begin the celebration, and a state festival, the *Ferialia*, was held on February 21, to conclude it. At least on this last day, in token of mourning, temples were shut, sacrifice was suspended, state officials doffed their uniforms, hearths in the houses were left unkindled. Strikingly, the mood of the next days, those of the Feast of Friendship, the *Caristia* (February 22), is altogether different. Gifts were exchanged, and on the *Terminalia* (February 23), a neighborhood celebration was held, at which people went to the stone fences of the courtyards. There the dedication of the soil was repeated: the stones were crowned with flowers, and salted, a lamb or chicken was slaughtered, and *puls,* a brew of beans or spelt, was offered.

Still within the mourning period of the Parentalia, fell the *Lupercalia*, on February 15. This was a shepherds' feast from the time when Rome was first being settled, and it combined carnivalesque activities and bustle with rough sexual symbolism and archaic rites. A she-goat or buck and a dog were sacrificed, then the *luperci* ('wolf repellers') charged in—young fellows who rushed about the Palatine, flogging with their goatskin scourges any women they encountered, which was supposed to render them fertile.

Things were just as lively at the *Festival of Goddess Anna Perenna*, on the Ides of March (March 15). Here, in the cultic glade at the first milestone of the Via Flaminia, in tents and leaf huts, persons drank as many cups of wine as they hoped they had years left to live, as well as uttering obscene words ('aischrology').

March was the month to bring the military forces up to condition for bearing arms. Originally, the war season fell between spring planting and the October harvest. The end of February was the moment of ritual preparation for marching off, especially for reviews or inspections, and for purifications (*lustrationes*). On February 27 and March 14 were held the *Equirria*, at which the horses were inspected. On March 19, the *Quinquatrus Maiores,* the feast of the Goddess Minerva on the Aventine, both priesthoods, of the *Salii Palatini* and the *Salii Collini*, performed military dances. On March 23, there followed the ritual purification of the trumpets (*tubae*), the *tubilustrium.*

In April, the season of the 'Games' (*Ludi*) began, merry popular entertainment and grand ritual presentation, all rolled into one: the *Ludi Megalenses*, to the honor of the Magna Mater of Pessinus (April 4–10, introduced 204 BCE)—the 'patrician games'—and the *Ludi Ceriales*, in honor of Ceres, Goddess of Agriculture (April 12–19, introduced in the third century BCE, if not indeed in the fifth, with its principal feast on April 19), the games of the plebs. This cycle ended with the *Ludi Florales*, in honor of the goddess of (grain) blossoms and spring, Flora, held from April 27–29 annually (established 238 BCE; from 173 BCE annually), with its chief festival on the twenty-eighth. These featured 'light entertainment'—stage presentations and erotic dances by the courtesans. Further important games were the *Ludi Apollinares*, in July (5–13; the main festival on the thirteenth), that had been established on grounds of divination warnings during the desperate time of the Second Punic War. Here there were horse races, as well as presentations of tragedy.

All *ludi* were opened by the *pompa circensis*, the procession to the Circus as the place of the games. Images of the gods and their attributes were drawn on floats, accompanied by teams of horses and by the athletes, from the Capitol through the city.

The Festival of the Matrons (Lat., *matronae*) was celebrated by these latter on the *Matralia* (June 11), as the feast of the Latin and Italian Goddess of Light, Mater Matuta. Here, married women prayed for their sisters' children, thus functioning ritually as maternal aunts (*materterae*) and so all the kinship were consolidated. In the households, a female slave, as having no right to any descendancy, and potential rival of the mother of the house, was punished ritually and chased from the house.

Nonae Caprotinae (July 7) was a farmers' festival, on which leaf huts were constructed under wild fig trees, and sacrifices offered there. Young

women slaves and maidservants, dressed 'in reverse,' as matrons, presented sham battles, then struck out through the city, flailing with roots anyone they encountered.

In October, the army returned from the field. The end of the 'war season' was celebrated with a number of festivals. On October 14, there were the *Equirria*, a horse race on the Champs de Mars. On the fifteenth, the feast of *Equus October*, a battle steed (*equus bellator*) was sacrificed. Finally, the inhabitants of two Roman city quarters battled for the horse-head, in a 'fight' resembling that of today's Italian *quartieri*. Finally, the *Armilustrium,* the mustering of the weapons, was on October 19, at which, as in spring (March 19), the Saliers danced.

December 17 saw a carnivalesque festival, the *Saturnalia*. To the honor of the god Saturnus, the differences in social status between lords and servants, free and slave, were canceled for this day (although probably not 'reversed'). There was banqueting in common, and gifts were exchanged in the form of candles and clay figures (*sigillaria*). The exemplar was perhaps that of the Greek *Kronia*.

The year closed with the *Compitalia*, a festival at the end of December ('a few days after the Saturnalia'), determined anew each year according to the status of the field work. It was celebrated at its own 'compital chapels,' at intersections and 'trivia' (where three roads met), where domains met, as the neighborhood's community sacrifice to the guardian spirits of locality, the *Lares Compitales*. They were celebrated in company with the slaves. Over the previous night, the chapels had been hung with wool products, 'one per person.' This simultaneously provided a publicly visible census of the neighborhood. On the feast day, cakes were sacrificed, and there were private dinners, with guests and public games (*Ludi Compitalicii*).

Hubert Mohr

Anti-Semitism

1. Today the concept 'anti-Semitism' denotes any historical form of hostility toward Jews. The word's first publication, however, in 1879 (and doubtless first employed in the milieu of journalist Wilhelm Marr), was by German anti-Semites. They were seeking to denote a new form of antipathy toward Jews, intended to be understood scientifically, and to be grounded in racism, as distinguished from the old 'naïve,' religious hostility. Today, Christian hostility toward Jews is denoted by the specific concept of *anti-Judaism*. 'Anti-Semitism' has become a more comprehensive term, specified by complements such as, respectively, 'ancient,' 'Christian,' 'folk,' or 'racist.' The etymology of 'anti-Semitism' is based on distinctions developed in linguistics and anthropology at the close of the eighteenth century. Here, 'Semitism' was a concept employed in the effort to grasp and disparage the 'spirit' of the Semitic peoples, in contradistinction to that of the Indo-Germanic. What was expressed in this reorganization was an altered, secularized view of the



During the night of May 17, 1990, all of the graves were desecrated in the little Jewish cemetery of the Swiss village of Villaret. In the photograph, Daniel Gurtner attempts to remove the spray-painted swastika from his brother's gravestone. This desecration was part of a wave that swept Europe immediately after a particularly hideous deed in French Carpentras. The toppling of grave markers, and their defacing with symbols and slogans of the extreme right, represent a common form of anti-Semitic activity, committed with impunity in out-of-the-way cemeteries, and arousing public attention as the violation of a double taboo.

Jews, who were now defined no longer in terms of their religion, but as a people, nation, or race. Anti-Semitism as a political ideology can be understood as a protest movement in modern national states that seeks to revoke, in its legal, religious, and political aspects, the emancipation of the Jews. As a part of modern bourgeois society, 'the Jews' were to be combated and excluded. Nevertheless, even modern anti-Semitism has a religious dimension.

Hostility toward Jews in Pre-Christian Antiquity?

2. Scholars dispute whether and from what point in time one may speak of hostility specifically toward Jews in *pre-Christian antiquity*, or whether we are dealing with an attitude of general xenophobic 'anti-barbarism,' as the latter prevailed in respect of other peoples as well. Those who speak of

a specifically ancient anti-Semitism, on the basis of literary sources, emphasize that it is only the Jews that Egyptian and Greek writers reproach with a general misanthropy and xenophobia, as well as with unbelief and superstition. The most important themes in this anti-Jewish literary polemic are the origin of the Jews in Egypt (interpreted as the expulsion of lepers), their special religious concepts, and their way of life 'under the Law' (monotheism, abstinence from 'impure foods,' the Sabbath, circumcision), with their consequent withdrawal from gentile environment; further, their worship in the Temple at Jerusalem (allegedly the worship of an ass, involving human sacrifices); as well as, in Roman times, the reproach of proselytism, expressing fear of the destruction of Roman customs by the Jewish minority.[1] The origin of anti-Judaism in ancient times was partially located in Egypt, especially in the multicultural metropolis of Alexandria, and partly a result of the conflicts in Syria and Palestine (Maccabean revolt, Jewish War).

New Testament

3. Those who contest the existence of a pagan anti-Semitism, and understand it as a manifestation of how a general anti-barbarism played out, see the inception and principal causality of the development of Western anti-Semitism in early *Christianity.* The Christians, who had emerged from Judaism themselves, at first denied the imputation of core causal elements of ancient hostility toward the Jews. As a breakaway Jewish sect, Christianity was in competition with Judaism, which by and large rejected Christian teaching. From this ambivalent position of succession and competition, an anti-Jewish tradition sprang up that is discernible in the New Testament itself.[2] Christianity's self-image as the 'New Covenant' and 'true Israel' induced it to deny the Jews, as the hopelessly 'stubborn' people of the 'Old Testament,' membership in the New (Acts 28:25-28; Gal 4:21-31; Mark 12:9-12). Anti-Jewish reproaches centrally featured an evangelical overemphasis on the part played by the Jews in the history of Jesus's suffering. The Gospels downplay the actual responsibility of the Roman authority (Mt 27:25, 'His blood be on us and on our children!'). Last, Christian texts accuse the Jews of the 'murder of the Christ-Messiah': "Who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out" (1 Thess 2:15). There is also a negative description of the Pharisees and scribes as hypocrites (Matt 23:13-29), as advocates of a purely outward piety (Luke 16:15), and as the enemies of Jesus (Mark 3:6; 12:13). The Johannine gospel characterizes not only the Sadducees and Pharisees, but the Jews *per se* as Jesus's enemies, and charges them with having the devil as their father (John 8:40-44).

Early Christianity

4. Across the spectrum of *early Christian* church literature (in polemical and exegetical writings, sermons, and Christian historiography) there developed, from the early second century onward, a self-consistent anti-Jewish position that far outran any pagan anti-Semitism in its disparagement of the Jewish people and faith. This position became an integral component of official teaching. In the form of "Adversus Iudaeos" texts, Christianity was seeking reinforcement by discriminating against and battling with the Jews. These texts grew into a literary genre, intent on handing down anti-Jewish polemics and arguments. In the Church Fathers of the fourth century, we encounter the anti-Jewish ideology as a consistent system. They represented the Church as the legatee of God's promises, with the task of creating a specifically Christian interpretation of

the Hebrew Bible. Now the Hebrew Bible could be employed as 'evidence from Scripture' against the Jews. All negative pronouncements—such as the prophets' criticism of Israel—were now applied to the Jews generally. Alongside their use of the Hebrew Bible, they appraised historical events, such as the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, as God's retribution for the Crucifixion, and thus proof of Israel's rejection. The development of the basic repertoire of Christian anti-Semitism was realized: God's rejection of the Jews, the murder of Christ, hostility toward Christians. (Only from the thirteenth century onward were components based on popular piety added.) Then, with the formal establishment of Christianity as the state religion (→ Late Antiquity), the fourth and fifth centuries were the scene of the devastation of synagogues and anti-Jewish riots—mainly led by clerics, and not by the populace as later in the Middle Ages. Subsequently, this theologically founded anti-Semitism seems to have presented no obstacle to Jewish coexistence with the society of the Christian majority before the high Middle Ages, even though the theologians of the early Middle Ages, in their commentaries, carried on with the anti-Jewish tradition of the Church Fathers, and even though synodal determinations sought more and more to isolate the Jewish communities.

Middle Ages

5. Only after the Christianization of the West was complete, in an environment of intraecclesial reform, did matters come to such a pass, in the course of the First Crusade (1096), that violent riots erupted against Jewish communities.[3] This event marked the beginning of the spread of hostility toward the Jews beyond the circle of theologians to the laity, to become one of the components of popular piety. A frank deterioration of the social position of the Jews is to be observed after the twelfth century. While (in 1237) they gained a special position as servants of the Emperor, they were nevertheless refused admittance to the guilds, which thought of themselves as Christian brotherhoods. From the side of the Church, through the determinations of the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215), they were marked off as a particular group, to be identified by their clothing and excluded from public office. Further, with the promulgation of the doctrine of transubstantiation at that Council, they became a demonized minority, to be incriminated with capital offenses (legends of ritual murder and the allegation of profanation of the host), along with, later, the reproach of the poisoning of springs and the slanderous campaign against the Talmud led by the mendicant orders (1239–1247, with the first public burning of those writings in Paris in 1242). In connection with Jews' circumstance-driven specialization as financiers of the feudal lords and the cities, and as large-scale merchants, they were accused of usury (Innocent III), which made them convenient victims in political conflicts. Coupled with a deep-seated fear of these 'enemies of Christians,' this religious and social stigmatization led to the great waves of persecution of the fourteenth century (the *Rindtfleisch und Armleder* persecution, 1298, 1336–1338), as well as to the so-called plague-pogroms of 1348–1349, in which many Jewish communities in Eastern Europe were exterminated wholesale. The Jews had already been driven from England (1290) and France (1306), and this was followed in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries by their expulsion from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1497). Of course, an economic motive accompanied religious components in the matter of hostility toward Jews. In any event, in the wake of the massive conversion of Jews (the so-called

Conversos) under pressure of their Christian environment, a form of anti-Judaism developed in the fifteenth century that, measured by today's standards, would be understood as racist: Through the establishment of descendancy (in conformity with new *estatutos de limpieza de sangre*, 'purity-of-blood statutes'), it was sought further to distinguish between the Conversos and Christians, as the former were suspected of 'clandestine Judaizing.' The Conversos now received the differentiating name of *Marranos* ('swine'), and they and their descendants were denied access to certain professions.

Reformation

6. Religious confrontations with Judaism continued in the fifteenth and sixteen centuries (establishment of a Jewish ghetto in Rome in 1555, introduction of the 'compulsory sermon' in 1584). Even the Reformation brought no changes here. At first, Luther had hoped for missionary success among the Jews—despite his constant, caustic expressions of disapproval of the fact that the Torah was still the Jewish legal text—and had pleaded for their gentler treatment. But as the Jewish mission failed, and Christians began to be converted to Judaism, he published vehemently anti-Jewish writings (such as "Of the Jews and their Lies," 1543). Here the usual theological condemnations were accompanied by a demand of civil authorities that synagogues and Jewish homes be burned, and Jewish writings confiscated; further, that a prohibition be imposed on the exercise of their professions by rabbis and itinerant Jewish merchants. Other Lutheran theologians, as well as those of the Reformed Church, pursued less harsh a course, although they too classified the Jews as uneducated, unteachable, and corruptors of Holy Writ. In the seventeenth century, the Protestant return to the Bible produced a kinder, 'philosemite' current, and disapproved of any general condemnation of the Jews.

Enlightenment and Emancipation

7. The philosophy of the → *Enlightenment* adopted an ambivalent position vis-à-vis the Jews. In the name of tolerance, and spurred by their anticlericalism, some Enlightenment figures opposed the persecution and oppression of the Jews, such as Toland, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Lessing. Others, however, with Judaism as the root of their own rejection of Christianity, criticized the Jews for backwardness, religious → fanaticism, and a 'spirit of usury'—Voltaire, Diderot, d'Holbach.

With the transition from the hierarchical, feudal society to a middle-class one, the question of the position of the Jews arose in a political context, as well. Until now, the Jews had, in many respects, lived in Christian societies as an autonomous, separate minority. In the context of other social reforms (emancipation of the serfs, freedom of profession), the French Revolution ultimately entailed radically revolutionary (in France), or gradual (in the rest of Europe), promotion of the Jews to equal legal rights. The Christian goal was their 'civil improvement' as a backward, discriminated religious minority.[4] Thus, the 'emancipation of the Jews' was less a philanthropic measure than one taken by national bureaucracies in the interest of order. In France, the revolutionary solution indeed led to legal equality for the Jews, but the latter were soon opposed, especially on the Catholic side, as champions of a secular modernity, and as authors and beneficiaries of the 1789 revolution. Here we have a seam running between traditional anti-Judaism and the anti-modernist anti-Semitism of the churches. Now a previously recessive anti-Jewish conceptualization

was thrust to the fore: the notion of a secret Jewish conspiracy to gain control of the whole world. In Germany, Russia, and Austria (Austria-Hungary), a process of Jewish emancipation, interrupted by setbacks, ultimately got under way, accompanied by everything from the 'dark side' of the Jewish debates to violent injustices (as in the *hep-hep* unrest of 1819). This produced anti-Semitic prejudices and stereotypes: the Jews as a state within a state, their corrupting effect on society and the economy, and their 'national' characteristics. This in turn provoked corresponding recommendations for action in the form of state counter-measures, from legal discrimination and plans for their expulsion and resettlement, to proposals for their annihilation.[5] Thus, one may designate this phase as early 'anti-Semitism' in the modern sense. With few exceptions—for example, in the empire of the Tsars, where until 1917 Jews had still not attained full equality—the process of the legal integration of the Jews was launched around 1870 in Europe. This was no obstacle to their exclusion from certain positions in public service, in education, and in the military, unless they had been converted to Christianity. At least in Western and Central Europe, the process of emancipation led to the swift social ascent to the middle classes of a Jewish minority that, in the eighteenth century, had been a widely impoverished group.

Modern Racial Anti-Semitism

8. It was this ascent—interpreted in the light of long anti-Jewish tradition—that motivated the radical, sectarian late nineteenth-century movement for the repeal of the emancipation laws and the closure of the entire process. 'The Jews' now stood as a symbol of a modernity to be rejected across the board. They must answer for the excesses of capitalism and for the consequent social question, for the collapse of culture, for a too speedy urbanization with its dark side, for secularization, for materialism. For broad social circles, anti-Semitism became a 'cultural code,'[6] distinguishing modernists from anti-modernists. In the Berlin controversy over anti-Semitism (1879–1881), unleashed by an anti-Semitic article of Heinrich von Treitschke, renowned historian of national liberalism, the 'Jewish question' was indicted as the most pressing social and national problem facing the Germans. The 'rich German Jew' and the poor immigrant Eastern Jew stood, on the one side, for a fear, on the part of the (educated) citizenry, of the looming society of the masses. On the other side, they represented a threat to the nation of an over-foreignization, and proletarization. A popular racist, self-styled scientific anti-Semitism was mounted that appealed to social Darwinism, cultural criticism, and racist interpretations of history (A. de Gobineau, Houston St. Chamberlain), and which grew to be the ideology of a nationalistic integration. It also became the ideological basis of a politico-cultural movement that, in several congresses (1882, 1883, 1886), sought to establish an international network. In Germany, to be sure, the movement was ideologically divided, into a conservative, national Christian anti-Judaism (under the leadership of court preacher Adolf Stoecker) and an anti-Christian and racist anti-Semitism of politically more radical forces (Otto Böckel, Ernst Henrici, Hermann Ahlwahrdt, among others), a division that presented an obstacle to organizational unification. Alongside of these efforts on the part of the anti-Semites to organize in political parties, and to spread their ideas through publicity and advertising, we find, throughout Europe toward the end of the nineteenth century, a revival of allegations of ritual murder (the Buschoff affair in Xanten, 1891; Konitz in West Prus-

sia, 1900; Tisza-Eszlar in Hungary, 1982–1983; the Beilis matter in Russia, 1911–1913), anti-Jewish tactics of violence (Pomerania and West Prussia, 1881 and 1900; a wave of violence in France, 1898; the waves of Russian pogroms, 1881–1883, 1903–1906), and scandals (for example, the Dreyfus affair). These had at first led to a surge of anti-Semitism, which, however, subsequently lost much of its importance in the political life of France with the victory of the republican Dreyfusards. During and after the First World War, anti-Semitism waxed in intensity, especially in the states that had lost the war, Germany, Austria, and Hungary: Here the *völkisch* right made the Jews responsible for the war, the defeat (the stab-in-the-back legend), the loss of regions, and the 1918 revolution (the 'November criminals'): Jews were the secret instigators of an all-inclusive 'plutocratic-Jewish-Marxist' conspiracy. This connection with anti-Bolshevism gained anti-Semitism a wider ideological dimension.

National Socialism

The anti-Semitism of the early Nazi Party (NSDAP) of the years 1919–1923 only represented a concentration and radicalization of popular imperialistic ideas stemming from the time before 1918, and was in no way distinct from that of other popular unions. Hitler propagated an 'anti-Semitism of reason,' based on an understanding of the development of world history as a struggle of races, which itself was built upon a pseudo-scientific literature.[7] The 'Jewish question' was formulated as a racial problem: racism could amalgamate hostility toward Jews with a racial utopia, social biology, and racial purity (→ Eugenics). This Manichaean system of thought assigned the Jews a special role: unlike any other non-Aryans, who found themselves on the lowest rung of a racial hierarchy, the Jews were demonized as a mighty 'anti-race,' and set over against the ideal Aryan type. (The Christian conceptualization of the Jews as the anti-Christ, and a soteriology of the expectation of a final combat, entered the process.) Definition by 'blood,' however, was joined to the supposition of a specific 'Jewish spirit,' that, in liberalism, capitalism, Bolshevism, and Freemasonry, had fashioned itself an instrument of international domination. The National Socialists saw 'International Judaism' as the driving force behind all internal and external political problems, and their view appeared to be verified in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," an anti-Semitic falsification of the Russian Secret Service whose authenticity was promptly accepted in the NSDAP. In Hitler's view, this 'world conflict' between Jews and Aryans was to be solved only by the 'wholesale removal' of the Jews. This conception of a struggle for existence was based partly on the connection between anti-Semitism and the notion of a racial utopia, together with the colonial concept of *Lebensraum* ('room to live'). National Socialist anti-Semitism was not only based on racial myths, however, but had incorporated all of the motifs of the anti-Semitic tradition, and had concocted a mixture of utterly inconsistent ideas. Thus, the picture of the Jew oscillated according to the occasion at hand—between the image of a super-powerful, demonic enemy, and that of the parasitic inferior person.

In the beginning, there was no concrete plan of action, and National Socialist Germany at first saw the 'solution to the Jewish problem' in emigration. Still, genocide lurked in the logic of this anti-Semitism, whose goal was a complete, even physical, 'removal of the Jews.' If by no means in a rectilinear process planned in advance, this was the way National Social-

ist Jewish policy ran, from emigration to deportation to Ghettoization (→ Ghetto), and finally, to the murder of the European Jews.

The → Shoah, the murder of some six million Jews and the annihilation of German and Eastern Jewish culture, did not mean the end of anti-Semitism. Political and pedagogical efforts abounded, along with a critical review of anti-Judaism in the churches (Stuttgart Declaration, 1945; "Word of Guilt [addressed] to Israel," Evangelische Kirche Deutschlands, Berlin and Weißensee, 1950; Declaration of the Rhineland Synod, "Toward the Renewal of Relations between Christians and Jews," 1980; appeals of the World Council of Churches, 1948, 1962; Second Vatican Council, 1965). But anti-Semitism lives on, as a prejudice, in parts of the population of Europe and the United States. It is still partly motivated by Christianity, but it continues to be most at home in the ideological arsenal of organizations of the extreme right, which deny that the Holocaust ever occurred, and represent its concept as a means of 'Jewish exploitation.'[8] Alongside the older forms of anti-Jewish activity, such as the desecration of cemeteries, graffiti, and the distribution of pamphlets and handbills, right extremism today also uses the Internet for the propagation of its virulent campaigns. Of course, anti-Semitism has lost its political mobilization, and is publicly ostracized. But with the founding of the state of Israel, and the Near East conflict, it has expanded also in Arab states. A variant of anti-Semitism has appeared with anti-Zionism (→ Zionism), which has played a role as late as the 1980s, especially in the policy of Communist states and extreme leftist groups. In some Eastern European countries, especially in Russia, with the collapse of Communism, we observe a recrudescence of traditional anti-Semitism, now presenting itself in a nationalistic coloration.

1. Schäfer 1997.
2. Gager 1983; Menninger 1994.
3. Good survey in Gilomen 1996.
4. Programmatic title of influential document on emancipation: Christian Wilhelm Dohm, Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden, 2 parts, Berlin/Stettin 1781/1783; see Rürup 1975.
5. See Erb/Bergmann 1989.
6. Volkov 1990, 23.
7. Graml 1988, 94.
8. Straus et al. 1980.

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→ *Conflict/Violence, Judaism, Migration, National Socialism, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Race/Racism, Shoah*

Werner Bergmann

Apartheid

1. The word 'apartheid' was introduced in political terminology following the Second World War. It should be translated 'apartness' (etymologically), 'separation,' 'telling apart,' or 'distinguishing,' and expresses the thought of a divided development among various 'races' living in areas of geographical or social division. 'Apartheid' comes from the Afrikaans, the language of South Africa's Boers—immigrants of Dutch extraction and their descendants—and denoted, at the very latest since the signing of the Constitution of the South African Union in 1910, the fundamental principle of white governmental policy in South Africa. Apartheid is a complex concept, consisting of political and economic measures having their foundations in an ideology of racial discrimination. Persons, organizations, and the government, have employed it in striving for domination of the black population by way of cultural control and economic exploitation.

The Apartheid Laws ('Big Apartheid')

2. After 1949, when apartheid was officially raised to the status of state policy, the government of the Boer National Party gradually legislated an avalanche of law—more than two thousand ordinances, decrees, and individual laws—oriented to the division of the various population groups in terms of racial considerations. One of the measures was the detested Population Registration Act (1950), according to which every citizen of South Africa was listed by the Office of Racial Classification as belonging to one of four

distinct population groups: 'Black,' 'Colored,' 'Asian,' or 'White.' Further, in 1953, through the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the various groups were assigned separate schools, hospitals, and so on. The law prohibited any 'commingling' of 'whites' and 'non-whites.' The Group Areas Act of 1950 had further set out that each individual would be assigned his or her place of residence, by the state and according to group membership. Thus, ten 'homelands' were established, over some 13% of South African territory, in which the majority of the South African population (72%) were required to live. Subsequent laws sought to regulate sexual relations between the 'races': The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Act (1927), which was reinforced in 1950 and 1957, forbade intimate relations among the races. The effects of the above legislation were recognizable in the structure of the churches, as well. The NGK (Netherlands Reformed Church) created 'daughter churches' for blacks and coloreds, strictly separated from the 'mother church,' yet completely dependent upon it. The Evangelical Lutheran Church followed a similar course, segregating its colored and black members. Only the Catholics, Methodists, and Anglicans formed 'mixed race' church communities. Some manifestations of apartheid in everyday life were racially segregated schools, rest rooms, restaurants, buses, passageways, and so on—'little apartheid.'

Little Apartheid

The End of Apartheid

Foreign relations of the black *liberation struggle against apartheid* were led by the United Nations (Special Committee against Apartheid, 1962), and the domestic policy by Nelson Mandela (African National Congress—ANC), Steve Biko (Black Consciousness Movement—BCC), and Robert Sobukwe (Pan-African Congress—PAC). The national and international fight for liberation was successfully concluded on February 2, 1990, with the lifting of the ban on freedom movements, and on February 11, 1990 with the release of Nelson Mandela from state imprisonment on Robben Island. But the definitive democratization of South Africa came only in 1994 with the first general elections, which were won by the African National Congress led by Nelson Mandela. The homelands were dismantled, and all apartheid laws were rescinded; and one South Africa, for all South Africans, was established.

Apartheid and Religion

3. Apartheid had its *ideological roots* in the Christian religion. In terms of the history of religions, the Boers are associated with Calvinism, and this view provides them with the doctrine of predestination in justification of their political activities. *Afrikanerdom* (the totality of the Boer nation and their ideology) is regarded not as the work of human beings, but as the creation of God. The guiding Boer conception is that God has brought them to Africa, given them Afrikaans for their language, and assigned them the task of spreading the Christian religion there. The Dutch Reformed Church, to which more than eighty percent of South Africa's white population belong, defends three fundamental ideas in particular that are regarded as verifying white superiority and justifying white supremacy. One is the notion of their place as a 'chosen people,' with a 'divine mission' to lead and civilize the African peoples. Another is the idea of 'nonmixing' with other peoples, in order to preserve their Afrikaner identity as a 'chosen people.' Finally, there is the conceptualization of their right to claim the land God has given, precisely because the Boers are that chosen people (Acts 7:45; 17:26; Rom 11:1-12). By way of an example of apartheid

theology and mythology, we may cite the appeal to Noah's curse of his son Ham, in explanation of black Africans' 'inborn inferiority': "Cursed be Canaan [i.e., as son of Ham]; lowest of slaves shall he be to his brothers" (Gen 9:25). The genealogy that follows (10:6-20), which lists a personified Egypt (Heb., *Mitzrayim*) among the sons of Ham, therefore serves to make Ham the ancestor of all black Africans. Only a *theology of liberation*, at the hands of Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu, Beyers Naude, and others has delivered the Christian religion from the biased interpretations and explications on which it had based its mechanism of oppression, and has conveyed a new consciousness to the mostly black Christian population.

'Apartheid' in International Usage

4. In international usage, 'apartheid' has become a technical term denoting any state-imposed separation of different population groups. Today, the word is also applied to other instances of state racial discrimination—for example, in the media, with respect to the Albanians in Kosovo.

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→ *Africa II, Colonialism, Ghetto, Prejudice/Stereotypes, Race/Racism*

Ute Kollies-Cummings

Apocalypse

General

The Apocalypse as a text, and apocalyptic as prophetic symbolic disclosure of the ultimate destruction of evil and triumph of good, are elements of a religious bestowal of meaning upon (interpretation of) → time. Every complex religion presents the origin and end of the time of human or cosmic life in mythical images. The original meaning of 'apocalypse' (Gr., 'revelation,' from *apokalýptein*, 'unwrap,' 'bare') is a terrible and/or joyful uncovering, in the course of an act of Greek-Hellenistic worship, of a picture of the gods. The concept of 'apocalypse' is transferred to the description of sacred occurrences of the last times. Thus, apocalypticism (from c. 200 BCE, first in Judaism, and flourishing into the second century CE) expects the time of the world not to be renewed, and counts on a transformation, whose law and manner are known to God alone, as it ends. Apocalypses measure historical time out of an exclusive interest in → salvation, and thus represent elements decisive for salvation history, metaphorically, as temporally latest and last (eschatology). These last things bear a salvific character. Apocalypses proclaim the divine will with



Shuddering, a group of people watches a lowering, menacing, sky. Some have turned away—unless they have not yet dared to look. What are they waiting for? Is the suspense unbearable? Are expectations subsiding? The apocalypse: how will it come? Or has it already happened? Huddled under that sky, the little company stands as a sign of—what? Painting by Richard Oelze, 1935–1936, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

an eye to future, as well as past, salvation. Incorporating formal elements stipulated by the genre (prophecy, dream, ascension, testament), and stylistic means calculated to enhance verisimilitude, such as predating, they ply their orbits around the *future of the saints*, that is, of the just, of the elect of God, whose destiny will be unveiled in the end-time presently dawning. In its status as a bridge to the absolute future, the apocalypse anticipates what will occur at the end of days. It consoles the (small) chosen remnant in its hard lot, announcing to it its salvation, and devastation and destruction to the unsalutary powers of the world. The information is transmitted from the contrasting perspective of matter-of-fact observation, and the highest pathos, the latter compassing a wide spectrum of → emotions. In the United States in particular, this religious interpretation of history—often referred to as 'rapture culture'—is of particular importance today (→ Millenarianism/Chiliasm).

The Johannine Apocalypse

2. The *history of Christian culture* is steeped in the text and symbolism of the *Revelation of John*, which was received in the New Testament canon (→ Bible; Canon). That disciple is said to have beheld his revelation on the isle of Patmos. The probable time of composition is around 100 CE: "The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he has sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John: Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw" (Rev 1:1-2; King James Bible). A concentration on Jesus Christ as subject and object of this revelation, as well as on a divine creative Spirit, distinguishes the text of John both from other apocalypses and from the more recent reception of the Johannine text itself.

The powerful inspiration provided by the Apocalypse in the plethora of its long-lasting effects is to be attributed to its *catastrophic symbolism of salvation and destruction.* Here we have the 'apocalyptic' horsemen, monsters, the whore of Babylon, the Lamb, the trumpeting angels, Armageddon ('Mount of Megiddo'), two final battles, a one-thousand-year reign of the just, the New Jerusalem. In the billowing luxuriance of the history of the text's reception, these symbols form the framework of the coming of the Son of Man, the Christ, and of his adversary (later identified with the → Antichrist). The effect of these symbols on religious art is scarcely to be overrated. However, it reaches far beyond.

The Apocalypse as Poetical Material

3. In the epochal crises in the history of European Christianity, the Apocalypse ceases to be merely a text: it becomes literary material, or 'fabric.' It serves as a pattern for the interpretation of the phenomenon of the world in terms of salvation history, for the purpose of overcoming crises by 'reading' them. The text is appropriated by the most divergent social groupings. The hierarchical or anarchical attempts at various legitimizations in the name of eschatological salvation nevertheless remain elements of a quasi-infinite history of interpretation. While, for example, in the Middle Ages emperor, pope, and dissidents, in alternation, counted as embodiments of the Antichrist, Christ became the antithetical figure of all authority across the board. In the medieval sense, the Apocalypse is the fabric utilized in, for example, Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Here the poet highlights, to be sure, his vision of the next world; but he also designs, with the help of citations from the Apocalypse, a just society of earth.

The Apocalypse in Modernity

4. The transformation of the Apocalypse into poetical material explains the tenacious presence of its elements coming into play in modern testimonials of culture whose concern for Christology and eschatology has long since evaporated. Thus arises an artificial style steeped in anguish and predicting catastrophe—a style with which the buzzword 'apocalypse' makes para- and post-religious history, partly on the coattails of biblical piety, partly as a code for 'end of the world' simply. In modern times, the human person is conscious of being the subject of history, and agent of life's span. It is true that certain images of history retain apocalyptical elements, inasmuch as, for instance, the history of the world can be read as a judgment upon that world. But the subject of the secularized apocalypse is the human being, not God, and its matter is the old world, not a new existence. The recasting of apocalyptical elements leaves the dynamics of the poetical material intact—only, the catastrophes of human society in the twentieth century are no longer interpretable as the agonized echoes of a celestial world. After all, the apocalypse can now be realized: Human beings usurp it. A plethora of artistic materials absorbed these dynamics, and gave them form, at about the time of the First World War. For example, we have Karl Kraus's drama, *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit* ("The Last Days of Humanity," 1918/19), or expressionist painting, with its spiritual abstraction of ways the world might end. The catastrophe of the Hitler phenomenon can be understood as the pinnacle and crisis of the real dynamics here. One individual now seeks to subordinate the world age to his span of life (Hans Blumenberg). Not arbitrarily, then, did Christian anti-Fascists see Hitler as the Antichrist. The battle against that murderous

experiment led, for its part, to the open-ended, critical installation of a world-annihilator in the form of nuclear weapons—a notorious subject for the artificial critical style that finds new objectivity in satire and grotesque caricature, or that issues in the trivialization of homemade end-of-the-worlds. Eco's *The Name of the Rose* indicts, with broad effect, an apocalyptic frenzy as fundamentalist obsession. In film, Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (1979) portrays the pitfalls and deviations of human self-preservation as a war-spawned 'sacrifice' offered by ambiguous human life as such.

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→ *Antichrist, Bible, Canon, End/Eschaton, Fundamentalism, Millenarialism/Chiliasm, Monotheism, Myth, Prophet, Secrecy, Salvation, Time*

Christian W. Senkel

Apologetics

In order that theologians might be provided with arguments for the 'defense' of church teaching in discussions with 'unbelievers,' apologetics was taught as part of their education. First, in the debate with 'scientific atheism,' and then, in Germany, in that against National Socialism, apologetics experts gathered reports and distributed them to the pastoral clergy. Here it was, and is, necessary, first, to know the objections of opponents, and then the apposite responses to them. This process gave rise to ecclesiastical institutes, which today observe the religious scene altogether critically, but at times also with the intention of giving neutral information.

→ *Conflict/Violence, Polemics, Theology*

Christoph Auffarth

Apostasy

General

1. Originally, 'apostasy' (Gk. *apostasía*, 'defection') was a political concept for a rebellion against the established order. In Hellenistic Jewish literature, it was charged with religious connotations, and since then has denoted a defection from the faith. Thus, an apostate is someone who abandons her or his religion to embrace another religion or worldview. But apostasy also denotes a failure to acknowledge certain dogmas, or means the rejection or alteration of actions prescribed for worship within a religion. Voluntary or constrained, apostasy is often regarded by the forsaken religion as a high crime, to which severe penalties will attach. Apostates and those who seduce them into apostasy are excluded from the community, deprived of rights, and dispossessed or even put to death. The allegation of apostasy was often employed for the fortification of ecclesiastical power, and, by way of the collaboration of the state, used for the liquidation of political adversaries.

Apostasy in Judaism

2. In *Judaism*, apostasy means desertion of God and his laws. Here, the observance of moral obligations and the execution of religious actions are more important than the acknowledgement of particular faith formulas. The concept of apostasy included worship of 'pagan' gods, or adoption of Greek philosophies like Epicureanism. This changed with the advent of Christianity. Paul was an apostate in the eyes of the Jews, as he introduced norms and behaviors that ran counter to the Mosaic Law. Beginning in the fourth century, Christianity had civil power on its side in Europe, and numerous Jews became Christians out of fear, or under duress. Such apostates received temperate treatment if and when they returned. Many baptized Jews died at the stake during the Inquisition in sixteenth-century Spain, accused of secret abandonment of a Christianity to which they had been compelled to submit (Marranism; → Anti-Semitism).

Apostasy in Christianity

3. Emergent *Christianity* immediately mounted its polemics against the apostasy that consisted in a relapse into Jewish law (Heb 4-6). The closeness of the two religions fostered an ongoing struggle in the matter of (actual and putative) apostasy. In times of persecution, apostasy seriously threatened the existence of the Christian community, as the steadfast and the fallen (under threat to their lives) stood in irreconcilable opposition. → Augustine defended the fallen against the ethical rigorism of fourth-century North African 'Donatists,' who had remained steadfast and who now refused to readmit to the fold those who had fallen. In the European → Middle Ages, the imputation of apostasy became a means employed by the clergy to eliminate critics or adversaries and to multiply their own power and wealth. Thus, as the fourteenth century dawned, pope and French crown used the allegation of apostasy (or else of homosexuality) as a pretext for exterminating the prestigious and influential Knights Templar in France, out of considerations of political power. Apostasy to atheism came to be regarded in the Middle Ages as a mental illness, and → conversion was rare, seeing that abandonment of the state religion meant surrender of privileges and community.



Muslims in England demonstrate against the writer Salman Rushdie, who, according to them, had incurred the charge of apostasy with his *The Satanic Verses*. The photograph leaves little doubt as to the punishment they find appropriate for the demonized renegade. After 1989, when the Ayatollah → Khomeini pronounced sentence of death upon him (→ Fatwa), Rushdie lived in fear of his life, a long time closely concealed from the public. (Benita von Behr)

Apostasy in Islam

4. In lands of *Islamic* culture, the conversion of Christians, and even of Jews, was no rarity. In the Qur'an, any Muslim who falls away from Islam is threatened with severe retribution in the world to come. But even there, Allah's forgiveness is possible after a complete change of heart. In practice, however, men found guilty of apostasy were frequently sentenced to death—the judgment that, in recent times, has been pronounced on Anglo-Indian author Salman Rushdie (*The Satanic Verses*, 1988; → Fatwa). Women under suspicion face prison or the lash. Apostasy under compulsion is not seen as a transgression.

Apostasy in the Present

5. In the Western world, due to the separation of hurch and state, the concept of apostasy is no longer of social importance. The church has lost its location as central point in the life of Christians and society, and no longer has any purchase on means of civil power. Personal choice in the 'religion market' has become one's private affair. Thus, threatened punishments for apostasy no longer have any social or legal consequences in Western societies of a previously Christian complexion. It is otherwise in parts of the world where Islamic law molds society. In Shiite → Iran, persons professing other faiths, such as → Baha'i, are prosecuted and put to death even today. In the area of the new religious movements, fundamentalist-oriented groups sometimes place their members under severe psychological and economic pressure in case of their departure. But likewise problematic, because of the constraint and manipulation required for the success of the undertaking, is the occasional practice of the radical dissolution of believers' bond to their group by relatives who compel their exodus with the involvement of so-called religious specialists ('deprogramming'; → Anti-Cult Movements).

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Conversion, Group, Inquisition, New Religions*

Nils Grübel

Apostle

In antiquity, 'apostle' (Gr. *Apóstolos*, 'emissary,' 'messenger') denoted the act or agent of a mission. Herodotus occasionally used the word in the sense of a 'courier.'

Traditionally, with reference to the twelve 'Apostles,' the word denotes any of Jesus's twelve closest disciples. As witnesses of the Resurrection, they are regarded as the plenipotentiary proclaimers of the Gospel. The gospels also name other apostles, however, such as Paul, who has not been one of the 'twelve Apostles,' but who has been called to be an Apostle through a vision of the risen Jesus.

A univocal understanding of the concept is not available. Essential elements would be a mission from God, the proclamation of the Gospel, the founding of communities, and the perseverance of these communities in their attachment to the testimony of the Apostle. Conflicts among divergent directions of belief led to a definition of the content of the 'true' faith. An appeal to the (supposed) authenticity of the testimony of the Apostles was regarded as, on the one hand, evidencing the 'truth' of the faith, and on the other, identifying the Church, by virtue of the 'apostolic succession' of bishops, as the 'true' locus of the faith. The pope, regarded as the successor of the Apostle Peter, occupies the highest place. According to the understanding of the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches, both the Church in its totality and the bishops through the apostolic succession are the legitimate legatees of Christ and the guarantors of a binding interpretation of revelation. The views of the churches of the Reformation are at odds with this position, especially in the matter of the apostolic succession.

→ *Apologetics, Christianity, Mission, Pope, Reformation*

Babett Remus

Archaism

With the crisis of the belief in progress, in the 1880s, came a change in the models of history. Instead of an evaluation of the progress of the ages as a progress from primitive beginnings to ever loftier rungs on the ladder of humanity, one encounters a complete reversal of the conceptualization of this development. First, archaeologists came to understand that pre-classical art is more than a 'not yet'—the incapability, so to speak, of presenting

anything worthwhile at this early stage—which →Nietzsche conceptualizes as anticlassicism. Then Europeans discovered the altogether different possibilities of expression in, for example, the art of Africa. In the conception of religion, a preference for the archaic rises up against modernity, and middle-class Christianity. Mircea → Eliade's soaring praise of the archaic religions, herald a critique of civilization like that later demonstrated in the ecology movement.

→ *Evolutionism, History, Modernity, Progress, Religion*

Christoph Auffarth

Architecture, Sacred

If religion is to be a vital institution in society, buildings are needed: from a walled approach or entranceway to a cave, to pieces of architecture reserved exclusively for religious use. Buildings for worship are places where gods are thought of as dwelling, where their images are displayed, and where persons show their reverence through gifts. The altar is not always the central point. The Greek temple is rather a treasure house for votive gifts, while the sacrifice is offered on the altar in front of the house of God. The construction is altogether different in Judaism and Islam, where it is conceived as a space in which the community gathers for the reading of Scripture, for its explanation, for prayers, and for songs. Synagogues or mosques must always face the holy city or the direction of the sunrise (→ Orientation), but they are not sacred themselves. In Catholic Christianity, alongside its main function as a place where the community comes together, there also is the sacred character of the → altar, enhanced by relics, which makes holiness transportable all over the world.

→ *Altar, Art/Aesthetics, Cave, Materiality, Orientation, Place (Sacred)*

Christoph Auffarth

Aristotelianism

As a comprehensive concept, Aristotelianism designates the reception of the Greek philosopher Aristotle (383–322 BCE) in the medieval theology and philosophy of → scholasticism. The authoritative Church Father → Augustine having clearly preferred Plato's competing philosophy (→ Platonism), the course of Aristotle's reception in the West was very slow prior to the work of Albertus Magnus (1200–1280) and his pupil Thomas Aquinas (1525–1570). The writings of Aristotle were discovered and used in Christian theology only in the wake of the intellectual theology of the medieval universities, where they had come thanks to the legacy of the commentaries of Arab Muslim scholars Averroes and Avicenna, along with the translation schools of Toledo and Palermo. Until then, in the main, only the "Categories," in Boethius' *Commentary* thereon, had been available.

The comprehensive systematics of Aristotelian thought worked its inspirational effect in the production of the great theological "summas" (Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*), which—despite initial opposition—established themselves as the great scholarly creations of Western theology. A plethora of Aristotelian and pseudo-Aristotelian writings found entry into scholastic thought. The compositions in physics (e.g., *De Caelo*, "On the Heavens"), like the "Metaphysics" that followed (ethics, theory of understanding, logic, theory of being), essentially contributed to the development of medieval sciences and philosophy.

The papal Church sought to restrict the reception of these 'pagan writings,' their growing influence in the European universities, and the displacement of the patristic Platonic traditions. Thus, one sees in the thirteenth century the continuously renewed prohibitions (in vain) of the study of Aristotle. Since the issuing of an encyclical of Leo XIII in 1870, Aristotelianism in its interpretation by Thomas Aquinas, even its neo-Thomistic presentation, has become one of the official bulwarks of Catholic theology.

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→ *Metaphysics, Platonism, Scholasticism, Science, Theology*

Stefan Hartmann

Ars Moriendi

Ars moriendi (Lat., 'the art of dying') denotes a genre of edifying literature come down from ancient times (Cicero), and intended to prepare persons for 'right' or 'correct' dying. It has its high point from the late Middle Ages (fifteenth century) to the Baroque period (seventeenth century).

In the thoughts and feelings of the Middle Ages, the hour of death was the moment of the struggle of the powers of good (→ Angel) with those of evil (→ Devil) for the soul of a dying person. *Ars moriendi*, in this mythic representation, means the soul's readiness for this final battle. Accordingly, timely provision must be made for the struggle, and medieval and Baroque edifying literature sought to foster this preparation through images in the spirit of a *memento mori* (dance of the dead, miniature coffin for meditation), by formulae for confession, and with ethical recommendations. *Ars moriendi* therefore includes instruction on a worthy, upright life as an existence oriented to death. The contrast between the medieval conception and the modern ideal of death is startling: modern persons express the wish for a quick and painless death; in the Middle Ages, a collective

terror of 'sudden death' prevailed, a death that creeps up and 'catches' the unprepared one, depriving him or her of the opportunity for appropriate recollection or for spiritual consolation by way of confession or the presence and succor of others of the faithful.

The disappearance of the *ars moriendi* is due primarily to an 'expulsion of death' from today's industrial society (Philippe Ariès). The contrary phenomenon is represented by the omnipresence of the images of violent death to be encountered on all channels of that society's media. Moreover, the abundance of works published on so-called border experiences between life and death (Elisabeth Kübler-Ross) testifies to an unremitting interest in this question. Ethical viewpoints bearing on all of this are currently subjected to discussion under the heading of 'euthanasia,' where considerations of human dignity, of the 'right to die,' are weighed against those of the employment of medical apparatus applied with a view to the 'prolongation of life.'

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→ *Death and Dying, Euthanasia/Assisted Suicide*

Stefan Hartmann

Art / Aesthetics

Art

1. *Art*, in both its general and its special meanings, is a compound concept. First, it refers to any capacity of a person that presupposes a special knowledge and formative practice. The Latin word *ars* comprehensively denotes skills, crafts, arts, sciences. Only since the eighteenth century has 'art' more restrictively denoted the totality of only and all works created by formed or trained specialists called artists—although certain ideas moving in this more specific direction can indeed be found in the ancients and in the Renaissance. A great proportion of the art that has come down to us is of a religious nature, although it is found mostly in secular contexts today (→ Museum). Several kinds or 'genera' (*genres*) of art are recognized: → literature, → music, the 'fine arts' (→ architecture, painting, sculpture, design, drawing), dramatic and performing arts (→ Dance; Film; Drama), which can be combined, and have been presented together in many ways, especially since mid-twentieth century.

Aesthetics

The concept of *aesthetics* (from the Gk. *aisthánomai*, 'perceive with the senses,' or as in *aisthetiké epistéme*, 'the science having to do with the senses') means, first of all, reflection on human perception, which consideration finds its place in many of the sciences, as psychology, sociology, or theory of information (semiotics). In a context of art, including its production and reception, the concept of aesthetics is applied from a quadruple

point of view. (1) Aesthetics embraces a specific profound 'knowledge' potential on the part of human beings: the potential for the aesthetic, the sensory-and-sensuous. (2) It includes the science and theory of art, which were defined thanks to the philosophical aesthetics established in the eighteenth century. As theory of art, philosophical aesthetics takes full cognizance of the universally present distinction and difference between objects and reflection on them, that is, between objects and works of art. (3) The concept of aesthetics emphasizes the emancipation of art from any ecclesial, political, or other obligations that may have been imposed upon it. (4) If the concept of aesthetics points to the fact that the communication-yield of the artwork, through which output an appropriating, senses-addressing clarity and vividness occurs on the heels of the work of art, then the aesthetic dimension presents the most general criterion of art. The questions accompanying these specifications refer to the relationship of art to other → media, for instance, film, the press; and further, to the relation of the aesthetic function of art to the representational, mimetic, political, or religious function. These questions will now be discussed primarily in terms of the example of formative, educational art.

A 'Theological Art Encounter'

2. A linkage of a religious and an aesthetic function of art was the goal and objective of the exhibition *Entgegen. ReligionGedächtnisKörper in Gegenwartskunst* ("Against: ReligionMemoryBody in Contemporary Art"), presented on the occasion of the Second European Ecumenical Assembly in Graz (May 23–July 6, 1997). More than forty artists presented their works in various locations—the House of Culture, the galleries, the Catholic seminary, churches. Comparable to other art events of the time, it is striking here, as well, that the art works are no longer unambiguously to be categorized in genres of religious art (such as plastic, or one-dimensional painting) transmitted by the history of art. With the abundance of art forms (sound and video installations, the room as image, photographs, and so on) and the most varied materials (for example, automobile lacquer, lipstick on silk velvet, paper, or wood) the themes of body, religion, and memory are reflected. This 'theological art-encounter' was directed against the determination of art's 'aim' or 'target' on the part of the Church—stressing the autonomy of religion and art alike, in the sense that it is the works of art themselves, and not their expected message, that ought to stand front and center. Appealing to Hegel's dictum that we no longer bend the knee to art, furthermore the art of the second half of the twentieth century, is interpreted in terms of its religious content; art appears here as a "sensuous, worldly religion—or as nothing at all"[1] (→ Art Religion).

As for the currency of this process, the question must remain open concerning the extent to which the effort to escape the centuries-old Christian understanding of art can be maintained—art as illustration and instruction, art as a means of rendering the normative word present to the senses.

Autonomy versus Dependency

3. a) The multiplicity of art forms and materials applied today, especially since mid-twentieth century, shows the degree to which art is becoming an autonomous quantity, nor beholden to any target-fixing but the one selected by the artist. And speculations on how art is scored by the art market to the point of manipulation, fail to justify a comparison of these mechanisms with the old dependencies. With this discovery, the question

of the functions of art is posed anew, and demands a historical assessment. It is unquestioned that the art of today, considered in terms of most of the time span of its existence, has followed the prescriptions of → theology. On the basis of its sensory/sensual qualities, art has been employed to convince and to instruct; it has been determined in the selection of materials, often precious materials, for application to objects allied with prestige; and thereby it operates in the presentation of ecclesiastical, monarchical, princely self-conceptions. Time and again throughout history, it has been entangled in these functions by religious institutions and secular political ones alike, for instance in the development of the European national states (→ Museum), right up into the twentieth century. Meanwhile, at least in Western industrial nations, a society-dominated religious or political function of art is seen as passé. The decision for a religious or political engagement on the part of art, and thereby for a further connection to existing specific understandings of religion and politics, and/or a documentation of the same, rests with the artist.

b) The *representational function* of art, as well, stands in need of a relativization. The claim to paint what one sees finds its outward caesura with the invention of photography. The long history of art, however, itself demonstrates altogether diverse ways of coping with this claim. It shows approaches that supply information on the conditions of the artist's techniques, on her or his acquaintance with nature and the human body, and on the priorities of artistic endeavors; it thereby affords a view of the simultaneous availability of various possibilities of form in the past as well. We may make a rough distinction among the following interests, which, historically considered, can exist in one another's company, detach themselves, and step forward anew. These interests have been:

'*Representation*'

1. To reflect and echo nature, the human being, and individual things with as much precision and in as much detail as possible (for example, Greek art in the fourth century BCE, Dutch art in the fifteenth century).

2. To document conceptions and ideas (for example, Egyptian and Christian art, "concept art").

3. To idealize, 'typologize' the human being and nature (for example, the Renaissance, the Romantic period).

4. To stage new themes and forms (for example, genre painting in the seventeenth century, realism in the nineteenth).

In the sense of an interest in an escape from church conditions, the aesthetic function of art is generally associated with the → Renaissance, and interpreted as art becoming self-conscious. Once again, we have the achievements developed (and, to an extent, anticipated in antiquity): perspective, *sfumato* (the technique of representing more liveliness in persons with soft focus and atmospheric colors), oil painting, the introduction of light and shadow, a more exact presentation of the movement of the human body—all in the service of the quest to match the world. The discovery of ever new resistances—for instance, learning that nature can 'look different,' minute by minute, under the influence of light and wind—accompanies development, and is decisive for impressionism. The claim to 'match,' to reflect, consequently, always indicates reflection, even criticism of one's basic understanding of reality. If, on the one hand, reflection and criticism lead to the development of new forms of presentation, on the other hand they attest the growing multiplicity of art's forms of function.

The dizzying progress of the natural sciences throughout the twentieth



A man and a half-wild coyote called 'Little John' are spending three days together in a room. The man is completely covered in thick felt. For protection, he wears brown gloves, and he has a walking stick and a flashlight. The man sleeps on felt strips, the coyote on the pile of straw in the background—unless it is the other way around, since, after three days, as the action comes to an end, they have become accustomed to each other. Thus we have Joseph Beuys's performance (*Aktion*) "I Like America and America Likes Me," produced May 21–25, 1974 in the René Block Gallery in New York City. The German action artist has created a particularly compact, pregnant setting here, and one with multiple religious characteristics: the action is ritually

century, making reality appear as shattered and multi-layered, is answered by artists with *objects trouvés* (items that one 'comes upon' in daily life), 'ready mades,' montages, and abstract art, all of which document a renunciation of any interest in 'copying' objective reality. In a concrete reality of the age of the machine, the computer, and the media, especially since mid-twentieth century, a room, a city, nature, shift into the field of artistic activity at an accelerating pace.

c) Joseph Beuys's (1921–1986) broadened concept of art (*erweiterter Kunstbegriff*), with its 'social plastics,' made for a different view of the everyday. Simultaneously, Beuys sought a 'knot with the spiritual.' Further, Beuys interpreted his broadened concept of art in this sense: as the 'reshaping' of the old *Gestalt*, the principle of Resurrection, into a "living, pulsating, life-fostering, soul-fostering, spirit-fostering *Gestalt*" and shape.[2] First taking his point of departure in traditional, Christian motifs (the Pietà, the Man of Sorrows), he finally drew elements of → shamanism into his action art—for instance, in his action "Coyote," which he produced and performed in New York.[3]

Further examples of the possibilities of the contemporary artistic formation process:

- *Happenings*, reflecting what is taken for granted socially;
- *Installation* as the form of a general space, blurring the boundaries of painting, sculpture, and drawing;
- *Performances*, splicing representational art with other genres, such as music, literature, or theater.

With a view to an appropriate processing of the complexity of reality and society, the traditional techniques of color, canvas, drawing, sculpture, and

lettering are complemented with other forms of speech, with the inclusion of sight, sound, movement, scent, and touch. Thus, by virtue of the inclusion of reflection—on social phenomena, on itself, and on art theory—art accordingly grows ever more aesthetic, in the double sense of 'autonomous' and 'sensual.'

Philosophical Aesthetics

d) The uses of art have expanded, and have scarcely anything to do with ideal beauty and the reflection and echoing of nature. The theoretical reflection conducted by *philosophical aesthetics* around 1800 belongs necessarily to the route taken by contemporary art. Considerations upon human sensitivity, upon the arts, such as tragedy, in its relationship to truth and beauty, upon the human gift of invention, which creates what nature has not produced and thereby complements it, are familiar in antiquity (for instance, Plato and Aristotle), the Middle Ages (for example, Thomas Aquinas), the Renaissance (for example, Leon Batista Alberti, Leonardo da Vinci), with English and French scholars of the eighteenth century (for instance, A. Shaftesbury, the Abbé du Bos, E. Burke). With Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714–1762), aesthetics was finally established as an independent academic, philosophical discipline, brought further by Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), K. P. Moritz (1756–1793), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), and Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829).

With the process of reflection on art, which liberates it and at the same time proposes other conditions, the position of art today is that of a vehicle of multiple functions and object of various interpretations.

4. Any attempt to construe art as a universal phenomenon of history is a construction interpretable as reaction to its pluralism of form and style. Not least of all, with respect to the history of religions, and the place of art in these religions, this construction calls rather for a point of departure in a great, multi-layered complexity. Here, for instance, recourse must be had to the long religious tradition of Western art, to which belong the theological discussions over the veneration of images, and the iconoclast controversy (→ Idol; Image/Iconoclasm).

The prohibition of images that seized early Christianity and, later, the Reformation, emerges from *Jewish religion*, and is formulated in the Book of Exodus (20:4; 32:4.8; 34:17). It refers to the representation of the one God, and ordinarily to the representation of the human being as well. Reports conveying the sharp reproach leveled by the rabbis, however, suggest the commission of transgressions. The prohibition of idols or other images that can become the object of veneration means that art is not to be introduced as a means of the adoration of God. This limitation in no way excludes works of art. Thus, we hear of sculpture and artistic bronze works at the Temple of Solomon (1 Kings 6:29). The décor of synagogues offers rich ornamental decoration: mosaics with the presentation of animals, wall paintings, or certainly the Polish synagogues of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The illustration of books and the decoration of the Torah (for example, the curtains and cases) indicate that, saving the presentation of God, artistic forms are customary always and everywhere.

The relationship of *early Christianity* to the image presents two series of characteristics: It could be surmised through the Hebrew Bible's prohibition of images and through the renunciation of ancient worship praxis, the concrete manners of the carrying, the arraying, and the 'nourishment'

dense: at his arrival at the airport, he has had himself covered in felt and brought to the gallery in an ambulance, in order to exclude all perceptions other than those of the ritual room. His ritual partner, an →animal, recalls shamanistic praxis and mythology: The coyote is one of the divine beings of the Pueblo Indians (→ Trickster); shamans work with animal visualizations and helpers (→ Shamanism). Finally, Beuys's performance mounts a symbolic protest against the persecution and humiliation of the North American Indians, their culture, and their religion. (Hubert Mohr)

of idols. Only with Christianity's elevation to the status of religion of the state around 380/90 CE do these characteristics change. Gregory the Great brings the sixth-century Christian understanding of art to the point that he can identify the image as the literature of the laity. This didactic function of the image survives the most intense image conflicts, especially in Byzantium from mid-eighth to mid-ninth century. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) expresses himself not only on the appropriate production of a work (Assunto speaks here of the medieval 'aesthetics of materials'[4]), but also of the religious function of the image: it should serve the stirring of meditation, recollection of the example of the saints, and the instruction of the ignorant. His position shows that the function of the image as a substitute for writing and as narration in images is complemented with the generation of feelings. Typology, the method of interpreting persons and events of the Hebrew Bible as foreshadowing (as 'prefigurations' of) the New Testament, connoted the possibility of reworking Sacred Scripture's entire stock of images. Roger Bacon (1214–1294), a member of the Franciscan Order which had been founded in the thirteenth century, likewise grounds the application of the just-acquired knowledge of optics on Scripture's capacity for presentation: Scripture leaves many things in the dark that can be illuminated only through a form of painting in accordance with reality, with the help of the various instances of new knowledge. The form in accordance with reality gradually comes to include the presentation of forceful movements of the heart. Religious art in the Middle Ages exists altogether in a realm midway between theology and popular piety, a circumstance leading repeatedly to the admissibility of a presentation of Christ and the saints. Not only the veneration of images, but also that of → relics, and relics themselves, play a role here. As 'salvific fragments,' relics call for a special presentation in the space of the Church, in precious reliquaries or in sculptures. Plausibly, the theological justification of sacred sculpture rests to a great extent on, for example, a 'symbiosis of relics and sculpture.' The claim to afford the opportunity of an inner, emotional rehearsal of the story presented approaches art from various directions: in the opposition to the clergy with the Franciscans, as instruction to the artist with Leon Battista Alberti.

Veneration of Relics

Modernity

With the → Renaissance rediscovery of the ancient high cultures of the Mediterranean basin (Rome, Greece, Egypt), the spectrum of image themes expands: ancient and Christian motifs, as metaphor of the world, image as metaphor of art, and so on. A subjective religiosity emerges that corresponds to the speedy spread of the painting as an object of veneration, the altar retable, and private images for meditation, with representations of the benefactor worked into the picture. In the wake of the → Reformation, the old confrontations over the function of religious art broke out anew. Luther introduced pamphlets intensively, as illustrated polemics against the papacy, and founded a limited, religious application of the image: The human need for illustration, he indicated, is met by God in visible signs, along with the word, and that this form of revelation legitimates representational art as a means of proclamation; the nature of resemblance and sign, to be sure, must be safeguarded. Other Reformers, Zwingli and Calvin in particular, reacted more sharply, even completely excluding images from church space. The attempt to win back "everything

produced into the Church's aesthetic sphere of influence" is a hallmark of the Counter-Reformation.

Apart from theological legitimizations of the image, art benefits the presentation of societal and economic might: in the twelfth century, with Saint Denis, the first structure created in the Gothic style. This is the case in the sixteenth century, with the Medici's Italy, during the development of the European national states, and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the classicist temple façade of financial institutions. Artworks document the self-concept of the religious and/or political instances that summon them to service; they document the public to be addressed, they document any current social conflicts and how these are brought to presentation or banned (→ National Socialism, socialist realism).

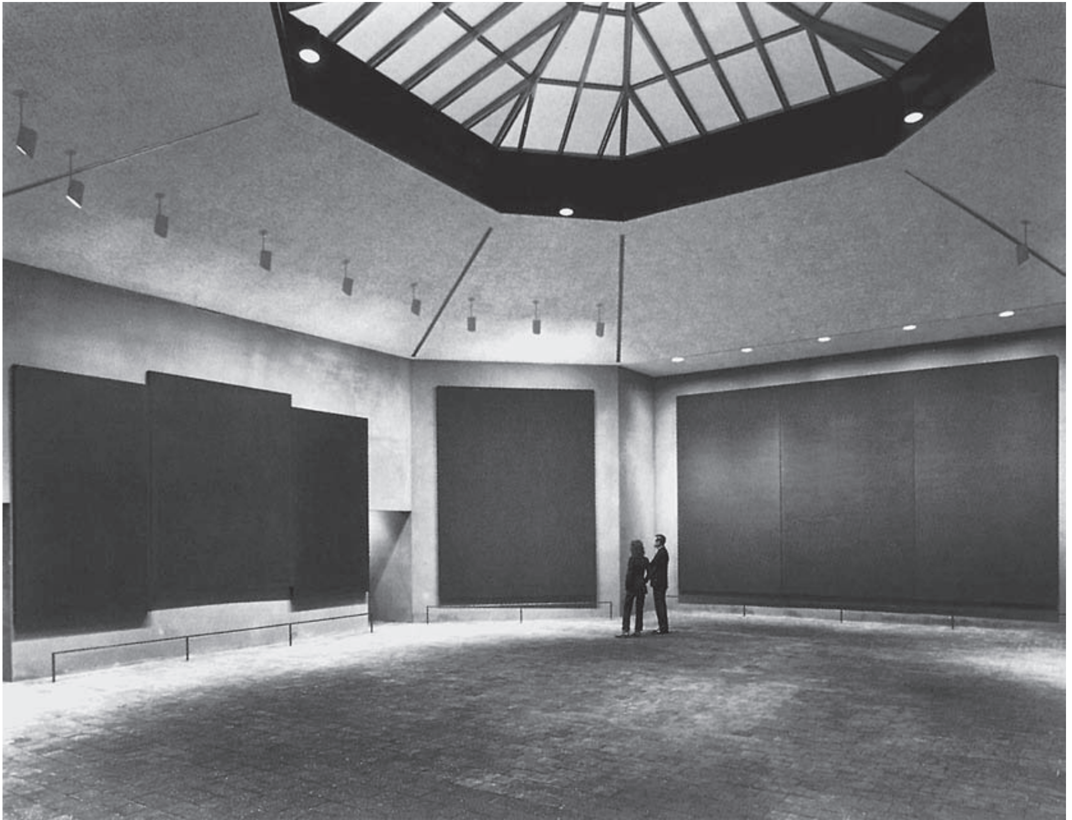
An Example from Beyond Europe: Zimbabwe

5. Different processes at work in the development of the functions and meanings of artistic expression can also be recognized in the example of Zimbabwe. In the religious system of the *Shona*, one of the ethnic groups of Zimbabwe, → possession by a spirit plays an important part. The spirits of a family's → ancestors are regularly reverenced in order to assure their further protection, and to purify the worshipers from small transgressions. These acts of reverence are accompanied by dancing to the music of the *mbira*. The ability to play the *mbira* is ascribed to possession by the *mashave*, the spirits of strangers. As a historical forerunner of an art of sculpture, we may cite the Zimbabwe-birds, which have been promoted to the status of sign of national identity: that is, statuettes of onyx found in the Great Zimbabwe, a large stone mass assembled in the twelfth century. The bird also plays a role in the myths surrounding the art of sculpture. The spirit of an ancestor who conveys the art of carving frequently 'appears' in the form of an eagle, *Chapungu*, that circles the house. Moreover, certain mission schools of the 1950s and the workshops of the National Gallery of Zimbabwe had a sustained effect on contemporary art. Thus, in the School at Serima, content has been prescribed—exclusively Christian image themes—but with the formal elements left to those who are to execute the prescriptions. The wood and stone sculptures of Zimbabwe's artists, meanwhile, range in a broad spectrum of content and form. These may be cited in any documentation of the confrontation of art with Christian and traditional faith concepts, as well as with current problems such as AIDS; they can be pointed to as a demonstration of a powerful swerve to the indigenous social and religious tradition, even while they become marked with purely cubist, abstract, objective, and naturalistic forms.

Memory

6. At the beginning of the twentieth century, art historian Aby Warburg (1866–1929) discerned in works of art, as in other elements of tradition, a great treasury of memories: a cultural recollection on the part of a humanity now expressing its successful and less successful experiences—for example, its encounters with fear and passion. This approach renders every interpretation of an image a component of a work of → memory. As the twenty-first century dawns, as well, art is being discussed as a reliable space for reflection, resistance, and memory. A product of this opportunity for experience can be the possession of political dimensions vis-à-vis the mass media and a consumer society.

In addition, the relationship of art to other media becomes an object of reflection: Art now forms an independent subsystem within the broader



Paradoxically, one of the most important works of art of the twentieth century is a sacred one: the ensemble of the chapel of the Institute of Religion and Human Development, in Houston. It conjoins two extraordinary pieces of art. Before the chapel stands Barnett Newman's Broken Obelisk, dedicated to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Its interior accommodates a chef d'oeuvre of abstract art, Mark Rothko's (1903–70) monumental plate pictures. The fourteen plates, of which a series is to be seen here, are arranged in an octagon, citing the form of the baptistery of Torcello (in

system of social activities. It owes this independence not to a 'heroic self-liberation' on the part of art and artists—in the spirit of Romanticism, for example—but to the fact that the attempt to meet a need for images in modern society is being taken over by new reproductive media. Art is presently being tested as to its delineation or potential for reflection, and the actualization of memory, aesthetical components, and public space. Research into what is today often referred to as *visual culture*, link the areas of art, → publicity, and religion together in one complex system.

1. See "Kunst und Religion," Theologische Realencyclopädie (1990), 336.
2. Beuys 1986, 29, 34.
3. Weber 1990, 108ff.
4. Assunto 1963, 179.

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→ *Architecture (Sacred), Art Religion, Film, Dance, Idol, Image/Iconoclasm, Literature, Materiality, Media, Museum, Music, Myth/Mythology, Relics (Veneration of), Renaissance, Symbol/Sign/Gesture*

Susanne Lanwerd

the vicinity of Venice). They are partly gathered as triptychs (threefold retables). Rothko's refined exploitation of color leads to an almost corporeal graphic impression, of powerful emotional effect: "What I'm interested in is only how I can express human feelings. . . . The people that cry when they look at my paintings are having the same religious experience that I had myself when I was painting them." Rothko's nonrepresentational art, just as Newman's, can be grasped as the consistent translation of his Jewish faith: "You shall not make for yourself an idol [or sacred picture]" (Deut 5:8; cf. 4:15-20). In addition, the chapel is a symbol of the interreligious dialogue: It was dedicated by representatives of various confessions and religions, acting in common, in 1971, and is available for the divine services of the groups. (Hubert Mohr)

Art Religion

1. The concept 'art religion' was developed by G. W. F. Hegel, in his *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1807; "Phenomenology of Mind"), where he presents, in his system of the three realms of absolute Mind—Art, Religion, and Philosophy—a specific form from the past: "The Greek Religion is the religion of art itself."[1] Furthermore, the concept of art religion includes the reflections of the relation between art and religion. These reflections, around 1800, with the division between artists and clients that followed, constitute a contribution to the religious exaltation of art. The questions discussed in this connection refer, on one hand, to the replacement of the social functions of religion, with the help of art, or the aesthetic sense; at the same time, they lead to a discussion of artistic achievements in religious vocabulary, to the point of the elevation of art to the status of a religion. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the confluence of the socially heterogeneous systems, art and religion, was once again explained programmatically.

2. In his *Über Religion* (1790; "On Religion"), in the interest of general 'freedom of thought,' and bearing in mind altered social relations, Wilhelm von Humboldt divided religion from morality and a 'faith in authority.' The person's inner development, Humboldt holds, leads from the sensory feeling, to the aesthetic feeling, to the moral feeling; art and aesthetic feeling ought to take over the functions of religion.[2]

Romanticism

Friedrich Schleiermacher discusses educated persons' aesthetic feeling in relation to the Christian religion under the concept of art religion in his *Reden über Religion* (1799; "Addresses on Religion"). Defining religion as the 'feeling and view of the universe,' involves asking how the feeling for the universe can be awakened. The 'sense of art,' with the beholding of great works of art, can be the answer. This 'art religion' is not reserved for the past: it is heading for the future. Art, then, serves the engendering of religious feelings.[3] While F. von Hardenberg (Novalis) directly takes up Schleiermacher's concept of art religion, F. W. J. Schelling and Friedrich

von Schlegel also discuss art as a possible medium of → revelation. Schlegel is credited for an early reception, from 1809 onward, of the group of artists known as the Nazarenes (among whom were F. Overbeck and J. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, for example), who practiced a conjunction of religion and art. The concept of the "word of 'art' as another kind of theology" is acknowledged in the work of Caspar David Friedrich, with reference to Schleiermacher.

As further representatives of a romantic art religion we may cite L. Tieck and W. H. Wackenroder (*Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (1796; "Outpourings of the Heart from an Art-loving Monk"), who likens the enjoyment of works of art to prayer.

Reception of Antiquity

Decisive for the development of the concept of art religion, again, is the perception of this kind of religion in antiquity. J. J. Winckelmann labels "Homer as the noblest source from which the artists drew," and announces that they ought to draw from it anew (1776).[4] In the *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik* (from 1818; "Lectures on Aesthetics"), Hegel develops a 'science of art,' while also naming its conditions. From the side of its highest determination, art is a thing of the past for us. The artist, now delivered from the previous limitation of being restricted to a certain form of art, "moves in personal freedom, independently of the content and viewpoints of a former consciousness of the Holy and Eternal."[5] In the *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, Hegel develops the thesis that art has once been the loftiest expression of the Absolute, and cites the Greek religion. Here, art religion—the religion of the moral people and of Mind—according to Hegel, produces its own shape and form: In its presentation of the pillars of the image, it manifests the "incarnation of the divine essence." Only this "simple content of Absolute Religion" comes detached from other forms of Mind: from the Christian religion, and ultimately from philosophy.[6]

Twentieth Century

As the twentieth century opened, a sign of the 'new romanticism' arose, in the attempt to discuss art and religion from the aspect of a 'profound similarity of form.' G. Simmel first presupposes a "dualism of the directions of thought and life" and identifies the "essence of aesthetic meditation and presentation" as a unifying instance. He approaches this from a soul resting in itself, which, he says, is identical with the essence of a great work of art.[7] Sigmund → Freud offers an implicit criticism of this construction in his discovery of the specific manners of expression and presentation of the unconscious. In another example, Max → Weber expressly criticizes modern 'art religion' and the accompanying veneration of great, historic artists like Rembrandt.

3. Against the background of an ever escalating functional differentiation within modern societies, for example of art and religion in the period discussed here, these approaches of a merging of art and religion manifest the wish to enter into confrontation with the complexity, contradiction, and open potential of religious and artistic expressions with clear stipulations. The postulated unity or similarity of form and essence is thus projected mostly on past art works and artists. Art—contemporary at any given time—loses, in these constructions, its slowly acquired, critical potential, and its capacity to bring to view, for instance, history in its characteristic structure. This tendency has been evident over and again throughout the twentieth century, in the conception of the → museum as

a space of homage and experience, or in the discourse of a power of the aesthetic, out of the reach of human history, and destined to be shared only by a few.

1. Hegel 1990, 26.
2. Humboldt 1960, 26, 12, 18.
3. Schleiermacher 1993, 111-112.
4. Winckelmann 1964, 9.
5. Hegel 1990, 235.
6. Idem 1993, 512ff.
7. Simmel 1992, 198.

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→ *Antiquity, Art/Aesthetics, Romanticism*

Susanne Lanwerd

Asceticism

Concept

1. a) By 'asceticism' (from Gr., *áskesis*, 'exercise') is understood, in today's usage, a conscious, prolonged, systematic diminution in the quality of one's life wherein the religious element continues to be involved only peripherally. A life of asceticism is distinguished by the exercise of renunciation in one's → everyday life, and the subordination of all daily living to the dictates of that renunciation. Transitory restrictions, such as those customary in Muslim → Ramadan, or in the Catholic practices of Lent, do not fall under the concept of asceticism. It is an essential characteristic of asceticism that it determines everyday life, but with occasional interruptions punctuating that everyday, and with the moment of this suspension of asceticism being consciously regarded as an exceptional situation.

Forms and Practices

b) The historical forms of asceticism are manifold. The most common, however, are: renunciation or restriction of nourishment (→ Fasting), sexual abstinence (→ Sexuality; Celibacy), renunciation of possessions (or at least restriction to the bare necessities), seclusion from society, self-inflicted → suffering, and a general renunciation of everything that might be conducive to joy. It is clear from these examples that asceticism is to be explained only in terms of a general rejection of material existence. The → body (and

the earthly desires therewith allied) becomes an enemy, to be overcome. Religiously motivated renunciation of the world renders the appearance of ascetical movements possible only within religions. However ascetical practices may present themselves in the concrete, they all have one thing in common (for the peculiar form of asceticism in →Protestantism, see below): asceticism means the observance of certain patterns of behavior that, in society, are at least unusual, if not indeed considered undesirable (by way of example, the unmarried state, or continuous wandering or rootlessness). This conscious divergence from the socially 'normal' and the systematization of that pattern of behavior are the foundation of the ascetic's exclusion of certain elements of his or her environment, leading to a self-demarcation from society or even from his or her religious group. Thus, at bottom, asceticism is essentially elitist.

Identifying Characteristics

2. Gerhard Schlatter has identified the following as characteristic elements of asceticism.[1]

(a) Asceticism is always *intentional.* An ascetic who renounces anything must at least have had the opportunity of enjoying it, instead, and thus the opportunity of renouncing it. Accordingly, asceticism presupposes antecedent prosperity, and thus, possessions. This also explains why the best known ascetics of the history of religions have usually come from the upper social class (e.g., Siddartha Gautama, the → Buddha; Benedict of Nursia, whose followers eventually came to form the Benedictine Order; and → Francis of Assisi).

(b) Asceticism must be *voluntarily embraced.* Persons who renounce certain foods because they are allergic to them, or who give up smoking in order to safeguard their health, may be acting reasonably, but they are not acting ascetically. The same holds for a life of poverty: poor persons are ascetics only when they could be living otherwise, and thus are not compelled to spend there lives eking out their living.

(c) Asceticism must be *painful.* This does not inevitably mean that the ascetical life must procure physical pain, although this can certainly occur in certain forms of asceticism. But the restriction of one's quality of life must be experienced as such in order to be designated asceticism.

(d) The last essential trait of asceticism is that it be undertaken *for its own sake*, rather than for any concrete purpose. This is not to say that ascetics must renounce the pursuit of all goals in their practices. However, their behavior is not normally directed toward any immediate benefit in the present life; its orientation is to a transcendent goal.

Developments in the History of Religions

3. In the history of religions, asceticism is a widespread phenomenon, and has developed its most familiar forms in → Hinduism, → Buddhism, and → Christianity. It is typical of the notion of asceticism in both Asian traditions that ultimately only the ascetic can attain to salvation, can breach the cycle of rebirths. This makes asceticism a technique of salvation, which can be set in motion only by a specialist. Christian theology, to be sure, offers ascetics no monopoly on salvation. But ever since the appearance of eremitic monasticism in → late antiquity, there have been tendencies to understand and propagate the ascetic life, if not as a prerequisite for the salvation of the soul, and redemption, then in any case as a promising pathway to it. Thus the ascetic becomes—even in the consciousness of those in the world around—a religiously qualified individual.

Although a form of asceticism that ‘flees the world’—its essential trait being the renunciation of all that is earthly—is foreign to Protestantism, even here a form of the ascetic life has materialized , bearing the stamp, especially, of Puritanic Calvinism. Max → Weber and Ernst Troeltsch have described this form as ‘inner-worldly asceticism.’ Here the ascetical achievement consists not in renouncing possessions, but in not taking pleasure in them. The text, “. . . and those who buy as if they had no possessions” (1 Cor 7:30) amounts to a fitting description of their manner of life. While asceticism is otherwise a condition of → specialists, in Protestantism it is seen as a concern of each and every Christian. The distinction, monk or priest versus layperson, is replaced with the difference between a Christian and a person rejected by God.

1. Schlatter 1990, 69f.

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→ *Body, Celibacy, Drinking/Drink, Eating/Nourishment, Everyday Life, Fasting, Monasticism*

Markus E. Fuchs

Ascona / Monte Verità

1. Monte Verità (Ital., “Mount of Truth”) was a cultic site frequented by devotees of the European, especially the German-speaking, alternative culture of the first third of the twentieth century. The level elevation overlooking the village of Tessino and today’s tourist center of Ascona, on the Swiss northern bank of Lago Maggiore, received its name from the homonymous sanatorium at the same location. From 1900 to 1920, Belgian industrial heir Henri Oedenkoven (1875–1935) and pianist Ida Hofmann (1864–1926) maintained this institution of ideological → vegetarianism on the hill. The imposition of the name is programmatic: The ‘truth of nature’—and a manner of living according to nature—loftily contrasts with the ‘hypocrisy of the civilized.’ Thus, Monte Verità is to be ranged in the tradition of the European → utopias conceived in the spirit of social criticism. Moving above and beyond its original motivation, it became a point of comprehensive reference, embracing a variegated collection of alternative lifestyles, experiments with settlements, individual mythologies, and sketches for religious projects—all practiced and cultivated by artists and middle-class dropouts, here in the isolated park of Monte Verità, which was so favorable to the creation or elaboration of a world view: theosophy, anarchism and pacifism (Erich Mühsam), reform dance (Rudolf von Laban), and research into myths. We may cite a pair of examples characteristic of the religious history of German modernity: the *Naturmenschen-Kolonie* (‘nature people colony’) with its vegetarianism and the “Eranos” circle of researchers—and creators—of myth.



Eurhythmic exercises ('running through the dew'), in reform clothing, before a 'cabin of light' on Monte Verità around 1904. Front left, Henri Oedenkoven and Ida Hofmann; center, with the hat, 'anarcho-socialist' Raphael Friedeberg. The sanatorium and its guests were marked with the reform-of-life ideas of the turn of the century: Natural healing procedures, nudism, reform of clothing, of nutrition, of orthography, erotic revolutions. The immediate experience of nature and its elements, an experience undisturbed by the accretions and distortions of civilization, constituted the ideal and program of Monte Verità: Movement in the open not only served the enhancement of one's own bodiliness, but acquired religious traits, as the key to the 'convalescence' of body and society alike.

2. a) The *vegetarian settlement* of Monte Verità was founded in 1900 by persons disillusioned with the middle-class mores and other cultural elements with which they were surrounded: Oedenkoven and Hofmann, brothers Karl and Gustav ("Gusto") Gräser (resp. 1875–1915, 1879–1958), who had gotten into conflict with the Austrian army, and Lotte Hattemer, daughter of a Prussian government officer. The group divided as early as 1901, and Monte Verità's 'patented' contrast between a commercial lifestyle and a radical praxis took shape. Oedenkoven and Hofmann founded a commercial sanatorium, with 'light and air cabins,' therapeutic baths, and a 'meadow of light' (modeled on the nature-healing establishment of Swiss Arnold Rikli, 1823–1906). On the other hand, a 'nature people colony' rose up that rested on an autarchic principle: instead of currency, a principle of exchange or trading; instead of civilization's aids and materials, a life 'according to nature' as preached by Henry David Thoreau and Count Leo Tolstoy. From the outset, a simple 'Recreation Institute,' in which emotionally stressed citizens might cleanse themselves of the dross and cinders of industrial society, stood over against a 'Society of the Pure,' a 'renunciation elite' (H.-G. Soeffner). Of course, both factions prescribed for themselves strict vegan principles: raw vegetables and fruit, no kinds of animal products, biological cultivation of nutritional necessities, and abstinence from alcohol. After 1920, Monte Verità entered a *second phase of activity:* it became a meeting point for artists and for scholarly gatherings (see 2b, below). Monte Verità's middle-class trend and commercialization as a luxury resort for—still—the German-speaking middle class, with the concomitant loss of its overarching ideological function, was already on its way.

b) *Eranos* (Gk., "common meal"): The "Eranos Circle" is still active today, combining research in the study of religion with personal orientation and *Seelenführung* ("soul-direction").[1] Its origins were in Monte Verità's theosophical environment (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society). Its founder, Olga Froebe-Kapteyn (1881–1962), was close to Annie Besant and Krishnamurti, but also to Catholicizing eccentric Ludwig Derleth. In

1933, with Marburg theologian Rudolf Otto (*Das Heilige*, 1917) and depth psychologist Carl Gustav Jung as advisers, she initiated an annual nine-day encounter of scholars, whom she entrusted with the task of comparing and reconciling Eastern and Western philosophy and religion. In respect of content, the emphasis of the meetings, which were faithfully documented in a yearbook, shifted after 1946 to philosophical anthropology and exchanges with natural scientists. The new departure was undertaken primarily at the initiative of zoologist Adolf Portmann, who continued to schedule and direct the meetings after the death of Froebe-Kapteyn. In 1986, Portmann's successor, Rudolf Ritsema, plunged the Eranos project into the most serious crisis it had suffered until now. He unilaterally announced the termination of the meetings and sought to lead the circle back to its roots: the transmission of Eastern wisdom, in commentary and translation. This plan led to a division of membership: In 1990, the majority of the participants reconstituted themselves, in the village of Ascona, as 'Amici di Eranos' ('Friends of Eranos'), under the direction of Egyptologist Erik Hornung and political scientist Tilo Schabert. Programmatically, they called their meetings "Resurrection and Immortality." The faction around Ritsema continued to meet, on Froebe-Kapteyn's estate in nearby Moscia, as the 'Eranos Foundation.'

"Eranos" is both a series of scientific meetings and a ritual organization. On one hand, a circle of cultural, as also (in lesser numbers) natural, scientists meets, to consider questions of interdisciplinary interest. It has included Kabbalah-scholar Gershom Scholem, historian of religions and author Mircea → Eliade, and classical scholar Karl Kerényi. On the other hand, "Eranos" is "the annual celebration, conducted in private, of a revival, enlightenment, and burial ritual,"[2] conducted by 'spiritual leaders' with and for disciples. In the quest for a "Western path to salvation" (Froebe-Kapteyn), theories become doctrines, addresses become instruction. Although this spiritual aim is not shared by all participants, often the presenters have found it difficult to escape an "expectation of salvation" (Holz) on the part of their audiences. Hence, religion in the Eranos conferences is at hand almost exclusively in the form of esoteric traditions, myths, or the testimonials of mysticism and magic, and as 'higher' or 'deeper' knowledge that will transcend religious, social, and philosophical and historical particularities (→ Esotericism).

3. The fascination of Monte Verità's social experiment sprang from the fact that it announced to (mostly Middle-European) opponents and victims of modernization a modestly priced exile, and space for experiments in relationships and groups—all in a region on the border of Italy, which, in German tradition, has been ennobled by a literary mythology of yearning and paradise (Jean Paul, *Titan*, 1800/03). On the model of the 'holy mountain' in historical mythology (Lat., *mons sacer*; cf. the ancient Roman *secessio plebis*, 'people's withdrawal' in protest), here was found a frontier between 'civilization and the wild' that provided for the staging of a richly symbolic break with 'normality' and for a consequent revolution in oneself. Middle Europeans sick of civilization could regress to Mediterranean nature and test the role of the 'noble savage'—at least so long as the light/air therapy lasted—or try 'going native,' attempt a return to the state of the cave or hut dweller in an era antedating the arrival of civilization (Karl Vester, Gusto Gräser). Monte Verità's social utopias enjoyed scant success, however, and were soon drawn into the wake of commercial

pressures and tourism. Monte Verità has turned out to be more fruitful as a point of exchange for the intellectual and artistic avant-garde, as a melting pot for various ideas, worldviews, and religious praxes.

1. Froebe-Kapteyn, in "Eranos-Jahrbuch 2" (1935), 8.
2. Holz 1984, p. 256. Cf. Wasserstrom 1999 and Hakl 2001.

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→ *Academic Study of Religion, Body, Environmentalism Intellectual Religion, Nature Piety, Modernity, New Age, Paganism/Neopaganism, Utopia, Vegetarianism*

Hubert Mohr

Ashram

1. The Sanskrit word *asrama*, 'hermitage,' 'residence of an ascetic,' 'monastery,' may be derived from *sram*, 'exert oneself,' 'make an effort,' 'perform religious exercises.' The ashram is also, in ancient Indian literature and religious praxis, the secluded place where ascetics or hermits can perform their exercises undisturbed. Such ascetics received disciples who performed all necessary services (Sanskrit, *seva*), and remained for some years. Such small ashrams exist even today, both those of hermits and those of teachers (→ Guru), with a small number of disciples (*shishyas*).

2. When ashrams are mentioned in today's Western context, what are usually meant are large complexes of buildings, belonging to India's new religious movements, to which hundreds or thousands of people flock on pilgrimage, to hear the teachings of their gurus, to perform exercises in meditation, and to join the community of others. For many non-Indian, Western believers today, the ashram is a place of personal religious experiences, and these persons' sojourns are often referred to with the word 'retreats.' Besides requiring the still customary *seva*, a stay at a modern ashram ordinarily costs money, as well. Thus it is not usually of lengthy duration, and frequently takes the form of a (brief) vacation. Of course, there are also modern sojourns that last for years. Communities of Indian movements in Western countries are also called ashrams.

Ashrams that have gained a name include that of Baghwan Shree Rajneesh in Poona, where traditional Indian meditation exercises are supplemented with group therapy and group undertakings of Western origin (→ Osho Movement). Another is that of Sri Aurobindo in Pondicherry.

→ *Commune, Guru, Osho Movement*

Karl-Peter Gietz

Astrology (Western)

The Concept

1. a) Astrology (from Gk., 'science of the stars') belongs to the oldest cultural phenomena of humankind. Its persistence from antiquity to modernity—despite many transformations and various developments—is remarkable. Most generally, astrology engages the suspected *correspondences* between the heavenly realm (the stars, planets, zodiacal signs, etc.) and the earthly realm. To interpret these correspondences, astrological discourse developed different, and often conflicting, strategies. On the one hand, scholars construed a *causal* influence of heavenly bodies on the sublunar world, which consequently leads to a deterministic or even fatalistic worldview (→ Determinism; Fatalism). Ancient Greek philosophy—particularly the Stoa—spoke of a hidden power in the cosmos that determined everything (*heimarmenê*, 'fate'); everything that exists is related in a complex net of correspondences (*sympateia*, 'sympathy'). On the other hand, astrologers argued that the stars do not exert influence themselves but are mere 'signs' or 'symbols' of something that is going on throughout the cosmos. These alternatives lead to severe questions that have been part of astrological discussion ever since: are the heavenly signs simply accompanying the mundane events—the stars as *sêmeia*—or are they responsible for them—the stars as *poiêtikoi*? And if there is a sympathetic correspondence between celestial sphere and earth, does this necessarily imply a deterministic or fatalistic influence?

The answers to these questions evidently challenge *religious* identities. Particularly in Western scriptural religions, a deterministic interpretation of astrology was seen as problematic, because it runs counter ethical claims of volition, the prerequisite of morally 'good' or 'bad' behavior, and the precondition of redemption, punishment, and 'sin.' Not surprisingly, then, it was the second alternative that gained the upper hand in Western history of culture—the stars were deprived of their divine power and seen as 'instruments of God,' their path was interpreted as "God's handwriting" (Origen, c. 185–255).

Various Fields of Astrological Practice

b) The search for underlying principles in the correspondence between heavenly and earthly realm brought forth several fields of interest that can be distinguished as different fields of astrological practice.

- Already in a very early stage of development, the prediction of *agricultural issues* and *weather conditions* was done on an astrological basis; this could mean that eclipses of sun and moon, conjunctions of planets (i.e. when planets 'stand together'; from Lat., *conjungere*), or the way of individual planets were correlated with climate conditions.

- From the interpretation of (Gk.) *katarchaí* (Lat., *electiones*, 'elections,' 'beginnings') a theory was developed that predicted the outcome of an *initiative* (war, business, foundation of cities, etc.) on the basis of the horoscope that was cast for the moment the initiative was taken.
- The reading of an *individual birth chart* was a relatively late development (after the fourth century BCE), although in antiquity there already was a complex theory available about this field of astrological practice; usually, however, the 'individual' was the king or another high-ranked person, thus representing not only an individual nativity but the political or religious community, as well.

Although today the main focus of astrological practice is on the interpretation of individual nativities, we should not forget that the move from 'mundane astrology' to 'individual astrology' happened only after the Renaissance and was further fostered by the development of 'psychological astrology' in the twentieth century (see §2e).

Historical Development

2. a) The origins of Western astrology lie in the Mesopotamian cultures of the third millennium BCE. From the fifth century BCE onward, both the zodiacal scheme with twelve equally large zodiacal signs and horoscopic astrology was developed. In this process, the influence of Greek mathematics and astronomy played an important role, as well. Later, certain elements of Egyptian tradition were adopted (therefore, the myth of early Egyptian competence in matters astrological is not attested in the sources; → Egypt). In Imperial Rome, there was a full-blown astronomical and astrological science available that is usually referred to as 'classical astrology.'[1] This tradition was 'canonized' by Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100–178 CE) in his *Syntaxis mathematica* (for astronomy) and *Tetrabiblos* (for astrology).

Antiquity

Despite the fact that ancient scholars differentiated between the calculating and the interpreting branch of the science of the stars, the utter devaluation of 'astrology' vis-à-vis 'astronomy' is a modern phenomenon that led—in the aftermath of the so-called 'scientific revolution'—to the dismantling of astrology from the accepted sciences. In antiquity, however, astrology held a key position among the well-reputed sciences (Lat., *artes*). As *ars mathematica* closely connected with astronomy, it made its way into the highest political and philosophical orders of the Roman Empire and became the standard model of interpreting past, present, and future events.[2]

Middle Ages

b) In the Middle Ages, astrological theory—both in terms of calculation and with regard to interpretation—was expanded particularly by Muslim scholars. While Christian astrologers usually clang to a few Latin sources of Late Antiquity that were seen as compatible with Christian theology, Muslim and Jewish scholars absorbed theories of Indian astrology, combined them with the Greek and Latin sources of Roman times, and developed complex and mathematically more exact hermeneutical systems. From the ninth century onward, Christian circles increasingly felt the need to catch up with Muslim and Jewish science, and in many monasteries translations of Arabic texts were provided. The interaction between scholars with different religious backgrounds worked particularly well in Spain and Italy, leading to a shared astrological field of discourse in the High Middle Ages.

Renaissance

c) With a new interest in → Platonism and the rediscovery of Greek hermetic texts that became available in Latin translation (→ Hermetism/Hermeticism; Esotericism), the period between 1450 and 1650 can be seen as the pinnacle of astrological research in Europe (→ Renaissance). Astrology played a decisive role in inter- and intrareligious controversies and discussions. One example of this is the debate about the 'cycles' of historical development that were interpreted with reference to the cycle of 'Great Conjunctions' between Jupiter and Saturn; being already part of ancient discourse, the theory of cyclical succession of religions, kingdoms, and powers on the basis of Great Conjunctions was developed by medieval Muslim astrologers. Shiite scholars interpreted these events as indications of the return of the 'hidden Imam,' Jews joined this debate with prognostications of messianic events, and Christians referred to the Great Conjunctions as signs for the second coming of Christ. The interconfessional debate about → Luther's horoscope, for instance, was strongly informed by speculations about the messianic impact of Great Conjunctions. In a highly apocalyptic and millennialist mindset, astrology was a key factor of legitimation of identity and power.[3]

The 'scientific revolution' changed the position of astrology in scholarly discourse. Often it is argued that the crisis of astrology was due to the victory of the Copernican heliocentric model of the cosmos, while astrologers still clang to the Ptolemaic model, with the earth being the center of the cosmos. This is too simple a picture, however. Kepler, for instance, in several treatises argued that the heliocentric model would cause no problem for astrologers, because for them it does not matter how the paths of the planets that they are observing and interpreting from their position on earth actually are to be explained. More important for the crisis of astrology, therefore, was the fact that from the seventeenth century onward radical *empiricism* gained the upper hand in scientific research. Deterministic empiricism led to a disregard of interpretations that referred to invisible ('occult') powers in nature, and astrologers had severe problems in justifying their concepts of 'sympathy' and correspondences.

Romanticism

d) With the exception of England—where a continuous development of astrology is attested[4]—in the eighteenth century astrology had lost its old reputation as scientific discipline almost completely in Europe (→ Enlightenment). It was no longer part of university programs, a critical factor of the so-called 'decline' of astrology. The result, however, was not a vanishing of astrology from intellectual discourse, but a shift from university and science to literature and art. Even before the era of → Romanticism, astrology entered those cultural areas, for instance in the writings of Schiller and Goethe, who made use of astrological symbolism in order to establish an alternative to Christian monotheism. In the nineteenth century, then, astrology played a role in Romantic concepts of 'living nature,' concepts that critically assessed the standard deterministic worldview of science.

Modernity

e) But it needed the impact of nineteenth-century Theosophists (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society) to reintroduce astrology on the continent. Here, *mystical* and karmic readings of astrological tradition were developed that ran counter the *prognostic* interest of older astrological

currents. The second major influence on a newly appreciated astrology in the twentieth century was the growth of *psychology* (→ Psychoanalysis). Now, it was the *individual* and the *inner qualities* of the human psyche that stood front and center. Doubtlessly, without Jungian psychology and its adaptation in → 'New Age' culture, the history of astrology in the twentieth century would have been completely different.

Today, the majority of (professional) astrologers cling to a non-deterministic, psychological concept of astrology. In all Western countries astrological societies have been founded that strive for a better reputation of what they see as serious astrology, in a public climate that holds ambivalent views about the science of the stars. While astrology is still almost completely neglected and ridiculed by scholars, a large proportion of the population in Europe and North America believe that astrological hermeneutics might come to coherent conclusions.

1. See Bouché-Leclercq 1899; Barton 1994; von Stuckrad 2005, ch. 3.
2. See Cramer 1954.
3. See Zambelli 1986; Destmann et al. 2005.
4. See Curry 1989 and 1992.

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→ *Determinism, Divination, Esotericism, Fatalism, Heaven/Sky, New Age, Occultism, Science, Time*

Kocku von Stuckrad

Asylum

Human Right?

1. Asylum, the assuring of protection to strangers, has religious roots. *Church asylum*, and the *sanctuary* movement (in the United States), plead this ancient religious tradition. In 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany committed itself to the following *human right*: "Political refugees have a right to asylum" (Art. 16.2). This formulation goes much further than the (non-binding) United Nations Convention on Human Rights of December 12, 1948: "States may grant asylum to political refugees." Nevertheless, even the German expression of the right to asylum did not create a human right according to which religious or racial refugees might demand the right to asylum. Thus, even today Jews and Sinti (→ Sinti and Roma), who had vainly sought asylum in Sweden or Switzerland from murder at the hands of the Nazi dictatorship, would have no right to protection.

2. The slogans "The boat is full" or "Fortress Europe" characterizes the policy on asylum of the "Schengen Agreement" of June 14, 1985, which, to be sure, opened the interior borders of Europe, but shut the common boundary off from the 'flood of asylum seekers'—the metaphor tacitly suggesting the destruction of the world (the Great Flood) and the ark of rescue for the righteous. No note has been taken of how the Western world causes the poverty of the Southern, and ever fewer refugees have been recognized as eligible for asylum. They have not been persecuted, it is claimed—they could flee within their own countries. They have been rated as 'pseudo-seekers of asylum,' or 'economic refugees,' and ascribed dubious, or even criminal, intentions. The nations of Europe have not opened the necessary alternative in the form of an immigration law, since many persons of the former colonies, among others, might then be able to redeem their claims to legal rights.

Sanctuary Movement and Church Asylum

3. Individual refugees have found protection in church communities. The *sanctuary movement* in the United States, and *church asylum* in Europe, make appeal to an ancient religious right: Temples and churches, it is claimed, were safe havens for refugees, who could there enjoy religious protection. In ancient times, we hear, upon entering the sanctuary they had become 'untouchable': a taboo, a magic protection, cloaked refugees upon their touching the altar or a ritual image, shielding them from their pursuers. This is not the meaning of the Greek *asylon*, however. In early Greek culture, the custom meant that what belonged to a divinity in her or his house, whether treasures or persons, might not be included in the collection (*sylan*) of a debt. For lack of a power monopoly on the part of the state, injured parties must get their compensation themselves; the border to 'vengeance' cannot be secured. Here in the sanctuary, persons were protected from blood vengeance if only they called upon God or a distinguished person as arbitrator, for protection. No higher power intervened ('intercession'), but a person of respect would call for a respite if the legitimate penalty were to shift to vendetta. In ancient Israel (Lev 35), there was an effort to limit the place of asylum; even more so in the Roman Empire. After all, not just any slave might find cheap liberty in a temple. Asylum, the oldest civil right, long antedating any enlightened liberation, is in constant danger of being restricted and contested. But in the house of God, the very birds of the air find asylum, and human beings

ought to be able to profit by the same generosity, we are taught in the narratives. Indeed, in the disguise of the stranger and the foreigner, the very God could be trying the justice of human beings. Simple persons, who share the little that they have, are more generous in this regard than the denizens of the cities.

Huguenots, Dissenters

Among historically important flights to asylum are those of the Huguenots to Prussia and Holland in 1685, of the dissenters (who failed to conform to the Confessions), and later of the 1848 revolutionaries to North America, or the 'authors in exile.' The admittance of asylum-seekers has fetched cultures not only expenses, but a wealth of human beings and cultural blossoming.

A Constitutional State Needs No Asylum

4. But if, since the French Revolution, there are no longer any immune locations, where civil law is suspended, then how is church space for asylum to be explained? Is the Minister of the Interior not correct in saying that law and order is being assaulted here? Human rights stand above the right of law, however, and on occasion call for civil disobedience. The assertion of law and order, or the credibility, or economic power of the state, cannot be measured against a human being's emergency. But another reproach, as well, is made against asylum as an exceptional right: Does it not harbor criminals as well? It is usually specified, however, that, in the long term, asylum protects only one who has killed without intent. And life in asylum means giving up one's native soil, social position, and friendships. It is usually a life in 'misery.'

Anyone claiming that every person is endowed with inalienable rights, purely and simply because he or she is a person, must keep open the doors to the place where those who must fear for their lives in another part of the world are warranted protection. But a world in which millions are in flight must not merely conceal the symptoms, and that indeed reluctantly.

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→ *Human Rights, Migration*

Christoph Auffarth

Atheism

1. Atheism ('godlessness'), linguistically derived from the Greek *átheos*, is so named only since the sixteenth century. Atheism means the denial of the existence of God or of the gods, as well as of a life after death. It is a radical form of → criticism of religion, and depends on contingent historical and societal conceptualizations of God. Thus, a timelessly valid definition that would specify anything beyond the negation of the existence of God is impossible. Behind the imputation of atheism lurk confrontations concerning the religious tradition of a society.

A prerequisite for atheism is the formation of a theological concept of God. The atheistic critique can be summarized in three *principal types*: (a) the gods have no interest in the world (Epicurus, deism); (b) gods are human inventions (Critias, Feuerbach, → Freud, materialism); (c) the existence of gods can neither be proved nor disproved (agnosticism). The atheistic critique is accompanied by pleas for alternative systems of explanation of the world, most often of a scientific or psychological kind.

Intellectual Atheism

2. The atheism of Ancient Greece denied God's involvement in the world, just as did later deism, but not God's existence. The position of Xenophon (c. 565–488 BCE), that the human form of the gods consists in abstractions, absolutizations, or denials of human traits (critique of anthropomorphism), was brought forward in modern times against Christian theology, just as was the pronouncement of Epicurus (341–271/270 BCE) that it was fear of the gods that had occasioned the invention of gods. Protagoras (485–415 BCE) had raised the doubt of whether the question of the gods' existence was to be decided at all, and Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895) elaborated this doubt into the theory of agnosticism. Anaxagoras's (c. 500–427 BCE) contestation of the divinity of the sun, which set in motion a desacralization of nature, developed into an atheistic theory resting on an acknowledgement of the sciences. The reception of the works of Baruch de Spinoza (1632–1677) was normative here. From his maxim, 'God is substance and nature,' radical Enlightenment thinkers of the seventeenth century formed a naturalistic philosophy. A normative influence was exercised by the English freethinkers on seventeenth-century French (*libres penseurs*) and German Enlightenment thinkers through the propagation of their atheistic store of thought. Their critique of religion, which they borrowed from the ancient philosophical tradition, found its way into the explication of → human rights in the *French Revolution*. In eighteenth-century France a societal model was conceived in which, for the first time, atheists enjoyed equality of citizenship (→ Civil Religion), thereby establishing the theoretical basis for the separation of church and state (→ Secularization). An explanation of the world according to the rules of Empiricism, without any reference to God, the refutation by Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) of the arguments for the existence of God, the relegation of religion to the status of a human feeling by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), as well as the recognition of religion's social conditioning consequent on the 'discovery' of non-European peoples, readied the way for the atheistic philosophy of Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872). Feuerbach made the discourse upon God, or theology, into a discourse upon themselves by human beings, an anthropology.

Organized Atheism

3. In the industrial societies of modernity, the first organized atheism to arise was that of the socialist labor movement of the nineteenth century, which was founded on philosophical materialism. Karl Marx (1818–1883) became important with his 'scientific socialism,' which at first he dubbed 'real humanism,' and later, 'communism' (→ Marxism). With his radicalization of the antinomy between materialism and idealism, he battled all varieties of speculative philosophy and religious piety. In 1881, his supporters organized into the German Association of Freethinkers—the German bloc of the International Association of Freethinkers founded in Brussels in 1880—thereby separating themselves from the Free Religious. The International Association of Freethinkers was the umbrella organization of the English Freethinkers, the French *libres penseurs*, and the American *Unbelievers*, who had held national congresses in the United States since 1836.

4. In the twentieth century, the atheism of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) has produced its own anticlerical culture of activism and propaganda. Socialist states are home to atheistic museums (e.g. Albania) and academic chairs for instruction in atheism, which, in an accommodation to church politics, were partially dismantled in the German Democratic Republic. That which appears as an atheistic cult of the state is partly the product of the strict separation of church and state, where the church is interpreted as a relic of human history whose theories have been vanquished. At the same time, a variety of personality cults have appeared, which have transformed religious traditions. The cult of Stalin exploited the popular piety of the Russian Orthodox Church; Mao made use of Chinese tradition, for example the role of the people as emphasized in the work of Mêng-tsû of the Ch'in era.

5. Atheism as the denial of a personal God is found in → Confucianism. → Buddhism, especially Theravada Buddhism, as also Indian Jainism, knows no god of creation and governance, but their religious characteristics distinguish them from unequivocal atheistic systems like the Indian Lokayata of Charka. Since 1940, an Atheistic Center, committed to the secular state, has functioned in Indian Viyajawada/Andhra Pradesh.

6. The state-prescribed atheism of the socialist states seems to have failed. The unbelief and religious indifferentism of which the church complains, the 'truth' with which cult → films and books are endowed, as also → sports, → music, and leisure pleasures, are not necessarily atheism, as they are missing the constitutive element of a conscious denial of the gods.

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→ *Civil Religion, Criticism of Religion, God/Gods/The Sacred, Spirituality, Theodicy*

Ulrich Nanko

Atlantis

Plato's Myth

1. Atlantis is the literary fiction of a great empire that sank in the Atlantic. It harks back to the Greek Philosopher Plato (427/8–347/8 BCE), and is said to have served the rescue of the declining state of Athens in the political struggle over that city's future. Plato was from an old aristocratic family and had sought in vain to receive some political office in his home city. He battled the democrats, who were hateful to him, with philosophical teachings. The legend of Atlantis is closely bound up with Plato's myth of the ideal state, and is found in two of the later dialogues, named after his interlocutors, Critias and Timaeus (21e-25d). Plato clad his doctrine in a teaching he claimed a priest had imparted to his ancestor Solon in Egypt. The priest is said to have told of the glory of prehistoric Athens, which had delivered the world from oppression by its victory over world power Atlantis nine thousand years before. Power in Athens in those days was said to have been held by twenty thousand 'guardians,' who lived in full equality, while farmers and laborers, like the slaves, scarcely interested the philosopher. Athens's enemy, the island state of Atlantis, stood on a mighty continent beyond the "Pillars of Hercules" (Gibraltar), and flourished so long as it maintained a monarchical order that pleased the gods. Its army had threatened the entire Mediterranean basin, and only the Athenians, under the leadership of aristocrats, had succeeded in expelling the enemy, whose continent had sunk into the ocean soon thereafter. Athens itself had fallen into decay, but had blossomed once more, on its ancient model.

With his chronicle of Atlantis, Plato was preaching an Attic Renaissance. That glorious past would return, as Athens had once ruled the world. He was following the ancient Persian teaching on the ages, which had limited the existence of the world to thrice three thousand years, with a 'new' age (Gk., *aion*) to follow the present one. Over against the 'rotten' contemporary democracy of Athens, Plato set original Athens as the ideal model of a state, with an elite aristocracy in a three-tier society, and Atlantis as the ideal, monarchical, state. Plato's (twofold) outline was a copy of the conquering state of Sparta, in which only the strictly reared elite enjoyed political rights, while the working population were without them.

The framework of the narrative is the Attic image of → Egypt. Here was an ancient land filled with miracle and mystery. The model for the great aggressive empire that had threatened Athens was the Persian Achaemenid Empire. A power from beyond the seas—in the fabulous, far away, then—was probably seafaring Athens. The tale of Atlantis, accordingly, does not deal with real events. It is an instructive device, a → myth, which mingles elements of the politics of the day with a state → utopia, teachings about the ages of the world, and transplanted pieces of exotic travel reports. Any attempt to locate the myth of Atlantis historically or geographically, then, is doomed to failure. There is no continent sunken in the Atlantic.

Atlantis in the Utopian Literature of Early Modernity

2. For centuries, even the literary creation of 'Atlantis' disappeared. After Athens had receded into political insignificance with the ascent of Rome, the myth had fulfilled its political function—which, to be sure, was always limited. Nearly two thousand years would pass before the legend of the prehistoric super-empire beyond the Strait of Gibraltar was wakened to new life, having been faithfully handed down in other works. The history of the



The "Opening Festival" of the new Atlantis on Tenerife: Carl Laubin's painting (1987) shows a celebration the like of which will doubtless never be held. It was to be held on the Agora, the marketplace of a city called Atlantis. Belgian architect Léon Krier, together with Hans-Jürgen and Helga Müller, of Stuttgart, were planning this ideal city until the year 2000, on Tenerife. (On the left stands the 'refectory'; in the middle, the colonnaded hall of the 'Stoa'; at the right rear, the pyramidal church tower.) To be executed in the antiquating style of postmodernism, it was conceived as a Platonic Academy, where "persons of high consciousness could meet" (Maurice Culot). The project was a failure from the outset because of its overreaching. (Hubert Mohr)

modern reception of the myth of Atlantis commences in fifteenth-century Florence. There, under Cosimo de' Medici, there sprang up an 'Academy,' after the Platonic model, whose head, Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), believed in the literal reality of the narrative (→ Esotericism). It was in his milieu that Genoan Christoforo Colon (Columbus) seems to have heard of islands in the Western sea that were accounted the remnants of Atlantis. Columbus's 'discovery' of America promoted the old legend to a means of grasping the reality, of the hitherto unknown land beyond the seas, as verified in the writings of the ancients. From now on, Plato's narrative was read in twofold wise: as a historical report, and as a social utopia, the portrayal of a society of justice and equality. Plato's myth underpinned both Thomas More's *Utopia* of 1516 and the concepts of the radical Baptist movement. Both read the old text as a set of instructions for social reform. Of course, it was overlooked that Plato had foreseen the 'communist' order only for the ruling 'guardians.' English political theorist and philosopher Francis Bacon composed a modern, striking version of the myth, with his *Nova Atlantis* (1627). Bacon's Atlantis was not an ideal of justice, but a country full of fantasized technological creation, a seminal work of → science fiction literature.

Myth of Atlantis in Modernity

3. After 1850, Greek philosopher Plato's political lesson was the subject of a resurgence. The effects of the tale of Atlantis in trivial literature are a variation on the attempts to reach an utterly wondrous world 'enlightenment.' The—now conservative—social content of the Atlantis story is forgotten. The only things that count are the reputed riches and adventurous collapse—both of them areas into which many mysteries can be read. A variation with enduring effects even today is the Fascist fantasy of an Alfred Rosenberg, who, in the 1930s, sought to lead the 'Aryans,' as the heirs of Atlantis, to the stature of a world power, as Plato had sought to lead Athens out of a fabricated past to greatness. Rosenberg's work still stands behind the dreams of a J. Spanauth (*Das enträtselte Atlantis*, 1953), who theorized Helgoland (a small island in the North Sea) to be a remnant of Atlantis, in order to link the legend to the Germans. These variations on the myth of Atlantis do without any humanistic thinking. Today's transferred locations are archaeologically oriented, and, with much popular success, shift the mythical place to Thera (S. Marinatos) or Troy (E. Zangger).

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→ *Antiquity, Myth/Mythology, New Myths/New Mythologies, Platonism, Private Religion, Science Fiction, Utopia*

Burchard Brentjes

Augustine

Biographical Data

1. Augustine was born in 354 in Thagaste (today's Souk-Ahras, Algeria), and died in 430 in Hippo Regius (Northern Africa). Reared as a Christian by his mother, Monica, he lived at first (373–384) as a teacher of rhetoric in Thagaste, Carthage, Rome, and at the Western Roman Imperial Court at Milan. After a conversion experience, he had himself baptized (387), and in 391 was ordained a priest. From 396 until his death Augustine was Bishop of the provincial city of Hippo Regius.

Intellectual and Religious Development

2. Augustine's intellectual career was no less turbulent than his outward life. During his studies in rhetoric, he became acquainted with Cicero's philosophical works. It was especially the latter's dialogue *Hortensius*, which today is lost, that motivated him to turn to philosophy, which he understood as a spiritual, and at the same time practical, quest for true happiness. In 373 Augustine embraced → Manichaeism. He rejected Catholicism, partly because of the supposedly inferior intellectual level of its teachings, and partly because of the barbaric style of the Bible. Manichaeism, on the other hand, seemed to him an enlightened, philosophically adequate salvation doctrine. Beginning in 382, however, he turned from Manichaeism,

precisely because of its philosophical problems, and was converted to Catholicism, the religion of his childhood, under the influence of the Bishop of Milan, Ambrose, as well as of Platonically inclined circles. In his *Confessions*, Augustine gives a dramatic depiction of his → conversion as an existential transformation of his personhood at the hands of God. The question of whether he was actually converted to Catholicism, or rather to a variety of Neoplatonic philosophy, was long the subject of controversial discussion. Along with his assimilation of the allegorical biblical exegesis cultivated by Ambrose, by which many of the scandals of Christian scripture could be eliminated, three insights were decisive for Augustine: (1) Besides material reality, there also exist purely spiritual things, and in particular, God. (2) The image of God in human beings is not to be understood as an assertion of an image of the human being in God, for instance in the form of corporality, but rather the other way around, as a similarity to God, and thus an immateriality of the human spirit. (3) The root of evil is not a second, divine, world principle, but the human being's free decision of the will. In the confrontation with Pelagianism (beginning in 412) regarding the relation of divine grace and the free decision of the human being, Augustine specified his teaching on the will, to the effect that only in the Garden of Eden had there really existed a freedom for good and evil. As a negative consequence of the Fall, human beings are now no longer in a condition to do good by their own power. Instead, for this they must have the grace of God.

History of His Influence

3. The significance of the enormous extent of Augustine's writings for the history of Western spirituality can scarcely be overstated. He is the most important conveyor of Platonic → metaphysics to the Middle Ages. Medieval mysticism received an essential impetus from Augustine's idea of a seven-tiered ascent to God, as well as from his depiction of his ecstatic experiences. Modern philosophy itself fell back on him repeatedly. Thus, Descartes developed his basic premise, the *cogito ergo sum* ("I think, therefore I am") in dependence on Augustine's concept of the human spirit, and the authors of German phenomenology and existential philosophy (Scheler, Heidegger, Arendt, Jaspers; → Existentialism) received Augustine as analyst of the self.

Likewise rich in consequences for the history of thought was his conceptualization of history, as presented in *The City of God.* Against the Stoa's cyclic model of history, Augustine represents a linear conception of the history of the world, which ends in the establishment of the Reign of God in the second coming of Christ. Augustine's point of departure in his philosophy of world history is not the representation of a simple progress, but that of a qualitative leap in its transition to the Reign of God. Still, the attempt may be made to conceive modernity's concept of progress as a secularization of the Augustinian thinking on history (K. Löwith). With his doctrine of the two citizenships (*civitas dei, civitas terrene*, "God's citizenship, earthly citizenship"), Augustine sets forth a separation, and at the same time a flexible mutual ordering, of church and state. The state is rendered profane and non-moral, but retains the task of producing a relative, earthly justice, limited to the domain of temporal goods. Christians take active part in the life of the state, since they, too, have need of temporal goods; but they are conscious of the provisional and incomplete nature of these goods.

With his *Confessions*, Augustine is seen as the founder of the literary genre of autobiography (→ Biography/Autobiography). In the main part of this multidimensional work, he portrays his life history, climaxing in his conversion to Catholicism. His interior and exterior biographies become a testimonial to mistaken pathways and successes in the search for true happiness. The *Confessions* are regarded as a paradigm of interiorization and a forerunner of modern subjectivism, as is to be had, for example, in the *Confessions* (1763–1770) of Rousseau. It is to be observed, however, that, with Augustine, neither the autobiographical parts of his work, nor the extremely subtle examination of conscience to be had in Book 10, bear their sense in themselves. By contrast with Rousseau, for instance, Augustine is not interested in his soul's peculiarities, but in its typical elements—the Adam in him and in every human being, fallen away from God and struggling to return.

Certain characteristics of Augustine's *teaching on grace*, especially his doctrine of the damnation of children dying without baptism, were contested from the beginning, and were never fully accepted. It was otherwise with his interpretation of human sexuality, likewise tied to his teaching on grace, which became extensively determinative for church sexual morality. For Augustine, reason's overmastery by appetite in the act of sex is a sign of the human being's fallen state, and an evil in itself; but it can be tolerated in order to accomplish the higher good—corresponding to God's command to propagate—of the conception of offspring, in the framework of matrimony. Sexual intercourse apart from the intent of propagation—and for Augustine this means out of sheer lust—is to be accounted reprehensible. In recent times, this notion is criticized in the Catholic Church, as it fails to take human sexuality into adequate account as an expression of love between persons.

While current discussion of Augustine is in the main historically oriented, he does belong to those authors whose names stand for the most influential deposits of tradition in Western theology.

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→ *Late Antiquity, Christianity, Manichaeism, Mysticism, Platonism*

Johannes Brachtendorf

Authority

Concept: Personal and Formal Authority

1. The concept of 'authority' comes from Roman antiquity and essentially designates a relationship of voluntary subordination without direct application of force. The word derives from the Latin *auctoritas* ('prestige,' 'influence'), embodied in the ancient Roman Senate. The latter was composed of prestigious former officials who stood at the side of the magistrates in office in an advisory capacity. By way of distinction from *potestas* ('power,' 'control'), which can be imposed by violence or compulsion, *auctoritas* is a voluntarily attributed quality, connected with control, prestige, authorization, and dignity, which leads to the statements and behavior of the one in authority being confidently accepted. This special trust establishes loyalty, to the point of an unconditional obedience—which, of course, can be refused, once the integrity of the person in authority is shaken and the confidence of the subordinate lost. *Personal authority* must be earned, and repeatedly confirmed, and in a different manner from power and control, which may be gained and be maintained, if need be, by force. In the case of personal authority, the actual power lies with those who *acknowledge* that authority, and who, in principle, can withdraw their acknowledgment at any time.

Formal authority materializes when personal authority is transferred to institutions, or to groups of persons, and exercised by their representatives. Examples, in addition to public authorities, are professional groups such as those of teachers, judges, physicians, and priests (→ Specialists [religious]). The larger the formal aspect of authority becomes, the greater the danger grows that authority once acknowledged on the basis of → prestige will grow independent, and, as an 'institutionalized' or 'functional' authority, degenerate into sheer control. Similarly, even in the area of personal authority, a transformation may occur to a mere exercise of power, and issue in *authoritarian comportment.*

Religious Authority

The pattern of voluntary subordination to the determinations of others is to be found in the area of religion, as well. Here, for one thing, there is → myth, whose truth content is indubitable for the believers, and which advises of a higher, mightier reality. Myths have their authority through those who hand them down, and because they come directly from the gods, just as—especially in the 'founded' religions—sacred scriptures are authorized through their relation with God. The ascription of authority follows in the personal act of faith, in which persons voluntarily submit to this religious authority and its claim to a determined discipleship. The analogy of 'generative authority,' experienced by everyone in common life with the family and family members (see below), is reflected in the religious concepts and their acceptance by individual persons. Conversely, religious authorities also act in the worldly area of a society, and usually gain a high social standing. Aside from the various forms of ecstatic, mystical, or ascetical rapture, it is the religious office holders, especially, who transmit the impression of an intensive relationship with the transcendent powers, and possess authority. This holds especially for shamans (→ Shamanism), → prophets, → gurus, and → priests. The last-named, especially, have developed a professional group of their own, and can be said to be 'imbedded' in a secure, formal authority.



Cooperation between religious and secular authorities: In a village of the rain forest of southwest Cameroon, a police officer seeks advice from the mask of *Obasi-Njom*. Many persons consult *Obasi-Njom* in personal or family problems, in sickness, or even in the effort to identify a criminal offender. From the side of the state, this cooperation is frowned upon, especially as *Obasi-Njom* enjoys great trustworthiness and possesses great power in the eyes of the population. (Benita von Behr)

Authority and the Church

2. To be sure, in most religions authority performs its operation without being explicitly delineated. But the concept of *auctoritas* gained entry into the terminology of the early Christian Church directly from its use in the Roman political system. Tertullian (160–220; earliest Latin ecclesiastical author, probably originally a jurist), who introduced the concept of *auctoritas* into theology, and Cyprian (200–280, Bishop of Carthage, originally from the Roman aristocracy and a civil official) saw the triune God as bearer of absolute, unlimited authority—an authority that, granted, needed the counsel of no others. Just as civil law has authority because the regent or sovereign of the people issues it, so the Bible, as 'word of God,' has *divina auctoritas* ('divine authority'), which extends to the representatives of the Church and to the believers. → Augustine broadened the concept of *auctoritas* for the Church, investing it with a more profound religious meaning, according to which the authority of God cannot and should not be doubted, and, at the same time, in its transmission by Jesus, is an example and model. These are conceptualizations that lie at the basis of the institution of the → papacy, which presents a prototype for personal *and* institutional authority, for the reciprocal relationships between these, and for a definitive meaning of the act of voluntary (believing) recognition of an authority.

Importance and Effect

3. The impact of authority lies grounded in the very first experience a person has with others. The child's experience of the helplessness of complete dependency, and the experience that the instructions and dealings of the person to whom he or she relates most closely generally have benign effects on the child, stamp lifelong the basic pattern of authority and of confidence in persons of authority. Only when the behavior and pretensions to respectability and authority of a person who relates to the child on a basis of intimacy fall into a general dissonance, so that this person acts no longer through his or her personal authority but rather through an informal one, does the (informal) authority become mixed with an exercise of power and the child become resistant or subjected. On grounds of

the need for orientation and stability, additional, new vessels of authority are sought, who seem more reliable, and these change in the course of a person's life history. This is also the key to an understanding of the attraction of relations of dependency and to the 'doctrine' and spirit of this phenomenon, which we must therefore term *authoritarian* (Adorno). The less authority is understood as a relationship between autonomous persons in quest of counsel and their counselors, the greater the peril of a dependent control-relationship, with subjugation and absolute obedience. It is not the abolition of authority that is called for here, but an education that would preserve the autonomy of the self and safeguard one's critical intercourse both with oneself and with secular and religious authorities.

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→ *Charisma, Fundamentalism, Socialization/Upbringing*

Matthias Pilger-Strohl

Baha'i

1. The Baha'i religion rests on traditions of Iranian Islamic history of religion, as well as on interweavings with the more ancient revelatory religions Judaism, Christianity, and → Zoroastrianism. Thus, its type is that of a monotheistic prophetical religion. The cultural conditions of its appearance in Islamic → Iran in the nineteenth century weigh upon relations between the Islamic world and Baha'i to this day. At present the religion extends across the globe, with some 6.5 million faithful worldwide. Its focal points are in sub-Saharan African countries, on the Indian subcontinent, and in Latin America. Despite repression, some 300,000 live in Iran. They are also found in Europe; in Germany, for example, their number is somewhat over 5,000, living in 100 local centers.

Baha'i Today

2. In the year 1844, Sayyid Ali Muhammad (1819–1850) proclaimed himself, in Shiite Muslim terms, the *Bab*—the "Gate"—to a new personal vessel of revelation. This development divided him and his followers from Islam, and he was executed in 1850.

Origin

Then Mirza Hussain Ali Nuri (1817–1892), called Baha'u'llah, the "Glory of God," assumed the leadership of the followers of the Bab, and in 1863 declared himself to be the new vessel of revelation announced by the Bab. The 'Twin Revelation' of the Bab and Baha'u'llah, proclaimed the latter, had closed the great cycle of earlier religions. In 1868, persecution and banishment led him, by way of Istanbul and Edirne, to Akka in Palestine. There he lived until his death in 1892. Four decades of activity have produced a

voluminous corpus of Scripture, of which the most important writings are the *Kitab-i-Aqdas*, the "Most Holy Book" and the *Kitab-i-Iqan*, the "Book of Certitude." Through extensive European and North American journeys in the years preceding the First World War, Baha'u'llah's son 'Abdu'l-Baha (1844–1921), as the religion's authoritative exponent, contributed decisively to its spread outside the Near East. The latter's grandson, Shoghi Effendi (1897–1957), as Guardian of the Faith, translated the Scriptures from Arabic into English, sacred though the former language might be. He also left his imprint on the social and organizational development of the religion. The *Universal House of Justice*, first constituted, by vote, in 1963, after the death of Shoghi Effendi, is the religion's supreme international governing body. It consists of nine male Baha'i, each elected to a five-year term. Above the city of Haifa, in Israel, along with other installations, stands the building that houses this institution. The tomb of the Bab, and the nearby tomb of Baha'u'llah, make the entire area the center of the religion. On the national level are the so-called *National Spiritual Assemblies*. The lowest organizational level is made up of the *Local Spiritual Assemblies.* Unlike those of the "Universal House of Justice," the nine members of these Councils are chosen annually; women can vote and be elected as members of these councils.

"Universal House of Justice"

Further Development

3. Central among the theological teachings stands the one proclaiming a threefold unity: (1) that of the oneness of God maintains the strict monotheism of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. (2) That of the oneness of the Revealer emphasizes that no religions are distinct from one another otherwise than outwardly, in their temporal, cultural, and developmental conditioning. In their essence they form a single unity. Each new Revealer renews a religion paralyzed in its outward forms. At the interior of the religion, the concept of a progressing revelation also relativizes the claim to absolute uniqueness, and leads to efforts concerned with an inter-religious dialogue. (3) By virtue of the oneness of humanity, the sexes, and all races and peoples, are of equal dignity and worth.

Calendar

Baha'i community religious praxis is oriented to the calendar. The year begins with the spring equinox, and is arranged in nineteen periods of nineteen days (with four additional days). The nineteen-day feast at the beginning of each new calendar period, as a regularly recurring event, structures community life. Nine holy days recall important occurrences in Baha'i history—among others, the birthdays and death days of the Bab and Baha'u'llah, the Bab's revelation, the Ridvan festival, and the Now-Ruz. On these days, believers are to rest from their work. The community assembles for the reading of sacred scripture at a brief *service*, for conversation concerning the community's religious and social interests (*consultation*), and for a *social occasion* that includes food and recreation (without alcohol). Baha'i worship knows neither elaborate rites nor religious specialists (priests); instead, each community member is expected to make an active contribution. Individual religious praxis centers on daily prayer. The last Baha'i 'month' is a nineteen-day period of fasting. As in the Islamic → Ramadan, food and drink are renounced during the day. Not having any elaborate rites, the Baha'i religion requires no buildings in which to celebrate formal ritual. Only the "Houses of Worship" could perhaps be

considered structures for cultic practice. In 1964, the European House of Worship was erected in Hofheim, near Frankfurt-am-Main. Others are in New Delhi, Panama City, Wilmette, Sydney, and in Uganda.

From its doctrine of the oneness of humanity, Baha'is draw an openness to the world, as manifested in its efforts for the recognition of equal rights for woman. In 'Third World' countries, Baha'is promote development and education projects specifically for women. Baha'i collaboration with the United Nations, as a nongovernmental organization, like its commitment to world peace, is a concrete expression of its aspirations for the actual emergence of the oneness of humanity.

In countries of the 'Third World,' this demand has a positive effect. Here the Baha'i religion realizes its capacity to promote development. In Western Europe and North America, on the other hand, where a strict partition of society and religion is in most cases the order of the day, the prospect of marking society and culture with Baha'i thought collides with basic obstacles. Baha'is enjoy little popularity, then, in these regions of the world.

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→ *Iran, Monotheism*

Manfred Hutter

Baptism

The Ritual

1. a) Baptism is the celebration of the ritual, common to all Christian churches, that establishes reception into the Church as a religious community. Thus it is a rite of → initiation. → Water, and the Trinitarian formula, "I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," are the twin essential elements of this ritual. At baptism, candidates are immersed, either totally or partially, in water, or water flows over them, or they are sprinkled with water. Luther derives the word *Taufe* ('Baptism'), with etymological correctness, from *tief* ('deep').[1]

b) In the first Christian communities, baptism was administered only 'in the name of Jesus' (Acts 2:38; 8:16; 19:5). The new members of the community received a new name, a 'Christian' one. Inasmuch as the candidate is baptized to or for the name of Jesus, or the triune God, she or he is



The Gospels report that Jesus had himself baptized by John in the Jordan (Matt 3:13-17; Mark 1:9-11). The Bible does not give the place, but Christian tradition has specified a site on the riverbank southeast of Jericho, near the Dead Sea. Already in early Christian times, pilgrims came here to be baptized. Later, monks settled at the place to provide lodging for the pilgrims. Still today, at the ancient place of baptism near El Maghtas stands the Greek Orthodox Monastery of Saint John. After this strip of land on the border of Jordan had become an off-limits military area, the Israeli Ministry for Tourism established a new baptismal spot near Bitanya, south of Lake Gennesaret, the Pilgrim Baptismal Site Yardemit. It offers a large parking lot, with access to the Jordan, and shops where pilgrims may purchase souvenirs. Pilgrims may step down into the river in safety on a stair provided with banisters. In churches that practice adult baptism, pilgrims are generally together in groups, who travel to the Holy Land and, as the high point of their pilgrimage, after the example of Jesus, step into the Jordan to celebrate the Sacrament of Baptism. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

declared to belong to that God, and simultaneously to be a member of the community of all believers. The element of water, into which the candidate sinks, symbolizes death, the end of a time of life now past; arising from the water stands for birth, the beginning of a new life.

2. a) Baptism was a new ritual, a rite specifically of the primitive Christian community. In Jewish tradition, only John the Baptist's baptism (Matt 3:13-17) could have been its model. Unlike Jewish washings (→ Purification), Christian baptism is received but once. The one baptizing performs Christian baptism, with the candidate participating only passively. It is founded on the baptismal instruction ascribed by biblical tradition to Jesus: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them, [. . .] and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you" (Matt 28:19-20).

Infant versus Adult Baptism

b) It cannot be said with certainty whether children were baptized in the early Christian communities (cf. Acts 16:15; 1 Cor 1:16); to be sure, the New Testament concept of baptism does not preclude it. Infant baptism came to be the general praxis in the lands marked by Christianity. Only as the Anabaptists (the 're-baptizers') of the sixteenth century came to require a conscious decision on the part of candidates for baptism, and thus baptized only adults, was the established tradition of baptizing infants called into question.

c) Not only from the institutional side, but also in the consciousness of church members today, baptism is ascribed a special importance as a sign of membership in the Church. As polls reveal, church members typically rank 'being baptized' high above 'church attendance' or 'knowledge of the Bible.'

1. According to Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 11, I.1 (Leipzig 1935), 187.

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→ *Baptists, Birth, Church, Initiation, Life Cycle, Ritual*

Jürgen Weber

Baptists

Radical Evangelical Christians

1. The Baptists (originally, German *Täufer*) base their lives radically on the Bible, refusing all compromise; consequently, they refuse military duty. Unlike other churches, they practice only adult → baptism. Their origins lie in sixteenth-century Central Europe. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, another group appeared, in the Anglo-Saxon region, the "Baptists" (from the Greek, *baptízein*, 'baptize,' 'immerse'). Owing, presumably, to cultural reservations and differences, there was scarcely any contact between the 'baptist' (*Täufer*) baptizing movement on the continent and the Baptists in Britain. While in German-speaking regions a distinction is still made between *Täufer* and Baptists today, in English no such distinction exists. All Christian communities restricting baptismal candidacy to adults are known as 'Baptists' where English is spoken.

Radical Wing of the Reformation

2. a) The *Täufer* movement dates from the Reformation: For the *Täufer*, the reforming efforts of Luther and Zwingli did not go far enough. Together with the "Enthusiasts" or "Dreamers" (the *Schwärmer*) and the "Spiritualists," they constitute what is thought of as the 'left wing' of the → Reformation. Unlike the "Enthusiasts," the *Täufer* were of the firm conviction that the Reign of God ought not to be attained by violence, and is to be realized in this world only for a small remnant of persons. Unlike the Spiritualists, again, the *Täufer*, of course, hold to a visible community of the born again.

Zurich 1526-26

b) The *Täufer* movement had its beginnings in Zurich. A dispute had arisen among the followers of reformer Zwingli (1484–1531) in Zurich. The radical group was dissatisfied with both pace and extent of the reforms being implemented. In the relationship between the *Christen- und Bürgergemeinde* ('Christian and the civil community'), the radicals wished to be under the control of the secular Council of the city no longer, and demanded that its places, too, be filled by members of the Reform. The definitive break with the Protestantism being established came in January 1525. For Konrad Grebel (c. 1498–1526), infant baptism was the symbol of a *Kirche des Herrn Jedermann* ("Church of everybody")[1] and irreconcilable with a biblically based model of church. At a time when infant baptism was not only a rite of initiation for reception into the Church, but at the same time symbolized reception into society, a rejection of infant baptism was far more than just

a theological consideration or ecclesial matter: it was an affront to society's status quo. On January 17, 1525, a public disputation was held, whose concluding pronouncement was the prescription that anyone failing to have his child baptized within a week of its birth be expelled from the City and Canton of Zurich. Grebel and his fellow disputant Feliz Mantz were placed under an injunction of silence. Four of their fellow-believers were banned. The price was high for the position the 'anabaptists,' who called themselves the 'Swiss Brethren,' had taken. In Zurich itself, in 1526, the Council had introduced the determination that anyone who performed rebaptism was to be drowned.

Persecution in the German Empire

c) In the year 1529, the persecution of the *Täufer* was extended to the entire Holy Roman Empire of Germany by a decree of the Diet of Speyer. "Re-baptizers and re-baptized, male and female, who have attained the use of reason, are to be taken from natural life to death by fire, sword, or the like, [. . .] without inquisition aforegoing by the Spiritual Judge."[2] Despite the situation of persecution, the *Täufer* movement gained popularity, and quickly spread in southern Germany, in Tyrol, in Austria and Moravia, in the regions of the upper Danube, in the Rhine valley, and the Netherlands. There was a consciousness within the *Täufer* movement of the problem of a fragmentation, which led, at a congress of the *Täufer* on February 24, 1527, in Schleitheim, to the ratification of a confession of faith issuing from the pen of Michael Sattler.[3] The nature of this confession, which was actually more of a set of directions for the attitude and behavior of the believers, was to prevail in all later confessions prepared by groups standing in the *Täufer* tradition. The misnamed '*Täufer* Realm' in Munster (1534/35), where the "Enthusiasts" succeeded in bringing the city under their rule by violence, increased the pressure on the clandestine *Täufer* groups.

Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish

d) Ex-priest Menno Simon (1496–1561) managed to persuade the quiet, pacifist *Täufer* of the Netherlands and northern Germany to group together, and succeeded in giving them an identity of their own—one that would distinguish them from the "Enthusiasts." In the course of the sixteenth century, then, the name *Mennonites* gained currency for all groups of the *Täufer* movement except the *Hutterer* ("Hutterites," after Jacob Hutter, burned at the stake in Innsbruck in 1536), a *Täufer* group likewise springing from the Reformation, which practiced common ownership of goods on their communal farms, primarily in Moravia. At the end of the seventeenth century, the *Amish Brethren* split with the Mennonites. Persecution spanning the Empire, and an absolutist rule in the area of religion as well (*cuius regio, eius religio*, "your region determines your religion"), and finally, economic relations (for only very seldom were *Täufer* permitted to own land), may have been the main reasons for the emigration of the *Täufer*, to North America especially. In the nineteenth century came a further reason for the nonviolent *Täufer* to abandon their homelands: universal military service in many of the states of Europe.

In Europe, then, there are only a few communities remaining that can trace their existence to *Täufer* roots. In → North America, on the other hand, there is a broad spectrum of *Täufer* communities that go back to the immigration from continental Europe just cited.

Täufer *in North America*

3. a) The *range of the presence of the* Täufer *in North America today* is gigantic. Especially striking is the existence of communities that refuse to assimilate to a modern, secularized world. Besides Mennonite communities not outwardly different from other Christian communities and their members, we find *Old Mennonites, Hutterites*, and *Amish*. These last named *Täufer* groups, with their secluded way of life, in relatively closed off farming settlements, with their strict clothing customs, their own schools, their language ("Pennsylvania Dutch [Deitch]"), their rejection of modern technology (except for the Hutterites), and a rigorous management of their community organization, consciously seek to take their distance from a modern, and in their eyes diabolical, world. The Hutterites practice common ownership of goods in their communities even today. Scant encouragement as these groups, with their opposition to the world, may receive from without, nevertheless the high birth rate in their own communities, coupled with a low rate of exodus, maintains these communities unthreatened in their existence. The Amish population, for example, doubles every twenty years: As the twentieth century dawned, the North American continent was home only to some 5,000 Amish; today their number is 150,000. For outsiders, these unworldly religious groups have become a living museum, and remind many of the seemingly good old days.

Old Mennonites, Hutterites, and Amish Brethren

Baptists

b) Alongside these *Täufer* communities, with their continental European roots, the North American continent is host to a plethora of Baptist communities of Anglo-Saxon impress. In the New World, Roger Williams called the first Baptist community together in 1639. Three 'awakening' movements (from 1726, from 1800, and from 1870) occasioned a powerful upswing in the number of Baptists and their communities, and by the end of the nineteenth century there were more than 5,000,000 Baptists living in the United States. The twentieth century also saw a great increase in the number of members of these communities. The number of Baptists in the United States between 1920 and the 1980s quadrupled, reaching some 30,000,000.[4] As of today, then, the Baptists have developed the numerically strongest Protestant church in North America. Evangelization is still an essential feature of the Baptists today; the best-known Baptist preacher in the world is Billy Graham (→ Televangelism). The Baptist understanding of church emphasizes the individual, together with easily manageable communities without hierarchical superstructure. This emphasis likewise conditioned the division of the Baptist Church in America into various denominations. The Southern Baptist Convention, founded in 1845, is numerically the strongest denomination in the world, and embodies a union in the 'Bible belt' of the Southern states that exercises quite a centrally organized control.

c) Unlike the Northern Baptist Convention, founded in 1907 (since 1950 the American Baptists), the Southern Baptists tend to → fundamentalism, and also decline to take part in the ecumenical movement. By reason of their social and political commitment, the African American Baptist communities play a central role. After the Civil War (1861–1865), the Baptist communities of blacks received very strong popular support on the part of former slaves. By the end of the nineteenth century, these communities were already forming in their own coalitions. Two-thirds of all blacks belonged to a Baptist

community by the middle of the twentieth century, and today one-third of the 30,000,000 Baptists in the United States are African Americans. The important role they discharged under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968), especially in the time of the upheaval that was the civil rights movement of the 1960s, changed society itself.

1. Böhmer, Heinrich/Kirn, Paul (eds.), Thomas Müntzers Briefwechsel, Leipzig 1937, 93.
2. Deutsche Reichstagsakten, 7, 1229; cited in Iserloh 1975, 253.
3. Oberman, Heiko A. (ed.), Die Kirche im Zeitalter der Reformation, Quellen, 3rd ed. Neukirchen-Vluyn 1988, 140-144.
4. Brackney, 1983, 355.

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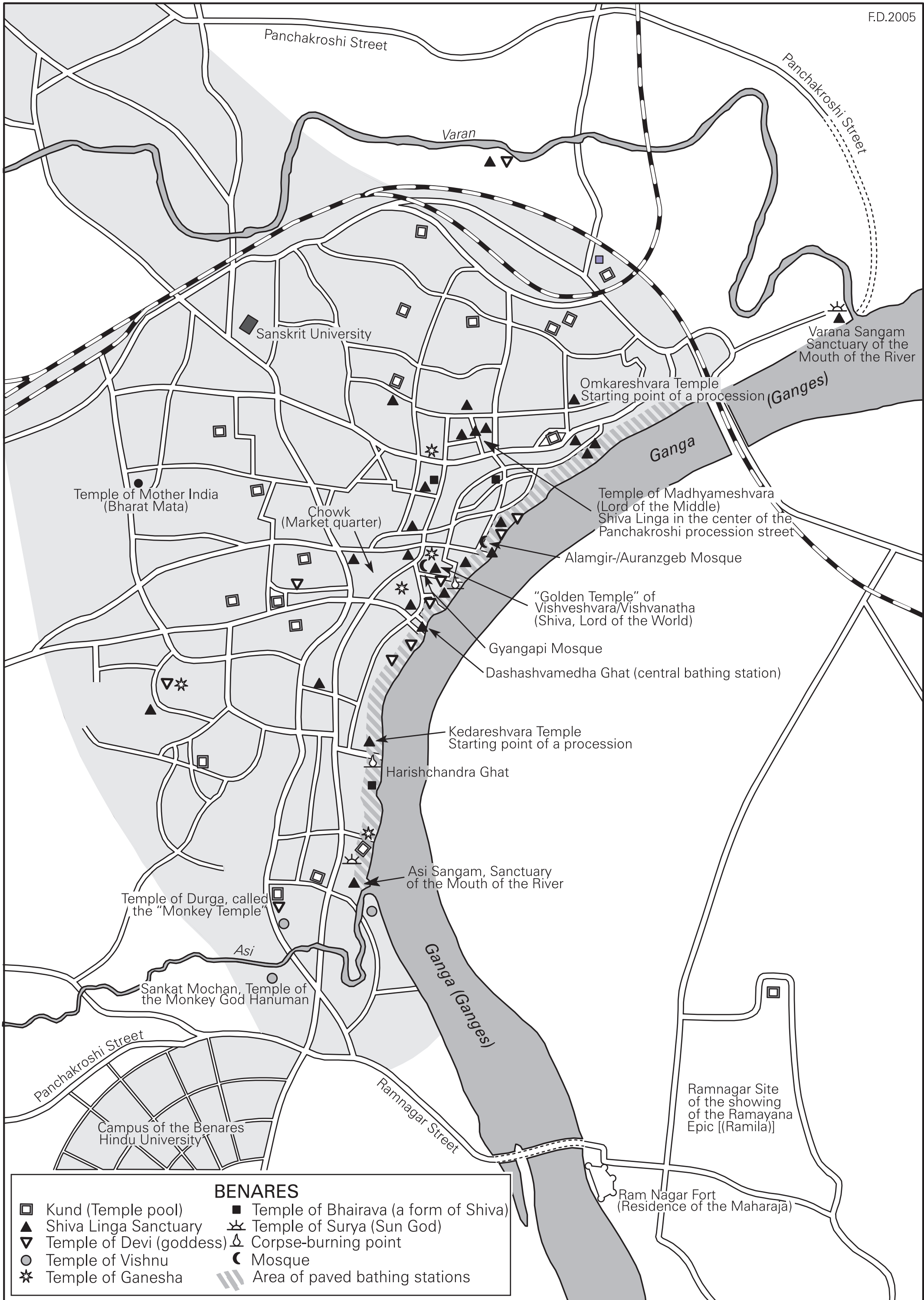
→ *Baptism, Commune, North America, Reformation, Symbol/Sign/Gesture (with illustration)*

Jürgen Weber

Benares (*Banāras, Vārāṇasī*)

1. The northern Indian city of Benares (in Sanskrit, *Vārāṇasī*), in the federal state of Uttar Pradesh, is one of the most important Hindu places of → pilgrimage. With a population of 920,000 (1991), it lies, like so many other Indian cities of pilgrimage, on the bank of a river, the Ganges. The bathing areas in places of pilgrimage, like the places themselves, are called fords (*tīrtha*). The fords here favor the transition to other 'forms of being.' Benares's eminent status among Indian cities of pilgrimage is a function of its special site on the Ganges. The river flows northward along a bend, skirting the city, and the rising sun can be seen over the opposite bank, which is not built up. All along the Benares waterfront are steps (*ghat*); on these, worshipers approach the river. → Water is an essential element of Hindu ritual. The water of the sacred River Ganges, personified in Hindu mythology as the goddess Ganga, is considered the ritually purest water in existence: its source is in the skies, whence it flows upon the head of Shiva, and finally, channeled by the god's wild hair, that of an ascetic, pours down on the earth. In this water, the Hindu population of the city, along with the large number of pilgrims that come here, carry out their ritual ablutions. Water is also a characteristic element of the entire city area, which is dotted with countless constructed ponds and temple pools.

In Hindu belief, Benares is also the city of a fated, but redeeming, death. Anyone lodging within the sacred areas of the city at death is liberated from the endless cycle of rebirths (*saṃsāra*), and the picture of bodies being


F.D.2005
Panchakroshi Street
Panchakroshi Street
Varan
Sanskrit University
Varana Sangam
Sanctuary of the
Mouth of the River
Omkareshvara Temple
Starting point of a procession
(Ganges)
Ganga
Temple of Mother India
(Bharat Mata)
Chowk
(Market quarter)
Temple of Madhyameshvara
(Lord of the Middle)
Shiva Linga in the center of the
Panchakroshi procession street
Alamgir-/Auranzgeb Mosque
"Golden Temple" of
Vishveshvara/Vishvanatha
(Shiva, Lord of the World)
Gyangapi Mosque
Dashashvamedha Ghat (central bathing station)
Kedareshvara Temple
Starting point of a procession
Harishchandra Ghat
Asi Sangam, Sanctuary
of the Mouth of the River
Temple of Durga, called
the "Monkey Temple"
Asi
Sankat Mochan, Temple of
the Monkey God Hanuman
Ganga (Ganges)
Panchakroshi Street
Ramnagar Street
Campus of the Benares
Hindu University
Ramnagar Site
of the showing
of the Ramayana
Epic [(Ramila)]
Ram Nagar Fort
(Residence of the Maharaja)
BENARES
Kund (Temple pool)
Shiva Linga Sanctuary
Temple of Devi (goddess)
Temple of Vishnu
Temple of Ganesha
Temple of Bhairava (a form of Shiva)
Temple of Surya (Sun God)
Corpse-burning point
Mosque
Area of paved bathing stations



"Rama's Game," the *Rāmlīlā*, following its version in the Indian epic Rāmāyaṇa, is presented on a boat in the Ganges at Benares. Seated in the center of the picture is the main figure of the epic, royal prince Rama, regarded as the incarnation of Vishnu. To his left sits his wife Sītā, and to his right his brother Lakshman. The three are surrounded by three of their allies, members of the army led by monkey god Hanuman. Young men present the figures. Unlike the renowned month-long presentation under the sponsorship of the ruling Maharaja in the Ramagar Quarter, the producers here are the quarter committees of Benares. They vie with the Ramagar production over the more magnificent presentation of the scenes. (J. Gengnagel)

ritually cremated on the bank and their ashes strewn in the river is a familiar one.

History

2. Little is known of the city's early history. From the sixth to the third century BCE, Benares was the capital of the tribal kingdom of Kāśī, and that name ("City of Light") is still frequently used for it today. The city developed into an important locale of upper class, Brahman, courtly culture, along with traditional erudition. Numerous religious traditions and orders have maintained their seats in Benares to our own day. The city is an important meeting point for wandering ascetics (→ Sadhu). During the era of Muslim domination, the city underwent devastation numerous times, beginning in the twelfth century, and culminating in the destruction of important large temples under Aurangzeb in the seventeenth century. Thus, no religious structures remain intact from the time before Aurangzeb. The mosques, sometimes erected on sacred Hindu sites, today represent a considerable potential for conflict, as they do in Ayodhya, as well.

Myths and Cults

3. Benares is the city of Shiva, who appears in the "Golden Temple" as 'Lord of the Universe' (*Viśveśara, Viśvanātha*). In view of the historical events referred to above, the city disposes of not merely one religious center, but is full of temples, sanctuaries, and shrines, whose meaning varies by season, festal calendar, and sacred procession. Besides sanctuaries dedicated to Shiva, there are temples of Vishnu, places for the veneration of female divinities, temples of Brahma, Hanumān, Ganesha, and the Sun God. Thus, the area covered by the city represents the whole pantheon of Hindu gods. This number and complexity are expressed in the city's various processional routes. Traversing a specific area, believers tread its sacred fields or zones (*kṣetra*) before going on to the next area. The spectrum of processional paths ranges from the great, five-day route through the city, with its 108 stations (*pañcakrośiyātrā*), and the walk around the three northern (*oṃkāreśvara*), central (*viśveśvara*), and southern (*kedāreśvara*) districts of the city; to the abbreviated route, which unites all of the stations of the great route in one place (a temple).[1] The city's major *festival* is held in the part of the city called Ramnagar, which is also the residence of the Maharaja of Benares. Before as many as 100,000 spectators, "Rama's game," the *Rāmlīlā*, is celebrated, according to its presentation in a poetical appendix to the Sanskrit epic *Rāmāyaṇā*, for thirty days, at various little theaters. The presenters are children and young persons, who themselves become gods for the celebration, and as such are shown divine reverence (→ God/Gods/The Sacred). As patron and sponsor of the religious drama, the Maharaja is present, seated on his elephant. Since the eighteenth century, the maharajas have used the cult of Rama for the religious legitimization of their rule.

European Reception

4. The outer aspect of Benares is strongly marked by the aesthetics and exotic elements of the foreign and the 'utterly other.' Numberless illustrations and films depict bathers in the Ganges, bizarre wandering ascetics, and locations for the funeral cremation of bodies. A corpse's funeral becomes the symbol of a culture different from that of Christian tradition, and its unfamiliarity, otherness, and inapproachability are manifested precisely in the places where bodies are cremated. The focus on dealing with → death, with the dead, and with the extended families of the dead in Benares is portrayed,

in a form that shows the religiosity of the city almost in its entirety, in Robert Gardner's film, "Forest of Bliss" (1986), which is entirely without dialogue or subtitles; or Josef Winkler's meticulously exact, diary-like description of Benares's fiery funerals (Winkler 1996).

1. Gutschow/Michaels 1993, 102-144.

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→ *Buddhism, Death and Dying, Funeral, Hinduism, Pilgrimage, Polytheism, Reincarnation*

Jörg Gengnagel

Bible

Name

1. The name 'Bible' comes from the name of the city Byblos, the most important transshipment port for Egyptian papyrus on the eastern coast of the Levant. From this name the word *biblion* is derived—the Greek word for the written page of papyrus, as well as for the scroll or → book which it composes. The plural, *bíblia*, usually meant all sacred and liturgical books, and was adopted by the Christians restrictively, as the name denoting their canonical writings. Now it could be used in Latin as a singular: *biblia*, 'the book,' simply, the 'book of books' or 'writing of writings,' sacred scripture. Today, 'Bible' is used to denote the books of the Old and New Testaments in their entirety. The Bible comprises the whole → canon of the Christian churches—Christianity's sacred scripture.

2. Designation and differentiation alike are relevant for the history of religions, in that this 'Holy Writ' incorporates the Bible of the first Christians—the Jewish or Hebrew Bible. This was specified as the 'Old Testament' only after the Church had withdrawn from Judaism. The reception of these books in the canon—despite Marcion—and the arrangement of the freshly appeared New Testament writings following the Jewish Bible in the sacred book, testifies to the fact that it was in this Jewish Bible that the Church saw the foundations of Christianity.[1] The Bible's influence on the civilization and culture not only of Judaism and Christianity, but of the entire world, is unsurpassed in degree and duration by any other written work. It spans all areas of life, and extends its concerns to all spiritual occupations, namely, those of philosophy and the arts.[2]

The Formation of the Canon

3. The content and order of the writings in the Bible vary. Various formations of the canon do not receive certain writings, and others assess and arrange them differently.



As late as the twentieth century, the Bible was *the* book for Protestants, a family heirloom for use every evening. It was also used to record important events in the family history. Thanks to translations into one's own language, 'God's word' can reach persons directly, but it calls for 'study' in its entirety, and is read from cover to cover in the family circle. Beginning in 1685, the French Reformed, the Huguenots, suffered persecution at the hands of the Catholic majority. Then the possession of a Bible was as dangerous as it was indispensable, since it was proof of their Protestant confession. Miniature editions were therefore printed, which could readily be hidden during a search. (Christoph Auffarth)

a) The *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament* was composed originally in Hebrew, except for a few chapters of Ezra and Daniel (composed in Aramaic). It contains thirty-nine books, which are divided into three parts: (1) the Law (*Torah*), (2) the Prophets (*Nebi'im*), and (3) the Writings (*Ketubim*). The initial letters of these sections form the Hebrew word TNK (*Tanakh*), with which Jews designate the Hebrew canon in its totality. The formation of the canon occurred successively, in a process. Part 1 was closed in the fourth century BCE, part 2 in the second century BCE, and part 3 circa 100 CE. The basic tripartite arrangement of these scriptures was first explicitly referred to in the foreword composed by the grandson of Jesus Sirach for the Greek translation of his grandfather's wisdom book in 132 BCE: "The Law, the Prophets, and the other writings." The names of these three parts are cited for the Jewish Bible in exactly the same way by the Evangelists, and by ancient authors such as Philo and Josephus. Evidently neither the name, nor indeed the extent, of the third part had been fully established by this time. The canon was not closed by the time of the events of the New Testament (although there was a surprisingly fixed tradition of some biblical books, as the evidence from → Qumran reveals). It was established only around 100 CE, with the omission of important writings from the wisdom and apocalyptic literature, possibly precisely because of the proximity of their dates to those of newly arisen Christianity. These, however, were to be found in the Greek translation of the Bible that had appeared at Alexandria. The so-called Letter of Aristeas transmits the legend of the convocation of seventy-two Jewish scholars by Egyptian King Ptolemy II Philadelphos (283–247 BCE), who enjoined upon them the task of translating the Jewish Bible for his renowned library. The Jewish community of Alexandria endorsed the project, stipulating the canonical formula, "Nothing adding, nothing altering, nothing omitting." This solemn formulation, endorsing a kind of 'prize essay' on the part of Judaism and Jerusalem, evidently bears on the legitimization of the *Septuagint* as superior to the other Greek translations available, and as solemnly sanctioned by the community for use in the liturgy. The writings contained only in the Septuagint (and in the Latin *Vulgate*) were seen by the Eastern and Western churches as 'deuterocanonical.' Martin → Luther excluded them from the Reformation canon, in his humanistic regard for the revered canon of *Hebraica veritas*, considered the original canon. They were tolerated as 'apocryphal,' however, and might be read for mere edification. (Luther: "These are books not altogether regarded as belonging to Sacred Scripture, and yet they are good, and of utility to read.") Even today they are appended to the Hebrew canon only in exceptional cases. The Catholic tradition, on the other hand, at Trent, decided to retain them, and thus they are regularly found in Catholic versions. Some further writings, not attributed to the canon even in early Christian times, were never received into the Bible. These latter compositions are reckoned as apocryphal (hidden, inauthentic) or 'pseudepigraphic' (pseudonymous). The Hebrew Bible writings testify to God's dealings with humanity from the creation of the world to the return from the Babylonian Captivity or the Maccabean struggle against Hellenism (to 135 BCE).

b) The *New Testament* contains twenty-seven writings, beginning with four testimonials on the words and deeds, life and death, of Jesus Christ (the Gospels), which are followed by a book on the beginnings of the early communities (Acts of the Apostles), letters to various communities and



Some religions—as here in a Jewish community in New York, with a Hassidic Hungarian background—keep to old forms of books and book productions. The picture shows a professional Torah-scribe in his workshop, diligently mending Torah scrolls made of leather to be used in synagogue.

Christians of the first and second centuries CE, and an → apocalypse. The churches today regard the history of the Bible's origin as somewhat settled. The Bible is not a book written in heaven, or at God's literal dictation ('verbal inspiration'). It exists thanks to human beings whose writings are judged to be 'sacred scripture' and 'God's word.' Thus, the books of the Old Testament were composed for various reasons, and only later collected for regular use (formation of a canon), in an anything but uniform process, while others were excluded (Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha).

4. The (indirect) role of the Bible in the missionary evangelization of Europe, the Christianization of the West, is all but impossible to exaggerate. The clergy devoted themselves to the task of administrating the Bible, or practicing religion, ritual, and the sacraments with the Bible in hand. Until well into the twentieth century the Catholic Church maintained Latin as the language of the Church and of the Bible, and this made Latin the (scholarly) language of all Europe. A like influence was exercised by Luther's translation of the Bible. With the creation of the language of the German Bible, that became the language of every place where German was spoken. The Bible was an inexhaustible source of quotations and proverbs. By way of the inculcation of literacy in a focus that bore on the Bible—especially in the monasteries, the centers of culture and education—the Bible exerted great influence everywhere, even on painting and sculpture. For a long time, the principal content of popular education was essentially knowledge of the Bible. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth

centuries, in manuscripts and printed works alike, we find a very particular type of book, the *Biblia pauperum* ("Bible of the poor"), intended to call the message of the Biblical books to the reader's mind, especially the narrative material of the Old Testament, in a manner easy to grasp. But since it obviously presupposed an ability to read the Latin text, and a minimum of theological knowledge, it was not actually 'for the poor,' but rather for scholars and clergy. The churches of the Reformation saw it as their task to acquaint their communities with the Bible. Luther desired to have a daily, continuous reading and explanation of the Bible at divine service morning and evening. In Zurich, Zwingli created the so-called *Prophezei*, a specific study of scripture for clerics and students, in the High Choir of the Great Cathedral. With secularization, the Bible has become one book among others. Since the eighteenth century, in European churches and in America, Bible Societies have been founded, which take up the task of spreading the text of the Bible worldwide.

Bible and New Media

5. In our times, the electronic publication of books and bibles is of growing importance. Voluminous Bible software programs serve various functions, providing for a synoptic study of the biblical texts in their original languages, Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek, and, at the same time, supplying translations in a number of foreign languages. Over the Internet, texts and translation aids are offered on-line, being connected with interactive functions that serve study or proclamation. These efforts also show how complicated and problematic it can be to 'translate' the Bible into the age of multimedia.

1. Zenger et al. 1996, 12-21.
2. Kindlers Neues Literatur Lexikon, vol. 23, Munich 1992.
3. Bächtold-Staubli, Hanns et al. (eds.), Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens 1 (1987), 1211-1219.

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→ *Antiquity, Book, Canon, Christianity, Film, Judaism, Literature, Reception*

Andreas Reichert

Bioethics

Need of a Bioethical Orientation

Bioethics is one of the main fields of interdisciplinary applied ethics. Its aim is to gain a normative understanding of the scope and limits of human interference with nature, including human life. As an academic discipline, but also as an area of public as well as institutionalized reflection, bioethics proper began to establish itself in the 1960s. Undesirable consequences of industrial and technological developments, along with the generation of ever-new methods for intervening with human and nonhuman life in the fields of biology and medicine were the driving forces behind its emergence. The indisputable prospects of being able to lengthen our life span and improve our quality of life must be weighed against potentially undesirable side effects or irreversible long-term harm to human life and nature. Furthermore, irrespective of what consequences biotechnological developments might have, one must ask whether all that is technologically feasible is also desirable and justifiable from an ethical point of view. The framework for human action originally defined by nature is being expanded at an ever increasing rate by the remarkably fast pace of scientific development. Confrontations with newly created options for human action are usually not governed by conventional normative systems of law and ethics, and in our pluralistic, secular societies, we no longer rely on religious conviction and ecclesiastical authority as unquestionable yardsticks for our choices and actions. The advent of bioethics is the response to this situation, characterized by a lack of normative orientation and the accompanying fear of an ethical and legal vacuum which could impact the welfare of the present and future generations.

Origins of Bioethics in Intellectual History

2. As early as 1927, the concept 'bio-ethics' was used to characterize the "assumption that there are moral obligations not only with regard to mankind, but with regard to all living beings." F. Jahr welcomes the process of gradually abolishing the strict distinction between beast and human being, which in his eye prevailed from the time when European culture began to develop until the end of the eighteenth century. For Jahr this transformation results from the emergence of a variety of new scientific theories and views (for example, the Darwinian → theory of evolution).[1] He also identifies important precursors of bioethics in the history of religion and philosophy, among them → Francis of Assisi and Romantic and post-Romantic philosophers who had come under the influence of Indian religion and philosophy (Herder, Schleiermacher, Krause, Schopenhauer, → Nietzsche, E. von Hartmann). The concept of bioethics did not establish itself until later, however. It was introduced in 1970/71 by the cancer researcher van Rensselaer Potter, whose aim was to promote "the formation of a new discipline, the discipline of *Bioethics*," which he called the "Bridge to the Future" and the "Science of Survival." According to him, bioethics implies a long-term project, the aim of which is to secure the survival and well-being of mankind, which must be adapted to its natural environment. In bridging the sterile gap between the 'two cultures'—the sciences and the humanities—, bioethics has the task of combining biological knowledge with knowledge of human value systems. For Potter, bioethics is compatible with religious pluralism. In 1971 the "Joseph and Rose Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and *Bioethics*"

at the Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.—now called the Kennedy Institute of Ethics—was also founded. This act of institutionalization reduced the scope of the concept, making it equivalent with medical ethics. Unfortunately, this restriction in terminology is still prevalent today.

Object and Scope of Bioethics

3. In the last thirty years, bioethics has been differentiated into a multiplicity of 'area-specific ethics.' Apart from medical ethics, there is ethics of genetics, animal ethics, ethics of nature, ecological ethics and even a neuroethics. The concepts are not always consistently used, however, and in some cases, the goals set by these area-specific ethics and the understanding we have of them conflict. Many of the problems mentioned above can be attributed to an *exaggerated anthropocentrism*, which regards nature only as an instrument of human interests, thus turning it into an object of ruthless exploitation. Accordingly, one important focus of the bioethical debate is the search for alternatives for action that can be given an ethical foundation. As regards the question as to who or what the object of our moral consideration ('moral patients') should be, four positions are presently under discussion: (1) a *moderate anthropocentrism*, which regards the conservation and preservation of nature as crucial for maintaining it as a basis of human existence, as a source of the human being's aesthetic experience, a shelter and a school of sensitivity; (2) a *pathocentrism*, which views all beings susceptible of experiencing pain and pleasure as having a value in themselves, i.e. as having an 'inherent value,' or that considers them worthy of protection for their own sake; (3) a *biocentrism*, which regards all life as worthy of protection and conservation for its own sake; and (4) *holism* or *physiocentrism*, which extends this principle to the totality of nature. In philosophy and theology, there are strong tendencies to question the human being's claim to mastery over nature, which is derived from his endowment with reason. In these disciplines, powerful arguments are made for holding up our obligation to be considerate of living beings beyond the limits of the human species. Efforts are also being stepped up to find alternatives to experiments on animals. The way of thinking which informs such convictions and efforts characterizes Albert Schweitzer's ethics of reverence for life as well as those positions held by Christian theology which have been influenced by him. This way of thinking is also found in approaches indebted to completely different philosophical traditions (T. Regan, P. Singer, P. W. Taylor, U. Wolf, J.-C. Wolf, O. Höffe). In light of today's factory farming, not only torture of animals, but also the killing of animals has become an issue for reflection (→ Vegetarianism). It is important to emphasize that the aim of animal ethics is not to lower the status of human beings, but rather to elevate that of animals. Whether and to what extent this aim can be reached by applying the concept of the 'dignity of the creature' is a matter of heated controversy (Baranzke, Teutsch). According to Hans Jonas, the dignity of animals and living beings in general is an assumption which is underpinned by the Darwinian theory of descent. Darwinism, which "turns out to have been a thoroughly dialectical event,"[2] is now being investigated in terms of the ramifications it has for animal ethics.

Bioethical Approaches in the Religions

4. Among the various religions, there is no animal ethics (→ Animal) or ethics of nature which is universally subscribed to. The human being in its relation to nature is essentially shaped by the respective ideas of the

divine and its relationship to the human being and to nature. There are great differences among (1) religions which are founded on theism and belief in a personal God (Judaism, Christianity, Islam), (2) the Eastern religions (Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism) and (3) 'nature religions.' Within these various types of religions, there are differences as well. In the first three religions named above (those belonging to the first group cited), the privileged position of human beings as solicitous guardians and trustees of creation—a position bestowed upon them by God—has often enough been interpreted as warranting an exploitative relation to the defenseless creature. At the same time, in the course of the reception of ancient Greek philosophy, especially since the period of → scholasticism, the question of nature or the natural state has remained a subject of ethical reflection. In the Eastern religions, concepts like that of an all-embracing vital power, of → reincarnation and of rebirth, or of cyclical appearance and disappearance define the relationship between human beings and nature. From the perspective of these religions, actions such as tormenting and killing animals or showing disrespect for vegetative life generally meet with stronger disapproval than they do in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Some Jains bind cloth before their mouths and noses, lest they unintentionally kill a living being by inhaling or swallowing it (→ Hinduism). Similarly, in both Hinduism and Buddhism there are taboos against killing or mistreating animals. In the 'nature religions,' natural phenomena are usually personified as gods or spirits, and gods, spirits, human beings, and animals are often not clearly distinguished from one another; thus transformations are deemed to be possible. The undeniable necessity of reorienting ourselves in our relationship to animals confronts us with the task of defining our position within nature out of regard for the rest of nature and the weal and woe of living beings. In doing so, we do not have the option of making nature-in-itself the norm and model for our behavior, however.

Fields of Applied Bioethics

5. Human biology and human medicine belong to the most discussed subjects of bioethics. The spectacular success of transplantation and reproductive medicine, genetics, molecular biology, and → genetic engineering not only raises hopes; it also poses difficult problems and generates fear of misuse. The unraveling of the human genetic code and the development of gene testing enable us to make predictive genetic diagnoses for a number of diseases and to identify propensities for diseases. Thus, individuals have the prospect of being able to shape their lives accordingly, with the help of careful family planning. It must be kept in mind that such tests are not always reliable, however. The use of these tests by employers or by insurance companies can lead to discrimination. Moreover there are serious diseases which can be predicted by gene testing, but for which no therapies are—as yet, in any case—available. The advent of in-vitro fertilization as a means of treating infertility has opened up the way for other applications, such as pre-implantation diagnosis, embryonic stem cell research, germline therapy, and cloning (→ Genetic Engineering). A special challenge to biomedical ethics lies in the potential or already implemented networking of discrete technologies. If a risk-pregnancy is expected, pre-implantation diagnosis makes it possible to detect and predict serious diseases of the embryo in vitro, i.e. before the embryo is even implanted in the uterus. In most cases this enables the potential future mother to avoid an induced abortion of the embryo or fetus in vivo after a prenatal diagnosis has

been made at a much later point in the embryo's or fetus's development. Since these technologies involving embryos in vitro imply the selection and destruction of embryos, highly controversial, ethical questions arise as concerns the moral status of the cells being examined and of the embryo in vitro, the potential misuse of pre-implantation diagnosis and the threat of discrimination against and stigmatization of persons with handicaps in our societies (→ Eugenics). As opposed to somatic genetic therapy, germ-line therapy—a procedure not yet developed for use in the treatment of human beings—involves a genetic alteration of the embryo, inheritable by future offspring, which is carried out at the earliest possible stage of development. Current estimates predict, however, that the failure rate for germ-line therapy would be very high, at least initially. Therefore this technique raises the question of its principal justifiability and therapeutic status. The act of procreating human beings who 'verify' or 'falsify' the quality of technology by their very existence violates human dignity. Human and personal dignity, genetic and individual identity, as well as the instrumentalization of the human being, are also issues of discussion that are raised in debates on human cloning, be it research cloning, reproductive cloning or so-called 'therapeutic' cloning. This issue gives rise to a variety of ethical problems as well, depending on the nature of particular technologies and what one intends to use them for (Honnefelder et al. 2003). In the context of transplantation medicine, xenotransplantation as a potential technology of the future is highly controversial as well (Schicktanz). Xenotransplantation poses the risk of infection and also causes other problems, which might have a detrimental affect on human beings. In the face of these risks for humans, concerns arising from the perspective of animal ethics (transgenetic manipulation of animals, farming, keeping animals under unfit conditions, and the functionalization of animals as 'substitute-parts banks') weigh even more, because it is doubtful whether animal organs can perform vital functions for patients. Such controversies show that *anthropological* considerations, considerations based on the *philosophy of nature*, and the *philosophy of the natural sciences* as well as issues raised by the individual sciences themselves are essential elements of bioethics. As such, they weigh just as much as does the discussion of fundamental principles, norms, and values. Moreover, these discussions show that bioethics increasingly fulfills a prospective function, anticipating chances and risks of future technologies instead of limping behind already implemented technologies. As the task of bioethics does not exhaust itself in providing 'recipes' for the solution of problematic cases, the term 'application-oriented' ethics is more appropriate than the widely used term 'applied ethics.'

Bioethics and the Public

6. In this context, an important political aspect of bioethics comes into view. Bioethics is not an exclusively academic discipline, nor is it purely philosophical or theological. It is practiced in a public framework. The advent of ethics councils on the national and international level as well as the numerous reports, opinions, declarations, and recommendations on various subjects which have been and continue to be publicized indicate the important functions which bioethics fulfill in our societies as concerns present-day political decision-making processes.

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→ *Animal, Environmentalism, Ethics/Morals, Eugenics, Euthanasia/Assisted Suicide, Genetic Engineering, Nature, Science, Vegetarianism*

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Eve-Marie Engels

Biography / Autobiography

General

1. The concept, 'biography' (Gk., 'description of a life'), is not a univocal one. It is the name for inscriptions on ancient tombstones and for literary or scientific presentations of the entire life of a well-known person. The concept of biographical writing also includes shorter life-descriptions (vitae; pl. of Lat. *vita*, 'life'), memoirs, and autobiographies. Biographical writing is closely tied to given conceptualizations of individuality. In function of a particular historical or cultural context, a biography can either show homogeneous, exemplary traits, intended as normative, or present a sketch of an individual life. Autobiography is usually understood as a special form of biography: The description of a writer's own life frequently crosses over into the portrayal of another life. An autobiography is the cohesive report of the life of an actually existing person, who has arrived at the twilight of life, and who undertakes to create a written record of that life. Such an essay will attempt to show the writer's life in both its public and private aspects, and its purpose will be to show 'the way things really were.' Thus, it is often composed in the style of an apologia.

2. With the Greeks, biography appears as early as the fourth century BCE, and comes forward as a literary genre of its own. Christian biography arises in the fourth century CE, and consists in the vitae of saints. An example would be Athanasius's "Life of Saint Anthony." In the Middle Ages, as well, along with the vitae of the popes (*liber pontificalis*), hagiographies or legends of the saints were the prevailing forms of biography. Examples of medieval forms of biography are the vitae composed in the vernacular by Beguins of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. These are to be ranged in the genre of affective and mystical writing (→ Mysticism). In Islam, a biographical literature mainly concerned with the life of the Prophet → Muhammad enters the scene quite early. The first comprehensive biography of the Prophet is Ibn Ishaq's *Sira* (Arab., 'biography'), at hand a mere 150 years after Muhammad's death in an edition by Ibn Hisam, and this version still exists today as a classic of Islamic Arabic literature. In Shiite Islam, religious biographical literature concerns itself with persons of the Prophet's family as well.

Islamic Biography of the Prophet

Biographies in Modern Times

In modern times, biographies are usually devoted to the careers of scholars, artists, and rulers, and direct their main attention away from these persons' public life to their private self-realization: their interest is more keenly psychological. But it holds true for them as well that the life is described—usually in a chronological presentation—teleologically: they are composed with an intent or purpose. The thrust of secularization since the → Renaissance grew stronger in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In England, Isaac Walton (1593–1683) composed the life of theologian Richard Hooker, as well as those of the two religious poets John Donne (1640) and George Herbert (1670), at times modeling his biographical production on religious patterns such as the legends of the saints: George Herbert's life is styled on the model of → Francis of Assisi. Even a citizen can now become an example of a life of right behavior (see Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 1791). The nineteenth century stands altogether under the sign of the great individual biography (e.g., W. Dilthey's *Schleiermacher*, 1870). An example of a biographical novel with a religious subject is *Pope Joan* (1866), by Greek writer E. Roidis. His

reworking of the legend of the female pope Johannes Angelicus underwent repeated literary variation (by, for instance, Boccaccio, R. Borchardt, A. von Arnim).

In the twentieth century, biographica turned against the cult of great personalities, that favorite theme of the nineteenth century. An intensified psychologizing was now in evidence, a mixture of scholarship and art, as in Hermann Hesse's biographical novel *Siddhartha*. Alongside this phenomenon there developed a type of novel in a style of biographical history, as in Robert Grave's *I, Claudius* (1934). In many twentieth-century biographies and biographical novels, typical characteristics of biographical writing, such as chronology, continuity, and teleology, for instance, are bid farewell.

Autobiography

3. Considered formally, the *autobiography* is expressly heterogeneous and open in comparison with other autobiographical styles, such as memoirs, self-portraits, reports (Lat., *res gestae*, 'deeds accomplished'), and diaries. But autobiographies are frequently more self-reflective and more fictional than, for instance, memoirs, and unlike diaries, can present connections and contexts that span a whole life.

For long, autobiography was regarded as a straightforward report of things as they actually occurred, and an expression of an individual's 'inmost being.' Since the early 1980s, however, researchers' interest has shifted to authorship of an autobiography as a means of self-stylization and self-invention. Even the criterion of forthrightness, long an established component of any definition of autobiography, is closely scrutinized today. The authorship of an autobiographical text rests on a selection of experiences drawn from life, and on → memory, of which Henri Bergson has spoken as a never-ending act of interpretation. Memory is not objective, then; rather, an autobiography continuously reshapes the past through → language. We discern this in the self-presentations of the Puritans (→ Protestantism), which are produced in a discourse of interiority and self-examination. John Bunyan's spiritual autobiography *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666), which reports the journey of his soul to God, is not a mere agreeable presentation of self, but a pitiless piercing of self, and strictly follows the schema of the → conversion report with its four stages: spiritual blindness is followed by the calling, and by its accompanying experience of rebirth; then come fears and doubts, and finally, temptations, since salvation is never sure but in heaven. → Gandhi's autobiography documents the religious autobiography in a non-Western context.

Part Played by Religion in the Appearance of the Autobiography

4. Autobiographies have not existed always and everywhere, their existence being supported by necessary conditions. G. Gusdorf views the autobiography as a belated phenomenon of Western culture, materializing when Christian thought penetrated classical traditions. The first autobiography of the West is considered to be the *Confessions* of → Augustine (397), which are directed by a religious interest and a character of avowal, and which govern autobiographical writing into the eighteenth century. In the Middle Ages, an autobiographical character is demonstrated in the literature of vitae and of revelation, mystical texts (Henry Suso's *Vita*, 1327), and the letters of Abelard and Heloise (1135). The *Revelations* of Julian of Norwich (1342–c. 1416) serve as an example of religious and mystical autobiography in the Middle Ages. The text reports Julian's life-threatening illness (from 1373),

her visions, and her healing. The climax of the visions is the *unio mystica* ('mystical union') of her soul with Christ.

Secular Forms of the Autobiography

In the Renaissance, the emergence of a sense of history, the feeling of the human being's new freedom from metaphysical bonds, and the accompanying thrust to individuality, afford an essential impulse for the appearance of secular autobiographical manners of writing. Along with Benvenuto Cellini's famous *Vita*, Girolamo Cardano's *De vita propria* (written 1575/6, published 1643) is usually regarded as the most important autobiography of the Renaissance, as Cardano introduced a psychological self-evaluating into the genre. In the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau bequeathed his celebrated *Confessions* (1782–1789), equally apologetical and indicting, and they have become the pattern for numerous subsequent autobiographies. Along with Augustine's *Confessions* and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* ("Poetry and Truth," 1811–1832), they belong to the classics of the genre. In the autobiographical texts of the nineteenth century, the pattern of an individual's educational history, characteristic of the biography, is retained (e.g., Edward Gibbon's *Memoirs*, 1789). Autobiographies of the twentieth century demonstrate a loss of authentic → identity, continuity, and autonomy, which finds expression in the fragmentary character of autobiographical texts.

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→ *Augustine, Conversion, Francis of Assisi, History, Identity, Memory, Muhammad, Mysticism, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Protestantism, Secularization, Teleology, Tradition*

Gabriele Rippl

Birth

1. 'Birth,' also known as confinement ('lying-in') or delivery (i.e., liberation) is often understood purely as a biological occurrence: the expulsion of a child from the uterus at the close of pregnancy. Over against this



An Aboriginal woman holds her grandchild in the smoke of the konkerberry tree, which symbolizes the spirit of the Earth Mother. Representing all of the women of her clan, the mother blesses the child at this ritual and sprinkles some of her own milk onto the fire. In many societies, fire or smoke serve to dispel spirits and demons, and to purify the child. Rites of purification often come at the conclusion of the phase after the birth.

reductionist view, birth can be conceptualized as a 'biosocial' event—a biological event imbedded in the social processes of an immediate or extended family, and whose form and process are specific to a particular culture. Birth is everywhere understood as an extraordinary event for the individual and the community, and as potentially dangerous for the mother and the child. An evaluation of this endangerment, however, and how it is dealt with, differs from society to society. By way of birth rituals, the biological occurrence becomes a social event, perhaps even a religious one. Such rituals are a symbolic mixture of, among other things, concrete behavioral prescriptions, a worldview, and magical cautionary measures.

In many religions, birth is an elemental metaphorical model of reception into the worshiping community—as, for example, in → baptism—or, also, a mythical model of the becoming of the world (cosmogony) and the human being (anthropogony). Frequently the birth model is linked with the concept of an antecedent symbolic death, and thus is found not only in particular → funeral rituals (→ Death), but in rites of initiation as well, in which a newborn or reborn being is expressed and presented symbolically (for instance, in the initiation of a shaman or Catholic ordination to the priesthood; → Charismatic Movements).

Assistance at Birth

2. In today's Western industrial societies, birth, like pregnancy and the postpartum phase, is primarily understood as a merely biological occurrence, to be coped with by medical means ('birth management'). Over centuries, with technological research and discoveries, assistance at birth has developed into a highly specialized, physician-dominated field of medical practice. Previously, practical help at birth was reserved to specialized women (midwives; lit., 'with-women,' women with women giving birth). Precisely this female

knowledge about birth brought the birth helpers into danger: it was all too easy to ascribe to them any failures in case of complications or the fatal outcome of a birth: witness allegations of witchcraft (→ Witch/Persecution of Witches), or of the interchange of a normal infant with a monster (changeling).

3. Along with (pubertal) initiation, marriage, and death, birth is one of the four crises of the → life cycle, and is engaged by the individual and the community with traditional rituals (→ Initiation). For the woman, especially with her first child, the transition to motherhood is in the foreground, while with the child what is emphasized is the aspect of integration into the social group (immediate and extended family). It is usually the father who legitimates the newborn, through a social rite of acceptance, as for example in lifting the child from the earth (rite of the *levatio*) in ancient Rome.

Despite their multiplicity, birth rites exhibit common traits in traditional societies: Restrictions on nutrition and certain activities, or the ritual purification of mother and child after the birth event, are very common.

Rites of *magical warding-off of fear* accompany the child's first weeks: In the Mediterranean basin, for example, → amulets against the → evil eye are hung about the child.

The weeklong *childbed*, for the mother's physical recovery, is customary in many places. The paternal childbed ('couvade'), in certain Latin American societies, represents ritual compensation for the frequent absence of the father at the actual events surrounding the birth. Only exceptionally is the newborn initiated into religious communities. One such exception is *Christian infant → baptism*: Since the Middle Ages, in view of high infant mortality, children have been baptized as soon as possible after birth. This exception is the rule today with the large Christian confessions. → Baptists and other groups, of course, require a conscious decision on the part of the baptismal candidate, and advocate adult baptism exclusively. The baptismal rites of the various churches have frequently been explained in terms of the death of the sinful human being, and rebirth in the waters of baptism.

Birth Myths

4. Many myths present the birth of a god or special child as a desexualized—as it were, pure—occurrence. Thus, in ancient mythology, Adonis is born of a myrrh tree, and Athena springs full-panoplied from the head of her father, Zeus. For the founder of a religion, we may cite the Buddha, who sprang from the hip of his mother Maya. The Hebrew Bible too knows this concept: Eve was created from one of Adam's ribs. The denial of acknowledgment to the newborn, and refusal of acceptance into the social unit, is often reported in the tale of the birth of the hero-child, a tale frequently fantasized and embroidered, the child being exposed and then in a wondrous manner rescued (Moses, Oedipus, Romulus and Remus).

Birth Today

5. Since the 1950s, in Western industrial societies, hospital births are the rule. Medicine's success in minimizing maternal and infant mortality rates does reduce the fear associated with the 'risk' of birth, but an approach to birth as if it were a routine, machine-manageable illness creates an image of birth as a departure from 'normal' bodily processes. With their demands for a gentle, natural, or even home birth, women criticize this experience of alienation. As for appeals to birth practices in other societies, an unten-

able idealization of non-European cultures that one likes to characterize as 'close to nature' is, of course, the object of justifiable criticism.

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→ *Abortion/Contraception, Baptism, Baptists, Child/Childhood, Initiation, Life Cycle, Magic, Reincarnation, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Sabine Hensel

Blasphemy

Blasphemy (Gk., *blasphemía*, 'abuse' e.g., verbal; also 'abuse of God') is disparagement of God. The status of blasphemy is indicated in Jewish and Roman law themselves. It was adopted by the medieval imperial and canonical codes from Justinian's *Novels 77* (c. 540 CE). The concept is marked by the European legal tradition, and, to a lesser degree, by the monotheistic notion of God. Its generalization is therefore not unproblematic. For the sake of a specification of the concept in religious studies, these origins are first rendered explicit,[1] and then abstract criteria are drawn up for purposes of comparison.[2]

Lèse-Majesté

1. The point of departure for blasphemy as a crime is the third of the Ten Commandments: "You shall not make wrongful use of the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not acquit anyone who misuses his name" (Exod 20:7). In order to avoid violating this commandment, Jews refrained from pronouncing the name of → God at all. Cursing, or any dishonoring of the name of God, was an assault upon God. As an offense against majesty (*crimen laesae majestatis*), Christianity and Islam widened the notion of blasphemy to include deviant interpretations of doctrine and the violation of religious dictates. For → Augustine, for example, scarcely any distinction obtains between blasphemy and heresy. In the Middle Ages, the imputation of offense against majesty was used as a weapon against heretics, although penalties varied broadly in degree from region to region: the spectrum ranged from fine to execution; the verdict was pronounced and sentence executed by secular and spiritual authorities alike. Through the influence of the Enlightenment, *crime against religion* replaced dishonor of God. Now the foundation has changed: inasmuch as law is understood as an instance of a democratically legitimated body politic, the protection of the laws applies only when an assault is mounted against the public peace or the individual's religious sentiments, and no longer when it is against the honor of God. The status of divine blasphemy



In an interesting reversal of positions, the modern artistic avant-garde develops religious traits out of blasphemous criticism of Christianity itself. The "Orgies Mysteries Theater" of Vienna activist Hermann Nitsch in Prinzendorf makes explicit use of Christian symbolism, often transformed in its opposite: crucifixion, slaughter of a steer, releasing of lambs from their pasture, defilement of Mass vestments with blood and excrement. Behind his overt concern to shock the bourgoisie, Nitsch's determination nonetheless predominates: to lead Christianity back to its pagan Dionysian origins, and to the 'basic excess' of pagan lustfulness. Unsublimated, the latter is now to be revived and experienced once more in ritual. The six-day dramatic presentation staged by Nitsch as the pinnacle of his ritual 'actions' in 1998, came into conflict, however, less with the Church than with the animal protection league: the state's attorney filed a charge of animal torture. The lawsuit was resolved in favor of Nitsch who today lets the animals be slaughtered according to the official Austrian laws. (Hubert Mohr)

no longer appears in modern penal law or, where it remains—such as in The Netherlands (*godslastering*)—is almost never applied. The right to freedom of expression fundamentally protects objectively motivated criticism of a religious institution. In public discourse, the imputation of blasphemy is still a reproach.

Communicative Context

2. a) The disciplines concerned with religion analyze the *communicative context* in which blasphemy is imbedded. The event of blasphemy includes not only a deed, but also a public accusation. This yields differences in the attribution: who is accusing whom of blasphemy? For example, if an entire religion or sect is incriminated, what is at issue is a heterostereotype, whose denunciation is the aim of the other group. An assessment of what ought to qualify as blasphemy will not be identical in different groupings of persons. According to hagiographical reports, Boniface (c. 675–754 CE) had felled a certain sacred oak that grew in the territory of the Teutons. But as his deed, blasphemous though it had been from the Teuton viewpoint, had been visited with no negative consequences, Boniface was now able to convince a great number of the Teutons of the power of the Christian God.

Communicative Means

b) Furthermore, an analysis must be made of the communicative means that generate the blasphemy. In a foreign context, in an inappropriate linkage of meaning, or through inappropriate use, religious symbols can be alienated. Accordingly, the connections in which the concept of blasphemy is applied are manifold, and they cannot be ranged over a common denominator.

In many cultures, the use of curses is widespread. They express the wish that misfortunes and harm may come upon others. In monotheistic religions, this was usually regarded as blasphemy, since those who utter curses are calling upon, and attempting to misuse, the power of the divine for their own malicious ends. Blasphemous insults or outcries, as well, are labeled cursing. Here words having an important religious meaning—often replaced (for instance, 'Jeez!' for 'Jesus!') or combined with morally or aesthetically negative concepts (for instance, 'Goddam!')—are brought into an alien context. To be sure, it is only in extremely rare cases that the use of these expressions or words constitutes a conscious act of blasphemy.

Blasphemy and Art

In our modern day, blasphemy is occasionally imputed to *art*. Frequently it is an (artistically expressed) statement critical of religion that provokes anger or resentment here. In many cases what is at hand is an especially daring or unusual distortion of traditional material, conditioned by an aesthetic alienation. In particular, a combination of religious and sexual motifs, in the eyes of those who level the charge of blasphemy, is especially inappropriate when it comes to religious meaning. For example, such people have found this offense in Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* (1989), or the film, "The Last Temptation of Christ," by director Martin Scorsese (1989). In 2004, the making of the film "Submission" by Theo van Gogh, criticizing the role of woman in Islam with shocking images, led to the murder of the Dutch director by a Muslim extremist.

In ancient Greece, jokes about the gods were integrated into cultural forms (comedy) and accepted. Just so, in many rituals celebrated by

pre-literate cultures, ridicule of transcendent powers is a customary phenomenon. Still, narrow bounds are set to the use of religious symbols for purposes of amusement. In the case of *unbelief*, many Christian and Muslim theologians pronounce a verdict of blasphemy where, with a denial of revelation, Jesus or Muhammad are designated as 'liars.'

Punishment of Blasphemy

c) The above phenomena, constituted as socially or culturally unacceptable behavior with regard to explicitly religious institutions, norms, and concepts, call in question or offer insult to religious 'order.' Consequently, appropriate measures for the normalization of the situation must be introduced. This is how Malinowski interprets breaches of law across the board.[1] One often meets with the thought that the one offended—God, then, or a spirit or an ancestor—will punish the culprit personally. This argument has various consequences for punishment: first, a punishment already executed might be sanctioned by religious authority; second, in a certain framework—for example, through a divine judgment—the guilty verdict might not actually be pronounced; finally, punishment might be altogether renounced. Thus, in the ancient Roman cult, religious transgressions were not punished unless they had been directed at the Emperor; for "not law, but God himself will be judge" (Cicero, *De Legibus*, 25).

In many cultures, a frequently invoked basis for the punishment of blasphemy lies in the anticipation of possible harm to the community if the culprit is not subjected to swift punishment. The restoration of order, then, is not the affair of one individual alone, but concerns the entire group.

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→ *Art, Communication, Heresy, Joke, Prayer/Curse*

Ansgar Jödicke

Blessing

While → prayer expresses wishes in one's own or another's behalf, blessing expresses God's benevolent power (*salus*, 'salvation') upon others. The Aaronite blessing, with which Christian divine service is concluded, expresses blessing not solely as wish, but at the same time as fulfillment: the minister or priest confers it upon the other in God's name ("The Lord bless you," Num 6:21-27). He bestows his name upon Aaron, brother of lawgiver Moses, since the former is the model for all later priests. The authoritative gesture that comes to expression herein is typical of blessing,



Albania was the Eastern European state that most rigorously implemented communism. Only with the collapse of the Eastern bloc could religious life once again become public, as here with Archbishop Anastasios in the Church of the Proclamation [of the Gospel] in Tirana. The prelate still wears his hair traditionally, uncut (in a knot), while the young priests accompanying him prefer their hair short. The three extended fingers of his right hand signify the Trinity. He traces the Sign of the Cross over the basket of bread that the boy will distribute to the participants in the divine service at their departure after the Eucharist. The bread thus blessed (not Eucharistically consecrated) conveys its blessing to all who receive it; its abundance provides for its availability to the bedridden grandmother as well, at the hands of a family member who has been present for this Liturgy of the Eucharist.

as it is of its negative form, the curse: as the High Priest (in the succession of Aaron) blesses his people, so the father blesses the family, elders the juniors, never the other way about. There is always the need for blessing: the newly planted field, the little lamb, infants, all need special protection. Once the blessing or curse is uttered, it is ascribed its own efficacy, for shelter or catastrophe. Signs of blessing, such as a small cross received at → Baptism, a bottle of holy water, the image of a deliverer, ensure against misfortune (→ Security).

Christoph Auffarth

Blood

Blood as the Seat of Life

1. The meaning of blood as the seat of life, and as the repository of the power of the soul, explains the pivotal role of blood in many religions, archaic and lettered alike. Here blood has an ambivalent meaning that can promise good or danger, life or death, and thus it is akin to the concept of 'The → Holy,' which denotes all that is filled with special power. The early Teutonic word *haila* was the name for powers that can be useful as well as harmful. This ambivalence is revealed in the very etymology of the word 'blood,' which derives from the Indo-European *bhle* ('pour,' 'burst,' 'flow'). Presumably it was at first an epithet of (1) *asere* and (2) *cruor* ('raw'), and replaced these. The positive, salvific power of blood is shown in the 'blood doctrines,' especially in Christianity, as well as in numerous forms of folk belief, which had spread even among the learned. Blood was recommended for the treatment of epilepsy and leprosy, for old men's rejuvenation, or as a love charm. In particular, menstrual blood was regarded as a seductive and dangerous potion (Strack 1900). Virgins' blood, or that of those upon whom a sentence of capital punishment had been executed, was regarded as salvific: the blood of virgins, because it stood for purity; the blood of the executed, because it conveyed the notion of sacrifice.

Through the blood of the latter, → evil and violence were expelled from the community. The danger that lurked in blood was also expressed in conceptualizations of the pact with the → devil, which must be signed in blood. Prefiguring the vampires and Draculas of modernity, the → Antichrist was thought of as a blood-thief, in contrast with the Savior, who offers his blood for others. The idea of blood as something dangerous is also shown in the myths concerning the sexually transmitted (and incurable till the twentieth century) syphilis, which was a disease of 'bad blood.' One of the recommended antidotes for syphilis was the touch of the 'good' and salvific blood of the martyrs (blood relics); another was intercourse with a virgin. The latter image was taken over by Bram Stoker in his *Dracula* (1897). Despite exact knowledge of blood in modern times (Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood in 1624; 'blood types' have been identifiable since 1901), myths about blood can still appear today. If 'bad blood' first settled abroad, with secularization it has increasingly shifted 'inside.' It represents the 'enemy within,' especially in a collective context. The myth of 'bad blood' emerges most clearly today in images of AIDS.

Blood in the Biblical Religions

2. The Hebrew word *dam* means blood. In the Jewish religion, the consumption of blood is strictly proscribed, as blood, being the symbol of life, is reserved for the creator. The flesh of warm-blooded animals may be consumed only once the last drop of blood has been removed from them. The blood of sacrificial animals is dashed on the altar. If blood is accidentally spilled, it is to be covered with earth—buried, that it may be given over once more to its rightful owner, God. The consumption of blood was never prohibited this comprehensively and earnestly in any other ancient religion or culture of the East. Here, then, we deal not with an archaic taboo, but with the law of a scriptural culture. With the Jewish religion, there appeared for the first time a religious community grounded in a scripture, and it prefigures the 'virtual' communities of our modern society with its media networks.

In Christianity as well, blood became one of the constitutive elements of community. At the → Lord's Supper, the climax of the divine service, believers take the blood and body of the Lord and receive them within themselves. If the prohibition of a consumption of blood confronts Jewish believers, in their *difference* from God, in Christianity the Eucharist accomplishes *union* with God. If in the Jewish religion a sublimation of the invisible God stands over against a worldly community that defines itself through ritual laws, in the Christian religion this sublimation is confronted with God's becoming the world. In Christianity this had as a consequence the requirement to place the Incarnation in evidence through images: the 'blood miracles' (bleeding statues, paintings, hosts, crucifixes; → Stigmata/Stigmatics) belong here, just as does the doctrine of the 'Transubstantiation' (1215). Not coincidentally, the 'blood miracles' always occur in the presence of an unbeliever or doubter. The doctrine of the Transubstantiation defines that the host and wine are not a symbol of the Lord's body and blood, but are the living presence of God, who—in his Son—has sacrificed himself for humanity. Both—the conception of a God who has sacrificed himself, and the need for the continual re-presentation of this sacrifice—are contrary to the Jewish religion, and lie at the source of many anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic stereotypes on the part of the Christian community that are linked

with images of blood (→ Prejudices/Stereotypes). Legends of a 'sacrilege against the host' or of a Jewish 'ritual murder' (→ Anti-Semitism) sprang up. A host desecrated by Jews had begun to shed blood. Or it was alleged that Jews had drunk the blood of Christian children for ritual purposes. Such allegations reached from ancient times to the early twentieth century, and led to violent pogroms against Jewish communities.

Blood and Sexuality

3. Behind the various images of blood in the Jewish and Christian religions, various sexual images reside as well. These are to be associated with blood's symbolism as the 'seat of life,' a symbolism closely bound up with → sexuality. The menstrual-blood taboo, found in many ancient societies, is one of the symptoms here. It discloses a fear of the terrifying powers of woman, in whose body the power of God seems to have taken form. This is why in many cultures menstrual blood was revered as 'dangerous' and 'divine,' a symbol of fertility—a notion that likewise comes to expression in the biblical word 'flower' for menstruation (Lev 15:24), a word retained in the English language. In Greek antiquity, menstrual blood was called 'supernatural red wine,' which Mother Hera—as Hebe—was accustomed to serve the gods. In Christianity, the menstruation taboo (positive and negative) recedes. Jesus does not shrink from the touch of the woman 'suffering from hemorrhages' (Mark 5:24-34). But this is to be explained by a change of symbolism, whereby the blood and wounds of the Savior become a source of fertility, the 'nourishing bosom' (Bynum 1991). 'Impure' menstrual blood yields to the pure blood of sacrifice, reflecting the Christian division of 'good' and 'bad' blood, or 'good' and 'sinful' femaleness (Mary/Eve). From the various pictures of sexuality in Christianity and Judaism, too, there sprang a whole series of anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic clichés: the imputation of ritual murder was partially grounded on the supposition that Jewish men menstruated, and so had need of blood. In the secular context, sexual images can be seen in the notion of *Rassenschande* (Ger., 'racial shame'), in which Jews seduced Christian girls in order to infect the 'pure' body of the Aryan people. (Here the images of syphilis played an important role.) Even in this case, the accusations represent a projection of Christian wishful thinking. In racist anti-Semitism, the concept of 'incest' denotes not the sin of intercourse with one's own blood, but the sin of intercourse with 'foreign' or 'strange' blood.

Film Blood

4. All in all, Christian conceptualizations of blood betray a paradoxical process in history. On the one side, the Christian community increasingly took on abstract, spiritualized 'virtual' traits. Over against this stood the ever recurrent, often virulent, urge to 'de-sublimate,' to materialize, which was to find its expression especially in Christians' images of blood, from bleeding religious paintings and statues, to the doctrine of the Transubstantiation and the Feast of the Precious Blood (1849), to the racist conception of the *Volkskörper* (Ger., 'people's body'). This duality may explain why, in films, on television, and on the digital web, images of blood play such a pivotal role (in the form of violence or sex). Blood has become a symbol of 'reality' and lends the virtual or abstract images of the media the appearance of immediacy, materiality, and reality.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Body, Gender Stereotypes, Guilt, Initiation, Judaism, Purity, Sexuality*

Christina von Braun

Body

The Body as Salvific Message

1. Inasmuch as human mortality is evinced in the transience of the body, the body becomes a central topos of all discourses of salvation. The myth of origins itself, through which a community defines itself as an indivisible 'body,' contains the wish for a defeat of death: the individual person is thought of as part of an immortal cosmos or collective body. In rough outline, four distinct 'strategies' of a religious defeat of death can be distinguished: (1) The participation of the individual in an immortal cosmos; (2) the promise of a bodily revivification, either in the present world in another body, or in another world; (3) the participation of the individual in an immortal collective body; (4) the defeat of mortality through spiritualization, asceticism, and victory over bodily needs. In the various religions, these four 'strategies' often overlap—in Christianity the three last-named exist side by side. Usually, however, one aspect predominates. Even within one religion, shifts can occur from era to era or from region to region. In early Christianity (from the first to the fourth century), the aspect of → asceticism played an important role (Brown 1988). In later Christianity the integration of the individual into the body of the community predominated.

The Body as a Symbol

2. Contrary to what could be assumed, in cultures without writing the human body is *not* conceived (as animals and plants are) as a 'given of nature.' It counts as part of the culture, which, to be sure, does present a mirror image of nature as the latter is observed. The human body acquires an important meaning in the interaction between the human being and nature, as well as in social relationships. In many cultures, for example, the names of deceased persons may no longer be mentioned, since the

name is conceptualized as a part of the body. This can even extend to a demand that the corpses of deceased persons be burned, their ashes scattered, and their belongings destroyed. As individual bodies, they must be extinguished from memory: only thus can they be absorbed into the community to which they have belonged. This double movement—disappearance as individuals, and participation in an immortal cosmos or community body—is ritualized in diverse ways. But in neither case is the body something 'negative.'

Instead, in other cultures (especially in those that bear the impress of the abstract thinking of alphabetic writing, with stress laid on the dichotomy of spirit and body), the body has a paradoxical symbolism, bespeaking life on the one hand, and mortality on the other. In Homer, the word *soma* means 'corpse,' and only later is used for 'body.' For Plato, by contrast, the → soul represents the proper 'self,' in contrast to the transient body.[1] In → death he sees the liberation of the soul from the prison (in Greek, *sema*, 'tomb') of the body.[2] Only in the thirteenth century does the German word *Körper* refer to the body. This occurs under the influence of the doctrine of the Transubstantiation (→ Blood), according to which the host (*corpus Christi*, Lat., 'body of Christ') is to be thought of no longer as a sign (symbol), but as the real presence of the Lord. Today the concept of body has come into general use, and refers, rather in its 'mechanical' aspects, to fields such as medicine, sport, and others, that is, to an image of the body that connotes human predictability and technology.

Perception of Pain

The fact that the body has a symbolical function in all cultures (writing as well as non-writing) comparable to that of speech, a code, or a medium, explains why there are various ways of perceiving pain. It also explains why some cultures regard ecstasy and → possession as salutary, while others see them as manifestations of illness. In either case, the *habitus* of the body (Mauss 1935) stands in a connection with the conceptualizations of immortality and the religious notions of each given culture. Since → pain is the clearest sign of the frailty of the human body, in some religions it is of especially great significance. This is true for the Christian religion, in particular: the Passion and → Cross, the experience of pain, demonstrates that God has actually become a human being, and takes on the frailty of the human body.

Symbolism of the Body in Modernity

In secular modernity, two forms of the cult of immortality are especially active. One consists in the aestheticization of the body, especially as it has developed with the evolution of the visual media, photography, and film. These (unlike painting) depict the body in a seemingly 'objective' manner, while at the same time sparking the fantasy that one might transform the body into an 'incorruptible' work of art. Another strategy of immortality dear to modernity is based on the idea that, altogether in Descartes's sense, the body functions as a 'machine,' according to laws that might be planned and reproduced. Here, too, the body comes forward as a symbol. Nothing supports the concept of an irreducible body, immune from social construction, as clearly as → genetic engineering.

Modernity's fantasy of immortality lies in 'calculability': a calculable body is a reproducible body. This fantasy actually constitutes a part of the thrust of modern medical research. In any case, the body becomes the symbol of a religious proclamation.

The Community Body

3. In the *Timaeus*, Plato likened the cosmos to the human body; and vice versa, he understood the human body as a mirror image of the cosmos. For the Stoics, too, the microcosm of the body reflected the macrocosm of the world. In many other cultures the cosmos is replaced with the community, seen as the 'body' whose 'members' are the distinct individuals comprising it. Unlike the individual body, however, the body that is the community is pictured as immortal. This constitutes the power of attraction settled not only in this sort of religion, but also in secular communities, and lies at the base of the nineteenth-century ideology of the *Volkskörper* (Ger., 'body of the people'; → Collective Representations).

The body symbolism of the community takes on very different forms, depending on the specific religion in question. While in the Judaic religion the community is formed around the commandments and ritual laws of an invisible God (→ circumcision, dietary laws, and so on), the Christian community arises through union with the God become a human being. In Communion, the believing Christian has a share in the (immortal) body and blood of the Lord; at the same time, a union with the other 'members' of the community is reinforced. "Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body," Paul says (1 Cor 10:17). In Christ, the individual 'members' form one indivisible body (Rom 12:5; cf. 1 Cor 12:12 and 27). The concept of oneness with God, again, leads to that of the Church (or the faith community) as *corpus Christi.* For Paul, the notion of 'body' comprises three distinct levels, which will be decisive for later Christianity: (1) the body of the faithful, one with the Lord and the other members of the community; (2) the sacramental body, which each one receives at the sacred Supper; 3) the social or ecclesial body, into which the individual is assumed through the Eucharist. In other words, in Christianity the body is conceived as physical and material community on the one hand, but on the other as spiritual community—and this division into a physical and a spiritual body is repeated on various levels, for example in the doctrine of the Trinity, or in the sundered image of woman as the 'pure' Mother of God and 'sinful' Eve.

Body and Sexuality

4. → Sexuality is a sign of the body's capacity for regeneration. This view of the body is closely bound up with particular sex roles (→ Gender Stereotypes). The 'seduction of the flesh' by woman is a common pattern with Buddhist as well as Christian monks. The split into a 'good' and 'bad' body corresponds to the split between a 'good' and a 'bad' sexuality. In many medieval representations the wounds of the Savior are presented as a bountiful bosom.[3]

As Jesus was born of a woman, medieval nuns reverenced human participation in God as participation in God's femininity. In reality, however, with the doctrine of the Transubstantiation there had been a turnabout, which provided the sacrificed 'body' of the 'Savior' with all of the meanings that once had been ascribed to the female body as receptacle of the symbols of earthly fruitfulness. The female body as representation of sexuality and the continued existence of the community had been replaced by the 'Word become flesh,' which now became the guarantor of regeneration. In ancient Christianity, the opposition of soul and body, inherited from Greek antiquity, had been in the foreground (Gal 5:17), issuing in a high appraisal of → asceticism and the ideal of a sexless, 'paradisiacal body.' This ideal is realized in the spiritual community—for example in the religious life—as especially

Opposition of Soul and Body

characteristic of early Christianity and monastic Buddhism. Here, community with God and the other members of the community arises not through bodily union (in the Eucharist or in matrimony), but by the 'overcoming' of corporeality achieved in fasting and sexual abstinence. In Christian symbolism the Crucified one represents the spiritual aspect of faith (the head), while the community of mortals appears as his body, and thus assumes feminine form as *Ecclesia*.

Image of the Body and Ordering of the Genders

This symbolism expressed itself in the very ordering of the genders. Thus, Paul demanded that, just as Christ is the Head of the community, so also let man in marriage be the head of woman, and she represent his body (Eph 5:23,28). Men are to love their wives "as they do their own bodies." In Christianity, union with God now finds its reflection in marriage. In marriage, man and woman become 'one flesh,' as the human being becomes one body and one spirit with God in the Holy Eucharist.

As early as the fourth century, however, a new image of sexuality becomes accepted—first, with → Augustine, who assumed a sexuality in Paradise that must have been subject to the will.[4] In the Middle Ages—with Bernard of Clairvaux, with → Meister Eckhart, and others—the experience of faith is compared with the lust of sexuality. The same phenomenon is observable in art, which, from the thirteenth century on, shifts the sex of the Savior into the center of the presentation (Steinberg 1983). Thus, there is not only a good, pure, and immortal body, but also a good, pure sexuality that guarantees eternal life. This development is especially characteristic of Christianity.

In *Judaism*, asceticism does not play a central role. Sexuality itself is affirmed as God's gift and set forth as one of the joys of the Sabbath. While Saint Jerome enjoins young women "to be pale and thin from fasting,"[5] among rabbis a fasting girl was occasion for anxiety. In terms of a different appraisal of sexuality, too, in Judaism monogamy has a different 'sense' from its meaning in Christianity. In the Jewish religion, what is at issue is corporeal fatherhood; in Christianity, 'spiritual paternity' takes center stage (the male as 'producer' of books and other immortal works of art). The indissolubility of matrimony, which Christianity alone proclaims, is founded on the inseparability of a 'head,' imagined as male, from its 'body,' pictured as female.

Body and Ritual

5. In *religious* → *rituals*, in →dance, often accompanied by the wearing of → masks or by body painting, the 'I' loses its individual form and eventuates in symbolism hidden behind the ritual or mask. In a state of → trance, which materializes through dancing, rhythmic movement, fasting, sleep deprivation, hyperventilation, or at times by the ingestion of hallucinogens (→ Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens), it takes the form of a being indwelling in the person behind the mask: these may be spirits, demons, ancestors, sacred animals, or beings of fable. With the possession of the body by an alien spirit, the 'I' appropriates 'strange' powers. But ritual can also serve to expel the foreign spirits from the body.

All things considered, it may be said that the perception of the body differs greatly from religion to religion. While 'nature religions' see no difference between body and soul—the body is conceived as the seat of the soul—the ascetical-mystical religions look on the body as a hindrance to salvation, and therefore strive for its deadening ('mortification') or taming by the soul. This perspective is shown in the rituals proper to the

various religions. Whereas in the nature-oriented religions dance, gesture, and even the state of trance shift the body to the midpoint of event—as home of the soul, it is drawn into the religious experience—the ascetical religions seek either to exclude or to sublimate the neediness of the body. The paradox is the position of Christianity. Here spirituality and the defeat of bodiliness play an important role; and yet corporality is appraised as a central value, which comes to expression in the thematization of pain, → blood, and the → Cross. These two levels—spirituality on the one hand, and corporeality on the other—are extended by the Christian traditions in the secular context. Accordingly, in modern Western societies, visual and electronic technologies vie with one another to produce a visual or 'simulated' (but purely spiritual) body, with the techniques of modern → sports, medicine, and →genetic engineering, which strive to develop the potentialities of the real, biological body.

1. Plato, Gorgias, 493a.
2. Idem, Cratylus, 400bc.
3. Bynum 1991.
4. Augustine, City of God, book 14, chap. 24.
5. Jerome, Letter 22, no.16, in: Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, series 2, vol. 16, no. 77.

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→ *Asceticism, Blood, Breathing, Drinking/Drink, Eating/Nourishment, Fasting, Gender Stereotypes, Genetic Engineering, Mask, Materiality, Mummification, Nudity, Pain, Regeneration/Fertility, Relics (Veneration of), Sexuality, Tattoo*

Christina von Braun

Book

The Book as a Medium

1. The book (from Middle English *bok*, derived in turn from *bohiz*, Proto-Germanic for 'beech,' or beechwood tablets with rune carvings), for the recording and transmittal of written content, had its forerunners in the high



The symbolic value of the 'book icon' is so great in Islam that—as in this hand painting on the wall of a house in Suez, in Egypt—even an (unorthodox) reference to a visit to the tomb of the Prophet in Medina can be produced in this form. Such a visit does not count as the *hajj* (the prescribed pilgrimage to Mecca), and understood as an actual cultic act at a tomb, is, strictly speaking, prohibited. The right side of the book presents Medina's Mosque of the Tomb; on the left are the words of the Prophet, as handed down: "Who visits my tomb shall enjoy my protection." The female pilgrim (*hajjija*) stands proudly before the memorial image, for which a painter has been engaged at considerable expense.

cultures of the ancient East, in various forms and materials: clay tablets in Babylon and Assyria, papyrus, leather, or parchment scrolls (Egyptians, Greeks, Romans), but also stone tablets and metal plates (with or without a wax coating). The field of ancient Eastern, Egyptian, and other ancient books is, of course best researched and attested by archaeology.

In ancient Israel, 'book' (Heb., *sepher*) denoted a scroll (see Jer 36:4; Ezek 3:1); but it could also stand for legal documents, royal decrees, or simply letters addressed to someone. In the Septuagint, *bíblos* or *bíblion* was used; the plural designates a collection of books or a library. The oldest extant manuscripts of the biblical books were discovered in the caves of → Qumran, and date back to the third century BCE. They are in the form of scrolls, now in fragments except for the scroll of the book of Isaiah (1QJes[a] , today in the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem), which is complete. On 17 strips of sheepskin (width 26 cm, length somewhat over 7 m) sewn together with linen thread, it contains 54 columns of text. Scrolls from Qumran are ordinarily of leather, more rarely of papyrus. Besides these, numerous fragments of papyrus scrolls have been preserved in the dry climate of Egypt, especially in the desert sands. How books looked in the eighth century BCE can be reconstructed from the so-called Bileam Inscription of Tell Deir Alla, written, about 750 BCE, in Hebrew cursive in black ink (with some red) on white wash. Jer 36 contains further important information on the production and



On the occasion of a Bar Mitzvah, the ritual introduction of a boy into the adult community, a Jewish community of today bends over a Torah scroll (the five Books of Moses), while the young man recites a passage from the Hebrew text of the Bible. Still today, the form of the book prescribed for divine service is the leather scroll.

transmittal of a biblical book. Jeremiah dictates his words to a professional scribe named Baruch, and the latter writes them on a scroll. There could obviously be different editions, then, and there are references to extensions and revisions (see Dan 9:2). Words of the prophets are preserved for later generations as testimonials (Isa 8:1-2; 16-19; the expressions for tablet and style, used in the text, are disputed). Wooden or ivory tablets with a plaster or wax coating on the inside, bound with hinges to diptychs or polytychs, serve as notebooks. There are frequent biblical references to books, to some extent even to writings or collections, quoted or serving as sources: the "Book of the Wars of YHWH" (Num 21:14), the "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (1 Kings 11:41), the "Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel" or the "Kings of Judah" (1 Kings 14:19 and 29). These are not extant, however, nor is it possible to reconstruct them in their entirety. It is imagined that even God writes, and needs books (the "book of the living," Ps 69:28; or the 'book' of the names of persons destined for deliverance, e.g., Dan 12:1). Of like heavenly origin are the Tablets of the Destinies of Israel in Sumer and Babylon. In the New Testament, we hear that Jesus used the Hebrew Bible on scrolls (Luke 4:17-20; Jesus has before him the scroll of Isaiah, to present a reading in the synagogal liturgy). Paul studies the Torah (Gal 3:10); he takes 'books,' and even precious 'parchments,' with him on a journey, or has them brought to him later (2 Tim 4:13). A book trade and private collections are attested of the Greece of the fifth to the fourth centuries BCE, and the privately owned book appears. But the most important invention came later—that of the codex (first century BCE), which for various reasons (see below) became the preferred form in early Christianity, then reigning as definitive from the fourth and fifth centuries CE until the invention of the electronic book. In early Christianity, the greater capacity of the codex was important

for the canonization of bodies of text, because books in this form could be hidden more easily in case of persecution, and because in theological controversy, referral to particular loci was not as awkward as with a scroll. As for the transmission of the Bible, the great parchment codices of the Greek Bible (Old and New Testaments), Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Alexandrinus (fourth to fifth centuries CE), are especially to be mentioned. Ornate bibles and other illustrated books with rich decoration began to appear. In the extreme form, the Manicheans (→ Manichaeism) regarded the book as a cooperative work of art. Here the unique, precious character of the content of a book was brought out in the beauty of its script (calligraphy), in its illustrations, and by the worth of its bindings. The missionary success of the Manicheans was in many cases attributable to their books of unique beauty and of the highest value.

Paper and Printing Press

The manuscripts of the Middle Ages used the codex of parchment—or of paper, a Chinese invention of the second century CE, known in Europe in the early eleventh century. This new, inexpensive writing material favored the late medieval and humanistic efforts in education. The invention of printing with movable type (by Johann Gutenberg in Mainz in 1456, with the "Gutenberg Bible") was the second great revolution, after the change from scroll to codex, in the spread of the book. Pre-Reformation bible printing was important in its own right; but it was only through the Reform that the 'book' was discovered as the pivotal medium in a spread of religion among the broad population. The dynamics of the great spiritual exhilaration aroused by Luther in Germany would have been impossible without the new medium. Characteristic of the seventeenth-century religious book is the literature of edification that grew in extent and importance with the spread of pietism. The latter then itself promoted the printing of the Bible, contributing to the worldwide dissemination of the Bible with the founding of bible publishers (*Cansteinische Bibelanstalt*, 1710; British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804). In addition to the towering role of the Bible in the history of the book as a medium in the area of religion, other examples from the field of culture and world religions might be cited. In the 'media culture' of the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, the book seems to be losing its singular position, in favor of electronic media. For the storage and communication of knowledge, computer technology has developed inexpensive and productive alternatives (→ Memory). However, disadvantageous effects of this third revolution are also being more and more discussed. There is a remarkable trend toward pictures, films, and interactive media. Development is out and out explosive. Its effect on the medium of the book cannot as yet be appraised.

2. 'Book' (in Arabic, *kitab*; pl., *kutub*) is one of the most frequently occurring nouns in the → Qur'an. With an article (Arab., *al-kitab*) it is synonymous with Islamic written revelation. As 'peoples of the Book' (Arab., *ahl al-kitab*), followers of other written revelations—particularly Jews and Christians, as distinguished from the followers of non-scriptural religions—are granted a special status (Arab., *dimmi*) in terms of legal rights in religion. Muhammad maintained the proposition that the messages and teachings that God had communicated to him—as to the earlier messengers—through angels, or visions and dreams, came from a source in the beyond, an original text in heaven, containing all sacred books and

revelations (Arab., *umm al-kitab*). The Arabic art of writing, only sparingly attested in pre-Islamic times, received enormous impetus from the privilege of a written communication of sacred and profane knowledge, in whose wake Islamic culture became essentially a 'book culture.' The manufacture, importation, and sale of paper, the preparation of artistic leather bindings, the standardization of copying procedures and trends in calligraphic styles, and finally, a commerce in books, occasioned the development of new crafts and trades into determining elements of Eastern city culture. Its most visible expression, and a richly symbolic one, was the establishment of libraries (Arab., *maktaba*). Beginning in the ninth century, gigantic collections were amassed, frequently of several dozen thousands of volumes, some under public, some under private auspices, around which arose secular and religious centers of formation and research. An exciting development has been the encounter of Islam, with its exclusive attachment to the Qur'an, and modern secularism and science, setting in confrontation models as different from each other as Morocco and Indonesia.

We first meet the concept 'book religion' in 1873, with F. Max Müller. Müller, however, does not restrict his ascription of the concept to the classic religions—which Islam calls 'possessors of the scripture of revelation'—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. He lists others, as well, such as Orphism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Jainism, Daoism, and the Mormon religion of the Latter Day Saints.

Book and Ritual in Religions

3. It is not easy to maintain with consistency the widely accepted division of religious forms into those of a ritual character, with their oral, communitarian tradition on the one hand; and on the other, religions of the book, with their fixed sacred traditions, canon, administrative structures, and doctrinal authority. Certain religions consciously reject such a categorization, as, for example, Central Asian → shamanism—although the Mongols/Yugurs have possessed scriptures for 1,300 years. The multiple potential meanings and interpretability of religious traditions is of massive importance: defined symbols, including canonical scriptures, are ultimately subjected to new interpretations of content and new theological expositions, in terms of their successive historical environments. Symbols or contents that evade this contextualization are condemned to decline and fall. In such cases, scriptural content is altogether repressed, reduced to the 'recitable' sounds represented by the print or script as such: 'church languages' thus arise. Many of the lamas in Mongolia recite the sacred sutras in Sanskrit, without understanding their content. The Catholic Church has long employed Latin for the reading of Scripture, and Mongolian Darhad recite Nestorian texts in Old Syrian (the language of heaven) in the ancestor worship of Genghis Khan. The administration and interpretation of religious media call for a corresponding 'caste,' which thereby acquires authority over a religion and its believing members. Saints, texts canonized in books, myths, and rituals form a reciprocally interpreting frame of reference in religions. Here ritual can dramatize myth, a myth can be received, and a myth can (etiologically) establish or expound a certain cultic behavior.

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→ *Bible, Canon, Literature, Materiality, Media, Memory, Oral Tradition, Qur'an, Text/Textual Criticism, Writing*

Andreas Reichert

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Until the beginning of 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina was a province of Yugoslavia. From April 1992 until November 1995 (Dayton Peace Agreement), war reigned in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Through the war in Bosnia, many persons experienced for the first time the new possibility of war in Europe (→ Conflict/Violence). The population of Bosnia-Herzegovina belongs essentially to three religious groups or communities: the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church, and Islam. The distribution of the groups is not even: in Herzegovina, for example, there is a Catholic Croatian majority. Essentially, allocation to the respective groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina was originally determined by formal religious membership. An Orthodox was reckoned a Serbian, a Catholic a Croatian, and one with Islamic membership a Muslim. 'Muslim,' here, denoted not the minorities of Albanian or Turkish descent, but only the Southern Slavs, who formally belonged to Islam. The construct of the ethnic groups later called 'peoples' was finally (1963) established in Yugoslavia administratively, in function of one's 'original' religious membership (that of one's forebears). The decisive factor usually was and is the religious membership of the father. Since 1963, then, there are also 'ethnic' Serbs, Croatians, and Muslims without religious affiliation at all. The proportion of secularized members of the original religious groups has sharply increased since 1945. Close religious ties in the Yugoslavia of Josip Tito were rather rare. A particularity of Muslims in Bosnia is their religious extraction. Essentially, they are descendants of the Bogomils, a Christian community appearing in the tenth century, and later, when Bosnia belonged to the Ottoman Empire, converting to Islam. Often, the various groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina are referred to as 'ethnic' groups, or even as 'peoples.' This is very misleading. Technically, Serbs, Croats, and Muslims are all Southern Slavs. All speak Serbo-Croatian. Before the war, this language was differentiated only in script (Latin or Cyrillic) and, marginally, in regional dialects. Since the beginning of the war, differences in the language are consciously emphasized, especially in Croatia. The recent war is an unequivocal example of how



The picture shows a minaret destroyed by an explosion in Ahmici, a village of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Until the beginning of the war (1992), there were many communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina with religious buildings of (often) two or (rarely) three of the three primary religious communities of Bosnia-Herzegovina: the Catholic Church, the Serbian Orthodox Church, and Bosnian Islam. Besides these, Jewish communities had synagogues in the large cities. In smaller communities, often enough, a religious house was built in the center, while another, more often, was constructed outside. All of this reflects the relationships maintained by the majoritarian communities in the village populations. Since one of the goals of the military leaders of the various parties was the expulsion, even the annihilation, of the other groups, 'ethnic cleansing' comported the destruction of the symbols and testimonials of the other religious cultures. The ruins of former places of worship are either left standing as triumphalistic monuments of war ('destruction aesthetics'), or—more frequently—razed to the ground to erase any memory of the faith community that has been expelled and preclude its return (method of the *damnatio memoriae*, 'extinction from memory'). Finally, again and again, houses of faith are destroyed even when members of the religious community are still living in the vicinity. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, all three approaches to religious structures have been employed. But it has also happened that 'alien' religious installations have been maintained and protected, despite the expulsion of the population groups that once used them. (T. Pflüger)


CROATIA
Vukovar
Prijedor
Bihac
Sanski Most
Banja Luka
Brcko
Doboj
Bijeljina
Mrkonjic Grad
BOSNIA - HERZEGOVINA
Tuzla
Jajce
Zvornik
Zenica
Glamoc
Vitez
Bugojno
Busovaca
Knin
CROATIA
Gornji Vakuf
Vogosca
Sarajevo
Pale
Livno
Praca
YUGOSLAVIA
Konjic
Tusici
Jablanica
Gorazde
Split
Foca
Mostar
Nevesinje
DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
Confessional Membership
Orthodox
Muslim
Catholic
Undeclared
National Boundary
Jewish Minority
Proportion of the Confessions
11 - 50 %
51 - 90 %
91 - 100 %
0
25
50 km
F.D.2005

ethnic identities can be constructed and religious membership exploited for political purposes.

→ *Conflict/Violence, Europe II*

Tobias Pflüger

Boundary

Human beings draw boundaries to 'bound themselves off' as members of one group against 'the others': in order to erect identities of their own and to specify their own territories vis-à-vis the outer world. 'We-they' thinking leaves its traces in almost all areas of human behavior. Fences, boundary stones, and turnpikes cannot be overcome by everyone at all moments: They show persons whether they may enter, as they belong there, or whether they must remain without. The temple (in Greek, *témenos*, 'bounded space') is the religious space par excellence. The living spaces of religious minorities such as Jews, even as late as modern times, were bounded by gates and shut off (→ Ghetto/Ghettoization). Religion can bring powerful forces to bear, in order efficaciously to bound off sacred space from profane. No less violent are the explosions that take place when one crosses boundaries otherwise regarded as natural or even necessary. The potential of tension manifests itself in the temptation, in the desire, to breach the taboo.

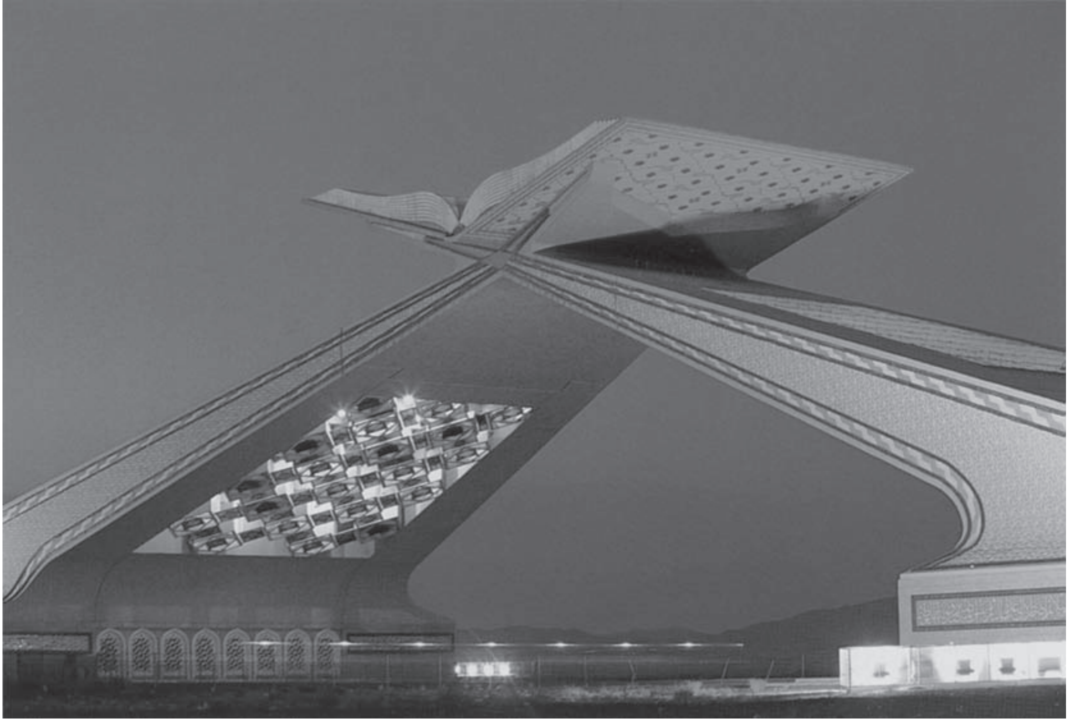
→ *Landscape, Nature, Orientation, Place (Sacred), Prejudices/Stereotypes, Symbol/Sign/Gesture*

Georg Hartmann

Breathing

General

1. Breathing influences psychic well-being, and in religious texts is often connected with life: as long as one has breath, one is alive. In religions and cultures in which body and spirit are thought of as separate, and which believe in a less corporeal soul, breathing is used in connection with s*piritus* (Lat., 'spirit') or *anima* (Lat., 'soul'). The power of the spirit, and a person's way of thinking, are also frequently connected with breathing. To some extent, the various religions have developed special breathing exercises and techniques, in order, on the one hand, to build up one's personal life force, but primarily to win access to a divine spiritual principle. Thus, depending on the context, breathing can be defined as 'respiration,' 'rhythm,' 'life,' or 'spirit.' In many ancient languages there is only one word for the concepts of 'breath' and 'spirit'—for example, *pneuma* in Greek, *ruah* in Hebrew, *iki* in Japanese, *spiritus* in Latin. In Sanskrit, spirit is *atman.* Atman is regarded as the inner principle of all of a person's intellectual and spiritual activities; it is the part of the being upon which the other life forces depend. Likewise in Old High German, *atum wiho,* spirit and breath, coincide in designating the Holy Spirit, as well as the respiration of life, or *Odem.*



Built in the form of a Qur'an lectern, this newly erected gate stands at the frontier of Mecca's *haram* district. *Al-haram* means "the sanctuary," and designates a 'sacred, inviolable place' strictly off-limits to non-Muslims at all times. This *haram* extends, at its narrowest width, from five kilometers from the Ka'aba in all directions, and stretches thirty kilometers to the southeast, enclosing Mount Arafat and all other locations at which the pilgrimage ceremonies take place. During the period of pilgrimage, everyone coming from outside Saudi Arabia must have a pilgrimage visa in his passport in order to set foot in the *haram* at all. (A. M. Harwazinski)

Breath with the Greeks and Romans

2. a) The *Greeks* conceived of one of the souls in which they believed as the 'breath soul'—the psyche (Gk., *psychein*, 'to breathe'), which escapes at death as breath through the mouth. If the breath soul is good, it ascends to heaven; if it is bad, it is devoured by the spirit of the dead and conveyed to the underworld. Furthermore, Greek gods 'in-spired' the emotions and thoughts of heroes, and breath was used to transmit magical, divine powers to mortals. The *Romans* regarded it as their religious duty to see to it that a dying person's last breath be inhaled by his or her nearest relative, in order that the spirit of the former might continue in existence. Similar usages are found with certain Indian tribes, as with tribes in South Africa and in the Congo.

b) *Ruah* in Hebrew is the spirit in a person that is created out of God's spirit, and gives the person life. The word *Odem*, which found wide acceptance upon Luther's using it in his German Bible, contains the root *od-*, which means 'life power.' In the Genesis account, God creates the human being of a clump of earth, breathing the living breath into his nostrils. *Spiritus Sanctus* was long translated in the ecclesiastical use of language with the Old High German *atum*, before the concept of 'spirit' gained currency. The Holy Spirit or Ghost is a 'being of breath': It is presented as divided into *corpus* (Lat., 'body') and *spiramen* (Lat., 'breathing'), and living in its power as *spiritus sanctus* by breathing.

Breath in Islam

c) The *Islamic view* has parallels to the Hebrew one. *Ruh*, 'breath,' or 'wind,' is a divine radiation emanating from the left side of the heart, and creating all of the other parts by a breathing: it is the life power that binds the bodily and spiritual principles of human existence. → *Sufism* knows special breathing exercises, which contain instructions on the exact number and duration of breaths to be drawn, in order to intensify God's call in meditation.

Indian Breathing Techniques

d) In *India*, 'breath' is the word for personhood, for the self, the life power, and the soul (*atman*). As early as the Vedic-Brahmanic period, there were sitting and breathing exercises, performed with the help of the syllable *om* (arisen from *a-u-m*, a primary sound emitted with intensive exhalation). In the Upanishads there are directions for controlled application of the breathing. This technique is called → *yoga*, which, along with an ethical, ascetical behavior, requires certain physical postures and comportment: a squatting posture (*asana*) and breath control (*pranayama*—control of the breathing cycle in rhythms). The prescribed ascetical behavior includes special rules for taking nourishment, for cultivating physical well being, and so on, as well as when, how often, how, and in what circumstances one 'practices.' All of this—the ethical, ascetical behavior, the postures and the physical comportment—are the prerequisites for a turning within. Learning the technique requires a teacher, since otherwise a body-and-energy overload can easily occur. The breath is drawn and expelled only through the nose, never through the mouth. The rhythm of breathing is divided into units called *matraprana.* A *matra* is the unit for one drawn breath. The purpose of this rhythm is to join together the three basic elements of the act of breathing—inhaling (*puraka*), holding the breath (*kumbhaka*), and exhaling (*recaka*)—in one harmonious happening. A favorite rhythm is 1:4:2; beginners often start with 1:2:2. The goal is to open the centers of

physical energy, the *chakras*, in order to find, by way of concentration, the path from the individual 'I' to the universal divine self (*atman*).

Breath in Buddhism

e) In → Buddhism, along with the bodily position, the basis of meditation is the subjugating of the breath during the breathing cycle (the long and short breaths). The breathing is not controlled; rather the exercise consists in permitting the breath to come and go, in order to train awareness and attention (→ Zen Buddhism). In *China*, Daoist monks, from earliest times, have cultivated breathing exercises that adopt the movements and positions of animals, in order to find oneness with nature. Another form is embryonic breathing, in seeking to hold the breath lengthily, as in *pranayama* yoga. Here the purpose is a vital breathing that, bound together with sexual energy, bestows the elixir of life on the heart (fire), spleen or stomach (earth), lungs (metal), liver (wood), and kidneys (water). Breath (*qi*) is ordered to the masculine principle of the Yang. Yang is the sky, which gives the spirit; Yin is the earth, which gives the body. The spirit, the soul, returns to the sky after death.

In the Eastern Christian Church, *Hesychasm* is a method of breathing still practiced by certain monks of Mount Athos. The breath is held, the chin is pressed against the breast, and the gaze is directed downward toward the middle of the body, while the Prayer of Jesus is repeated indefinitely.

Breathing is not only necessary to life in a simple physiological sense. Knowledge of the meaning of breath and a consciousness of the possibilities of influencing the breath in an appropriate context broaden the worlds of individual experience, and thereby have an effect on one's identity.

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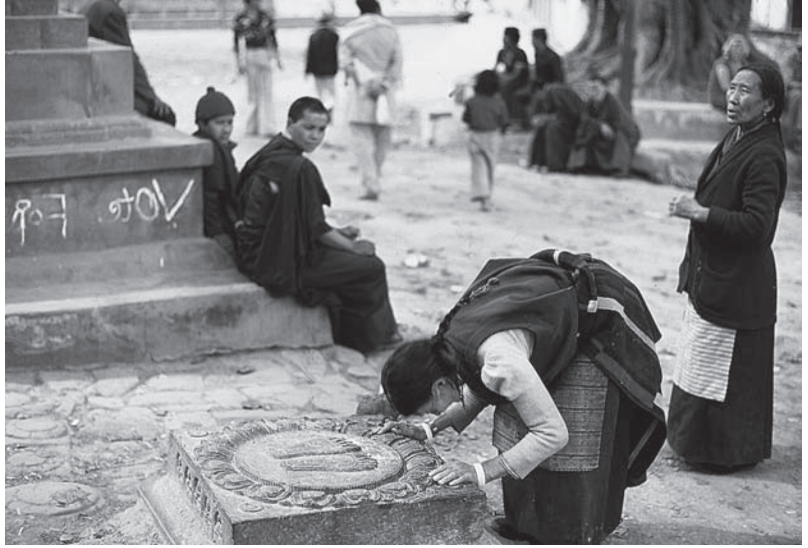
→ *Buddhism, Christianity, Experience, Islam, Meditation, Mysticism, Order/Brotherhood, Soul, Trance, Yoga, Zen Buddhism*

Elke Sofie Frohn

Buddha

The Historical Buddha

1. According to tradition, Gautama Buddha, the founder of → Buddhism, was sprung of a noble family of the Śākya people. Presumably he was born in the fifth century BCE (today's research places his life span c. 450–370), the offspring of Śuddkodana and Māyā(devī), in the border region between today's Nepal and India, and given the name Siddhārtha. Shortly after the birth of his son, Rahula, deeply stirred by a meditative experience, he left his family and began to embrace various salvation doctrines, from which he hoped to gain knowledge concerning deliverance from the cycle of rebirths.



Early Buddhism did not represent the Buddha in the form of a human being. Instead, symbols graphically represent his presence—an impressed pillow, the wheel of the teaching, the tree of enlightenment, or the imprint of two feet. Only gradually does an anthropomorphic imagery of the Buddha make its appearance. Meanwhile the old symbols continued to be applied. And thus, today, ornamental footprints still recall the Buddha's wandering life, along whose course he announced to suffering human beings his message of salvation, and thereby indicated to them the road to deliverance from the cycle of rebirths. The picture shows a devout Nepalese Buddhist woman bowing before the footprints at the Svayambhu Temple in Katmandu.

At last, after a search lasting twelve years, one characterized first by an extreme → asceticism, and then by the practice of immersion in yogic concentration (→ Yoga), he attained to the liberating insight that he sought, in Uruvelā, today's Bodh Gaya (south of Patna, Bihar). Siddhārtha came to be called the Buddha, the 'awakened one.' He showed the 'middle way' leading to release from the torment of existence to his five companions—companions who had once abandoned him when he gave up the severe asceticism which had led to the brink of death. According to Buddhist tradition, the Order was established as the Buddha made them his disciples. Subsequently, the number of the Buddha's followers speedily grew, wealthy laity bestowed numerous groves on the Order, monasteries were established, and the order of nuns was founded. After more than forty years of itinerant teaching, the Buddha died at the age of eighty, at Kuśinagara.

Mythologization

2. There can be no doubt as to the Buddha's historicity. He was one of numerous ascetics who traversed northern India in the fifth century BCE, seeking the knowledge that would lead to release from the endless cycle of rebirths and attracting likeminded disciples. And the ancient texts portraying his life and works depict him throughout as an ordinary human being. However, this life history has to a great extent been reworked on hagiographical patterns, and a basic freedom of hagiographical molding has permitted an altogether serene extension of existing texts with further, legendary, elements. Moreover, from a very early date, the Buddha was regarded as a *Cakravartin*, a world-conquering hero (through his teaching), so that reports concerning his person have acquired traits of a heroic vita. As one approaches the texts purporting to represent the Buddha's person from a perspective informed by religious and literary studies, familiar patterns emerge. (a) His birth is no more commonplace than his conception. His mother, while not a virgin, becomes pregnant without the intervention of the father. He is born not by way of the birth canal, but from her right side. (b) Far from homeland and family, he engages in a bitter contest with Mara, the power of evil—the Buddha's great exploit, the hero's 'struggle

with the dragon.' More 'battles' ensue (and the Buddha converts a thousand Brahmans through the display of his supernatural power). (c) As his birth, so his death is attended with miracles.

Conception of the Buddha's Form

3. Buddhism itself has been concerned with the figuration of the Buddha from earliest times. In the apprehension of ancient Buddhism, through his physical death the Buddha has forsaken worldly existence for good and all, so that henceforward and forever he consists only in the form of his teaching—'a god dead since his nirvana.' Conceptions appeared early, then, guaranteeing the presence of the Buddha in the world. The school of the Mahāsānghika-Lokottaravādins, who maintain a docetist position, saw in the Buddha a super-worldly being, of immeasurable life span, who, purely for the good of the beings of earth, had appeared in the form of a (mortal) human being, namely, (the historical) Gautama Buddha. But the most successful concept was based on the notion of a multiplicity of Buddhas. Ancient Buddhism itself had treated the Buddha as one of the Seven Buddhas, who had made their appearance, at measurelessly great intervals of time, in order to announce their message of salvation to those struggling for release; and it acknowledged in Maitreya still another Buddha, destined to appear in a distant future. Over the course of time, the number of Buddhas further increased, although the concept was maintained that but one Buddha could come forward at any one time in the same world-system. *Mahāyāna* Buddhism broke with this. It taught that there are many world systems, and Buddhas as many as the grains of sand along the bottom of the Ganges. Thereby the Buddha lost his quality as the Buddha once-for-all, and 'buddhahood' could become a new salvific goal. Now an important development was that the effectiveness of the (future) Buddhas, the *bodhisattvas*, shifted to the time *before* their attainment of salvific knowledge: they could work *in* the world; indeed, out of compassion for living beings, many renounced their own release altogether, and now there was no time limit to their effectiveness for salvation.

Representations and Cultic Practice

4. Corresponding to the differences in the conception of the form and nature of the Buddha, in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism the Buddha is worshiped as a *god*, of whom believers hope for active assistance in their struggle for liberation, while in *Theravāda* Buddhism he is venerated as the one who, of all *human beings*, at last discovered the way to release, and along this way attained to his goal, nirvana: he is the exemplar to be emulated, and honor paid to him serves the believer first and foremost as a way of visualizing his characteristic virtues. The most common manifestation of this cultic reverence is in the presentation of the Buddha in figured form. This image becomes the object of various ceremonial actions, such as bathing, adorning, crowning with flowers, and incensing; the believer bows humbly before it, and prayers are addressed to it. Elements of the Hindu pūjā were assimilated in these practices. To Buddhism's great geographical expanse corresponds the multiplicity of the Buddha's representations, from the gaunt ascetic of Indian art, to the sublime, godlike image of Tibet, to the corpulent Bronze of Chinese tradition. Great statues of the Buddha, ordinarily fashioned of twigs and leaves, dominate the midpoint of the Vesak Festival, celebrated annually in May by Buddhists of all countries, to recall the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and death, all of which, according to tradition, occurred on the same day of the calendar. In the West, a wide public was acquainted with

the figure of the Buddha not least through Hermann Hesse's novel *Siddhartha*. The wisdom and unworldliness of the Buddha has made recent appeal to a growing number of those yearning for inner peace, and striving for values beyond consumption and material profit.

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→ *Buddhism, Guru, Master/Pupil, Monasticism, Order/Brotherhood, Zen Buddhism*

Thomas Oberlies

Buddhism

Concept

1. 'Buddhism' is the term used to denote the religion descending from the ascetic movement founded by Gautama → Buddha. To be sure, the teachings of early Buddhism have been developed in very different ways over the course of time. A large number of schools, at times with considerably divergent philosophical systems and corresponding monastic rules, were and are scattered across an immense geographical space (today nearly all of Asia, with the exception of India, Buddhism's land of origin). The three great directions are *Tantric* (→ Tantra), *Mahāyāna* (Northern), and *Hīnayāna* (Southern) *Buddhism*. To the last named belongs today's most important form, *Theravada*, which prevails in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia.

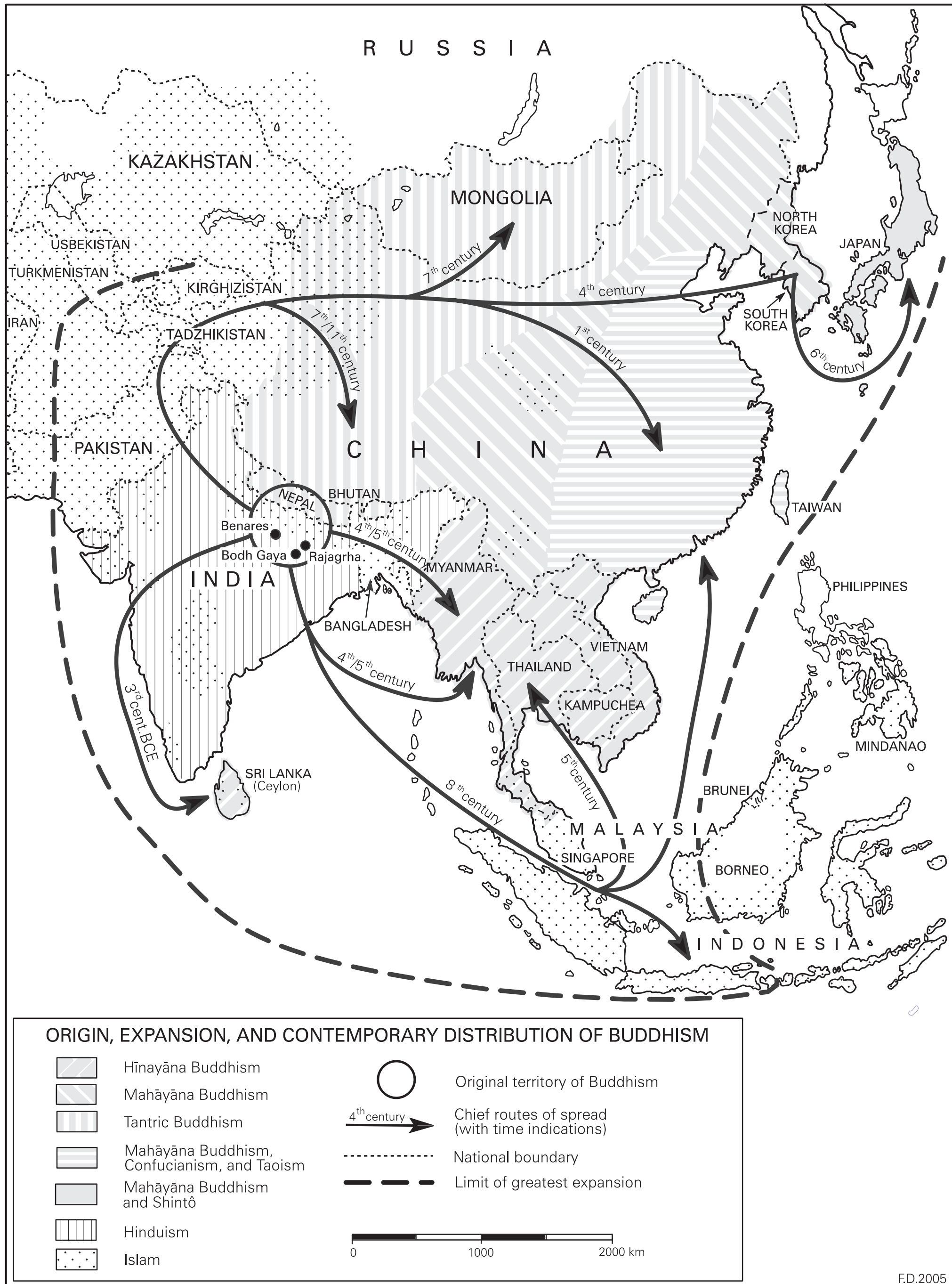
Geographical Expansion

2. The Buddha's resolve to share his knowledge with others was the exemplary act imitated by the monks. Sent by the Buddha, they went forth and proclaimed the great teaching to others who strove for release from the cycle of rebirths. This missionary activity, altogether foreign to → Hinduism (even, basically, today), led to the rapid spread of the still young religion. Of decisive consequence here was the royal protection that Buddhism enjoyed. Under Maurya king Aśoka (268–232 BCE), it became the state religion and penetrated not only most parts of the Indian subcontinent, but also India's neighboring lands.

While Buddhism flourished in these lands, its time in India gradually ended, as the Hindu religion waxed in strength in the first centuries CE. The monastic universities of Bihar and Bengali were completely destroyed by the troops of Muhammad Ghuri—Nālandā in 1197, Vikramaśīla in 1203—and Buddhism's fate on Indian soil was sealed. Almost simultaneously, Buddhism was promoted to the status of state religion in two of India's neighboring countries: Burma at the end of the eleventh century and Siam near the end of the thirteenth. And in these countries, as also in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), it maintains this role down to the present day.



Cultic veneration of the Buddha at first played a subordinate role in Buddhism. It was recognized only as a means of producing a salvific state of consciousness. In the course of time, however, the wish spread, especially from the side of the laity, for a piety that could be practiced on a daily basis. On models borrowed from the various Hindu religions, an elaborate cult developed, at whose midpoint stands the representational image of the Buddha and various bodhisattvas. Here, in a little Buddhist temple in Hong Kong, a monk makes his daily meditation. (T. Oberlies)



Of special importance for the further history of Buddhism was the patronage of the Kuṣāṇas. Their realm stretched over the territory of today's Pakistan and Afghanistan, far into Central Asia. The political stability of this enormous empire favored the spread of Buddhism from Northwest India to Sogdia in the far West, and along the → silk route to China. From China it penetrated Vietnam and Korea in the fourth century CE, and in the seventh century Japan. From India's east coast Buddhism reached Burma, Kampuchea, and Indonesia; from the north, in the seventh century, it traversed the Himalayan Pass to Tibet, whence it came once more to the Mongols and the Manchus.

Teaching

3. As for nearly all of the religious and philosophical systems of India, the *cycle of rebirths* and the *effect of karma* are a basic given in Buddhism (→ Reincarnation). The present existence is not the first, nor in all likelihood will it be the last, and the mode and manner of each is determined by karma, the sum of a being's good and evil deeds. Regardless of its actual quality, the 'being' of this life, in Buddhism's appraisal, is basically one of suffering. Thus, the goal of Buddhism is a complete and definitive liberation from the painful transience of life. This can be attained through the recognition, and definitive elimination, of the factors leading to a birth eternally replicated, and with it to suffering endlessly repeated—namely that of the demand for sensory satisfaction and, especially, for new existence. This occurs through the *contemplation of the Four Noble Truth*s, which means: (1) that all of the elements composing being, and therefore composing earthly personhood, are elements of *suffering*; (2) that the cause of this suffering is desire and *craving*, which leads to rebirth ever and again; (3) that this suffering can come to an end when desire and craving are completely eliminated; and (4) that one can reach this goal by means of the practice of right view, right intent, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. The final member is the decisive moment of the *Noble Eightfold Path*: by means of *meditative absorption*, a person can gain the redemptive insight: recognition and knowledge of the *Four Noble Truths.* The Buddhist practice of meditative absorption consists in a series of spiritual exercises—for example, the practice of the *Unbounded*, in which the subject radiates, to all points of the skies, the feelings, in succession, of benevolence, compassion, joy, and equanimity—or the trancelike *kasina* meditations; or the *satipatthana* visualizations (observation of one's breathing and other bodily functions); or the meditative or objective consideration of the various stages of the decomposition of a corpse.

Rules of the Order

4. In the components, *right speech* and *right conduct*, of the Noble Path the seeker after liberation is prescribed to refrain from untrue, slanderous, gross, or rash speech; from the wounding or killing of living beings, from the unlawful appropriation of possessions; and from all sexual activity. *Right manner of life* consists in abstinence from more than one meal a day, from observing dance presentations and from like pleasures, from the use of garlands or balms, from sleeping on luxurious bedding, and so on. Suchlike prescriptions and prohibitions, whose observance is an indispensable prerequisite if release from the cycle of rebirths is to be effected, are collected in the *Vinayapitaka*, the code of Buddhist monastic regulations. The core of Buddhist penal law is the *Prātimoksasūtra.* It lists the transgressions, divided into eight parts, which monks and (with variations) nuns must not commit. At the beginning come the transgressions on whose grounds a monk is excluded from the Order forever: (1) the prohibition of all manner of sexual contact, (2) the prohibition of serious theft, (3) the prohibition of the killing of a human being, and (4) the prohibition of false presumption of spiritual perfections and supernatural characteristics. In its procedural as well as in its monastic law, Buddhism is indebted to the earlier Vedic religion (→ Hinduism). Hence the Order has adopted ceremonies modeled after age-old rituals. The *Pabbajā*, or reception of a novice, with shearing of the head and beard, precedes the *Upasampadā*, or ordination as monk (with an analogous procedure for nuns). The first step may be taken as early as the eighth year, and the second at twenty, a time

frame corresponding to that of the Brahmanic ritual of initiation. Of equal importance, for the existence of the community, to that of the consecration of the novice and the monk, is the semi-monthly confessional celebration, the Uposatha, in the course of which the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, the confessional formula, is recited. The Uposatha is celebrated throughout the nights before full and half-moon, in an assembly of a minimum of four full-fledged monks. In the tradition of Theravāda Buddhism, freedom from transgression is a prerequisite for participation for the celebration of the Uposatha. Admission of a transgression normally comes *before* the recitation of the *Prātimokṣa.* Of the various Buddhist rituals, we may mention the *Kaṭhina* celebration, among the great religious feasts of the Southeast Asian lands still today. Here the Order receives (mostly from laity) monks' attire, or the material of which it is made.

5. True, the monk does not make a vow to renounce possessions, but he is expected to live in the most extreme poverty. He has but three articles of clothing, a cincture, a begging bowl, a small knife, a needle, and a water strainer, that he can call his own. He lives on contributions of food that he receives on his daily alms rounds. He does have leave to accept personal invitations to meals, but he is forbidden to receive gifts otherwise. Lay devotees must care for monks, as the latter have completely rejected worldly life (which is still true today in Burma, on a monk's daily alms route). Thus, from earliest times, the Order has been attended by a circle of laity, who continue with their secular lives, but who have 'taken refuge with the Buddha, the Teaching, and the Community.' Lay Buddhists are bound not by strict rejection of the world, but—at least on the days of the Uposatha (see section 4)—by the renunciation of the 'killing of living beings, acquiring things that have not been bestowed, false speech, unchastity, and the ingestion of alcoholic or other intoxicating beverages.' On these days, the laity who would pursue the stricter discipline fast, sleep on the bare earth, and abstain from the use of any cosmetics. For this ethically and morally good behavior, which is requited with the legacy of good karma through their acts of generosity, the laity anticipate a recompense in heaven and in a better rebirth. There, as nuns and monks, they can strive for their release. Only in Mahāyāna Buddhism was the opportunity finally offered of liberation in the here and now, through a corresponding manner of life.

Development of the Buddhist Order

5. In a narrow sense, the *Saṅgha*, the Buddhist Order, is made up only of the monks and nuns who were the Buddha's direct interlocutors. Even in the wider sense, Theravāda Buddhism regards the female monastic tradition as extinct, and only the tradition of the monks continues to be acknowledged. A principle received in ancient times delineates that the Saṅgha consists of four parts—monks, nuns, male and female lay disciples—thus taking into account the importance of the laity in and for Buddhism, even though they are not organized. In days of old, the Order was extensively modeled after the ancient republican states, and knew practically no hierarchical organization. The highest authority was the Buddha, and all monks had identical rights and duties, irrespective of the caste from which they came. The only ranking was that according to seniority of ordination. Early enough, however, and over the course of time, this principle of equality gradually fell into disuse. The Buddhist texts leave no doubt that the Order, with its strict discipline, was created as a framework in which the human

being, freed from all worldly ties and obligations, can strive after the realization of *nirvāṇa*, or deliverance. Thus, the discipline of the Order is the formal aspect of morality, the point of departure and foundation of the path to liberation. Accordingly, the rules of the Order compose an integral element of the monk's spiritual exercise and practice. Even the economic situation of the respective Buddhist communities depends directly on the observance of these rules. Only that community whose monks lead a pure and observant life is worthy of munificence in the eyes of the laity. Only a like community is accepted as a promising 'merit field' in which it is worthwhile to invest. The account of the first serious disagreement in the community, while the Buddha was actually still living, is a clear demonstration: the dispute was settled because the laity refused to feed the monks until they had settled their quarrel.

Relationship of Monks, Nuns, and Laity

7. A most intimate relationship prevails between monks and laity, especially in countries where every male Buddhist enters the Order at least once in his lifetime—and usually on more than one occasion, almost always before taking a wife—as in Burma, Kampuchea, Laos, and Thailand today. Indeed, this temporary monasticism offers large prospects of social promotion. Monks and laity live in a symbiotic rapport—after all, each of the two groups provides the other with an opportunity to gain merit, and thereby to make a contribution to their karma 'account.' And since, for the ordinary Buddhist—monk or lay person—nirvana is far too remote and intangible a goal to be striven for immediately, religious praxis focuses on the gaining of merit. Monks recite and explain the sacred texts to the laity, conduct for them the ceremony of the Paritta, a kind of protective spell or charm, and function as their 'priests' on other religious occasions, as at blessing of the home, at weddings, or at funerals. The laity afford the monks material support. Little has changed here in the course of centuries. A very ancient text of the Theravada Canon reads: "Great utility, O monks, the masters of the house provide to you, for they impart to you raiment, victuals, roof, and remedy when you ail. And great comfort, as well, O monks, are ye to the masters of the house, for ye announce to them the teaching, [. . .] and show them the blameless way of life. In this wise, in mutual dependency, monks and the masters of the house lead a pure life, with the goal of crossing the torrent of *saṃsāra* [the cycle of rebirths] and putting an end to suffering. In mutual dependency, you make this good teaching to prosper [. . .]." This exchange of life sustenance for 'spiritual service rendered,' occurs, for instance, on the days of the Uposatha (see section 4), when laity visit the nearest monastery to provide its residents with food, or, on special occasions, to invite them to share a meal; and reciprocally, when monks bear forth the sacred texts. Such generosity is of great importance to the laity, for, in terms of a widespread viewpoint in Buddhist lands, they are able to transfer the merit thus acquired to the account of departed relatives, or to others, and thereby offer them the prospect of a better rebirth. This transfer of merit corresponds to the cult of → ancestors in other religions. Merit can also be gained by → pilgrimage to holy places, or by the maintenance of the pagodas called *stūpas*—originally, monuments that housed relics of the Buddha. The laity can also acquire merit by ransoming animals intended for slaughter, or held in cages, and releasing them in their natural environment.

Current Situation

8. Not without reason is Buddhism regarded as an uncommonly tolerant religion. In its long history, few wars have been waged in its name (but see → Conflict/Violence [illustration]), and the cohabitation of monks of altogether divergent Buddhist schools in the same monastery has never presented any difficulties. As it is for its tolerance, this religion is distinguished for its flexibility. Not only is it the affair of each individual what degree of bodily privation he or she mean to embrace, or what vows to assume; neither is the meaning of ritual and worship for practical living called in question, however foreign these may have been to original Buddhism. After all, the existence of powerful goddesses, gods, and spirits, that intervene both positively and negatively in the life of human persons, is undisputed. (It is, therefore, an utterly inadmissible simplification to refer to Buddhism as a religion without God—as an atheistic religion.) Thus, in many Buddhist lands, → amulets, to cite but one instance, are an important component of religious life, and Buddhist monks are quite decisively engaged in the production of protective talismans. This flexibility also distinguishes Buddhism's relationship to society and state. The religion was inculturated in the most varied forms of rule and government, and the most diverse cultures, and it always succeeded in maintaining is characteristic imprint. Since Buddhism's supreme goal is to indicate to human beings a supra-worldly condition of salvation, it has seldom called the concrete social order into question, and this has repeatedly brought upon it the reproach that it is little concerned with daily human needs.

The connection between a philosophy bent on practical aims (in the form of an analysis of an existence identified as one of suffering) and a manner of life that includes techniques of → meditation and → yoga (and, in Zen, of combat), as well as a worship that speaks to the senses—often coupled, it is true, with presentations stemming from Orientalist discourse—has awakened a fascination in the Westerner, and this not only at the critical moments of the past century (→ Esalen Institute; New Age). A life of personally attained inner peace, above the suffering and helplessness of daily life, and a life of a discovery of oneself, has appealed to seekers of all psychological and cultural hues, at different stages in their life and in different social strata. Philosophers like Schopenhauer, musicians like Yehudi Menuhin, scientists and authors, as well as beatniks and New Age spiritists, have all yielded to its magnetism. A Western adaptation of Buddhism, accompanied by the foundation of numerous communities, has not, admittedly, come off without dogmatic encrustations or internal schisms.

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→ *Asceticism, Buddha, China/Japan/Korea; Indian Subcontinent, Meditation, Monasticism, Order/Brotherhood, Tibet, Zen Buddhism*

Thomas Oberlies

Buddhism: Time Chart

1. *Chronology*

Era 1: Early Doctrinal Development and First Expansion

4th/5th cent. BCE	Lifetime of the historical Buddha in the North of India	The biographical dates of Siddhartha Gautama, who, after his awakening (*bodhi*), is called the Buddha, cannot be determined with certainty.
until 1st cent. BCE	Early Buddhism in India First "Councils:" Oral transmission	Tradition reports 'councils' (probably local assemblies of monks) for agreement on doctrine and the Order's law, immediately after the Buddha's death in Rajagrha, and 100 years later in Vaishali.
268–232	Rule of Maurya King Ashoka	Ashoka leaves numerous edicts on cliffs and pillars, in which he recommends Buddhist doctrine and ethics. Buddhism reaches Southern India.
	Sthaviravada and Mahasanghika	In the time of Ashoka, a third council is said to have been held, in Pataliputra. Differences of opinion over

		the rules of the Order lead to the formation of two distinct branches (*nikaya*): *Sthaviravada* (Doctrine of the Elders) and *Mahasanghika* (Grand Community). Doctrinal divergences reign as to the status of the 'redeemed person' (*arhat*).
	First Schools of Buddhism	A multiplicity of 'schools' appear, among them: *Lokottaravada* (from Mahasanghika), from the doctrine of the transcendent (*lokottara*), eternal Buddha. *Vatsiputria, Puggalavada,* from Sthaviravada; the reincarnated 'person' (*puggala*). Relativization of the not-I (*anatta*). *Sarvastivada* (from Sthaviravada); *sarvam asti* (everything exists, that is, all factors of being, including past and future). *Sautrantika*: only the sutras, and not the Abhidharma, are acknowledged. *Theravada* (Pali equivalent of "Sthaviravada"): the only surviving non-Mahayana school, with Pali as its sacred language; the Buddha as human teacher of an attainable path of salvation: systematic doctrine in the *Abhidhamma,* in Pali.

around 3rd cent. BCE–6th cent. CE	Expansion into the region of Gandhara, around the city of Taxila *Milindapanha* ("The questions of Milinda/ Menander")	In Northwest India, and in North of today's Afghanistan and Pakistan, Buddhism is proclaimed under changing rule (Indo-Greek, Maurya Empire, Scythians, Kusana Empire, and others). The *Milindapanha* is a literary testimonial of Buddhist presence under King Menander (first century BCE). The Greco-Roman Ghandhara scores the Buddha's presentation in human form.
from 3rd cent. BCE	Sri Lanka: Linking of Buddhism and Singhalese Rule	King Devanampiya Tissa (247–207) promotes Theravada Buddhism, which becomes established on the island. In connection with the ever-recurring conflicts between Singhalese and Tamil, the former identify Buddhism with the Singhalese state. King and monastic orders stand in a close mutual relationship. The monks win the status of landlords.
1st cent. BCE	Written transmission of the Pali Canon	Written down for the first time in Sri Lanka, on palm leaves. These are preserved in three baskets (Pali: *Tipitaka*).
Era 2: Emergence of Mahayana Buddhism (Great Vehicle) in India		
1st cent. BCE–6th cent. CE	Further development of Indian Buddhism	In the sutras of the Mahayana, the

	Emergence of Mahayana	concept of "emptiness" (*shunyata*) appears. The new ideal is the *bodhisattva*, who, with wisdom (*prajna*) and compassion, strives for the well-being and salvation of all living things. Cult and popular piety have status with the bodhisattvas, with the Buddha Amitabha as defender of the 'blessed land' Sukhavati, and with the 'future Buddha' Maitreya.
	Indian monasteries as cultural and economic centers	Endowments result in extensive monastery landholdings. At first, monks hold and live diverging doctrinal views, but, in many places, hold the same discipline of the Order under one roof. The most important monastery university is Nalanda.
around 2nd cent.	Nagarjuna founds the *Madhyamika* School (School of the "Middle Way")	He systematizes the doctrine of making one's appearance, of the coming to reality, in dependency and emptiness, as well as the distinction between conventional and higher truth.
around 4th cent.	*Yogacara* (*Vijnanavada*) School	Asanga and Vasubandhu compose important works of the school, which assigns great value to the practice of yoga and the reality of consciousness (*vijnana*).

Era 3: Buddhism reaches Central Asia

from 1st cent. CE	Buddhism reaches Central Asia	In the oasis cities of the Tarim Basin, along the Silk Route, Buddhism comes in contact with Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, and Zoroastrianism. Now Buddhist art and multilingual literature attain their zenith. From the seventh and eighth centuries, Islamization slowly weakens Buddhism. It endures longest on the border with China.
from 1st cent. CE	First Buddhists in China	Merchants, monks, and legations, under way along the trade route, carry Buddhism to China. First texts are translated.
2nd cent. CE	Introduction of Buddhism in Vietnam	Beginning in 111 BCE, North Vietnam is a Chinese province. Confucianism and Buddhism (Mahayana) play a role among the ruling class.
221–589	Political instability in China State patronage in the North	Governors not of Chinese extraction in the North give the advantage to representatives of Buddhism, as a counterpoise to native Confucianism, and as vehicles of magical capabilities. The number of monasteries rises to the thousands.

344/50–413	Translator Kumarajiva	Outstanding among Central Asian translators of Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Chinese.
399–413	Faxian travels to India	After his return, the Southern Chinese monk translates texts that he has brought with him, and publishes a travel report.
from 5th cent.	*Jingtu* School (School of the Pure Land)	Systematization of the popular veneration of the Amithaba Buddha (in Chin., *Omitofu*).
4th–6th cent.	First Buddhists in Korea Five Teachings (*ogyo*)	Buddhism is introduced from China, 530–531: *Vinaya School* (*Kyeryul, Yul*). Gradually, five schools based on writing.
around 5th cent.–10th cent.	First testimonials of Buddhism in Burma	The beginnings of Buddhism in this region are not known. Mahayana, Tantra, and Theravada reach the realms of Pyu, Mon, and Pagan.
from 6th cent. (528 or 552)	Introduction at the Japanese Imperial Court	The court religion taken over from Korea is expected to have positive effects on rainfall and harvest, as well as on procedures for the healing of the sick. Further cultural elements such as Chinese script are introduced with Buddhism. Regent Shotoku-Taishi promotes the new religion.

581–618	Sui Dynasty in China Tiantai School	Unification of the Empire in 589. Yang Jian (Gaou), who reigned from 581–604, appeals to Buddhist content for political purposes. From 538–97, on Zhuyi, the *Tiantai School* grows weak.
before 7th cent. (beginning is not known)	Indian influence in Indonesia Srivijaya Empire (6th to 13th centuries, center on Sumatra) Shailendra Dynasty on Java	Hinduism and Buddhism arrive in the island world of Indonesia, in the baggage of Indian merchants and colonizers. Various directions, such as Sarvastivada, at first flank one another. Then, toward the end of the seventh centry, Mahayana and Tantric Buddhism become dominant. From the end of the eighth century, sacred architecture appears in central Java, especially the monumental stupa complex of Borobudur.
Era 4: Tantra and Chan. Gradual disappearance from India		
7th cent.	Tantric Buddhism gains in importance in India	Reported as early as the fourth century, the Tantric direction comes into full bloom. The → Tantra texts are of an esoteric character, that is, understandable only in a connection with personal instruction. A gradual transcendence of contraries proceeds by means of a symbolical representation of spiritual events.

7th–13th cent.	Centers of monastic culture in Kashmir, Bengali, and Southern India	In the reports of Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, from 629–45, it is the reputation of several thousand monasteries throughout India that considerable land holdings are at their disposal.
around 800	Founding of the monastic university of Vikramashila	It becomes a Tantric center of education and formation. From here, monks are sent to Tibet.
	Progressive replacement of Buddhism by Hinduism and Islam	The patronage of the monasteries by rulers, local elites, and other laity diminishes. With the Islamic conquest, the remaining monasteries are destroyed (among them, Nalanda in 1199, Vikramashila in 1203). Indian Buddhism vanishes, Hinduism abides, Islam is added as a new religion.
618–907	Tang Dynasty in China Buddhism flourishes Monasteries as an economic force	Monasteries participate in charitable services, and in public building projects and landscaping, and enjoy exemption from taxation. Along with newly appearing directions, such as Chan, Huayan, and Tantra, the Amitabha devotion is as popular as ever.
	Chan School	Named after 'meditation,' in Sanskrit *dhyana*, it appeals to the historically

		intangible founding personality, Boddhidarma, who is supposed to have come to China in the sixth century.
	Huayan, Xianshou, or *Faxiang* School (in Jap.: *Kegon*)	It is founded on the *Avatamsaka Sutra* ("Garland of Blossom Sutra"). The authority is Xuan-zang (602–664), who undertakes a pilgrimage to India, and brings texts to China.
705–774	Amoghavajra (in Chin., Bukong)	After journeys through India and Sri Lanka, this Tantric lives in China, and is patronized by the Imperial Court as magician and translator of Tantric texts.
845	Persecution of Buddhism in China, and extensive seizure of monasteries	At the instigation of the Confucian elite, the monasteries are dispossessed of land holdings and slaves. Many of them are destroyed, and thousands of monks and nuns are reduced to the lay state.
668–918	Silla period in Korea *Son* School	Sinhaeng (704–779) founds the meditation school S*on*, the Korean variant of the Chinese Chan. It subsequently develops the schools of the "Nine Mountains."
710–784	Nara period in Japan The six schools of Nara	Six schools exist: *Sanron* (Madhyamika), *Jojitsu, Hosso* (yogacara), *Kusha, Kegon*

		(in Chin., Huayan), and *Risshu* (Vinaya). The monasteries are tax-exempt, and their landholdings increase through bequests.
794–1185	Heian age in Japan *Tendai* School and *Shingon* School	804: Saicho (Dengyo Daishi, 767–822) and Kukai (Kobo Daishi, 774–835) travel to China with a legation. The former subsequently founds the *Tendai* School (after the Chinese *Tiantai*) on Mount Hiei. On Mount Koya-san, Kukai founds the Great Temple of *Shingon* (in Chin., Zhenyan, "School of the True Word"), an esoteric direction influenced by the Tantra.
10th–11th cent.	Japanese monasteries as a military force	Conflicts among the monasteries and with the state. Gradual militarization of the large monasteries and appointment of monk-lords.
918–1392	Koryo Age in Korea	Buddhism is sanctioned by the state. Membership in the Order grows, as do monastic holdings. The order acquires political influence.
960–1279	Song Dynasty in China	Several Chinese schools exist side by side. The most dynamic is the Chan School.

968–1400	Vietnamese Northern Empire *Thien* (in Chin., *Chan*) Pure Land	Imperial endorsements of Buddhism, introduction of texts, erection of temples and monasteries. Buddhism and folk religion make a connection; also Daoist and Confucianist influences are notable. The emperors of the Ly and Tran Dynasties are usually also members of the Order. The most important school directions are meditation school *Thien*, and the School of the Pure Land.
1260–1367	Mongolian Yuan Dynasty in China	Preference for tantric Buddhism.
13th–15th cent.	Islam arrives in Indonesia	Hinduism and Buddhism, meanwhile present in extensively syncretistic form, retreat before Islamization, but do not altogether disappear.
Era 5: Independent Japanese schools are founded		
1185–1333	Japan: Kamakura Age and first Shogun government (from 1192)	Buddhism adopts specific Japanese forms, that help it to popularity.
1133–1212	Genku (Honen Schonin), founder of the *Jodo-shu* (School of the Pure Land)	Popular veneration of the Buddha Amisa (Amitabha) has its institutionalization in 1198. The new school teaches a rebirth in the 'Pure Land' of Sukhavati by a patronage of the Amida Buddha and its invocation as religious practice.

1173–1262	Shinran Shonin, founder of the *Jodo-shinshu* (True School of the Pure Land)	He interprets the formula of invocation as a pure expression of gratitude for the act of grace experienced. The widespread notion that we live in a degenerative age contributes to the further notion that, instead of liberation by one's own power (*jiriki*), as Zen teaches it, Shinran Shonin places his confidence in the succoring support of another (*tariki*). His school renounces celibacy, and attains exceptional popularity.
1141–1215	Eisai, founder of *Rinzai Zen* (in Chin., Linji)	The centers of gravity in religious praxis lie in *koan* meditation and *zazen* (seated meditation). Interest in Rinzai practice on the part of the warrior nobility occasions the development of martial arts.
1200–1253	Dogen, founder of *Soto Zen* (in Chin., Caotong)	The school develops rather a monastically orientated direction, around the principal temple of Eiheiji, and a popular direction soon represented by many village temples.
1253	*Nichiren* School	Nichiren (1222–1282) founds a direction of his own on the basis of the *Lotus Sutra*, and nationalistic conceptualizations, and enters into conflict with other schools as well as with the gov-

		ernment. As a popular religious practice, he recommends the recitation of the formula "Veneration to the sutra of the lotus of the good law."
16th cent.	Strengthening of the Shogun's central political power	The powerful monasteries, especially that of the Tendai School on Mount Hiei, are subjected to the military.
Era 6: Flourishing of Theravada Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia		
9th–12th cent.	The Sangha in Sri Lanka	The Sangha ('Monastic Order') assumes a key role in society. The monasteries are the largest landholders of the island, and have political influence. The Sangha experiences setbacks under Southeast Indian/Tamil rule.
889–1431	Kampuchea: Khmer Empire of Angkor	India is the origin of both Hinduism and (Mahayana) Buddhism, which exist in syncretistic forms. Monumental sacred architecture is erected in the capital city. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Theravada gains the upper hand.
1044–1287	Pagan Dynasty in Burma State patronage of Theravada	Theravada, Mahayana, and Tantra, have long existed in the Great Burmese Empire. In piety and religiosity, Theravada's veneration of future

		Buddha Maitreya and endowment of religious edifices play a prominent role.
1065	Renewal of the monastic tradition in Sri Lanka	Once more come to power, the Singhalese introduce monastic ordination from Burma.
1153–1186	Parakkamabahu I unifies the Sangha in Sri Lanka	The King subordinates the Abhayagiri monks to the competing Mahavira. Village and forest monks adopt respectively distinct roles.
13th cent.	The Thai population immigrates to the area of Thailand Introduction of Theravada	The rulers of Sukothai support Theravada, adopted from Sri Lanka around 1250. Several Sangha reforms are sanctioned from the side of the state.
1287–1752	Small states in Burma and Second Burmese Empire	Mongols overcome the Empire of Pagan, later to be replaced by the Shan (Thai). Again, the Shan rulers take over Buddhist-controlled rural culture. In the capital of Pegu, the Order is subjected to state control. Borrowed from Sri Lanka, and through the efforts of King Dhammaceti (1472–1492), the ordination or monks prevails.
14th cent.–1569 and 1592–1767	Thailand: Ayuthia is capital of a Siamese empire	The city becomes a center of Theravada, with many sacred buildings. With the

		Burmese conquest, the city is destroyed and the Empire dissolved.
14th–16th cent.	Collapse of political unity and downfall of Buddhism in Sri Lanka	Monks who are large landholders neglect and ignore the rules of the Order, the obligation of celibacy, and the monastic garb. The monastic lifestyle is maintained only among the forest monks.
1434–1863	Peak time of Theravada in Kampuchea	The capital Phnom-Penh is partly under Thai or Vietnamese rule. A Vietnamese annexation in 1841 is accompanied by the destruction of many places of worship. In 1849 the reformed Dhammayuttika-Nikaya is introduced from Thailand.
16th–18th cent.	Wars in Southeast Asia legitimated by religious promises	With a number of wars between Birman, Mon, and the Thai empires, Buddhism, Kingship, and the consciousness of a national task are amalgamated.
Era 7: East Asian Buddhism on the defensive vis-à-vis Confucianism		
1368–1644	Ming Dynasty in China	Limitations on Buddhist monasteries and ordination
beginning of 15th cent.	Korea: Partial expropriation of monastic land	A government favoring Confucianism abolishes the tax exemption of the monasteries. Next,

		a great portion of their landholdings are expropriated. Some monasteries are closed. In 1424 the state combines the existing schools into a Sonjong (meditation) and a Kyojong (writing) direction.
1428–1785	Lê Dynasty in Vietnam	Confucianism is privileged from the side of the state, and Buddhism loses its influence. New temples are subsequently erected, only within the district of influence of the feudal generations of Trinh and Nguyên.
Era 8: Confrontation with colonialism		
1505–1815	Incipient colonialization of Sri Lanka New Nikayas	In 1505, arrival of the Portuguese, followed by Dutch (1656) and British (1796). In the Kingdom of Kandy, the succession of ordination is renewed, taken in 1596 and 1697 from Burma, and in 1753 from Thailand. The new *Siyam Nikaya* receives only high-caste monks. The *Amarapura Nikaya*, a reform branch of Burmese provenance (beginning in 1803), at first rejects this association with caste, just as does the *Ramanna Nikaya* (from 1863/65).

1603–1867	Tokugawa shogunate in Japan: Membership in Buddhism is obligatory	Every family must have itself registered with a temple—as a preventive measure against passage to Christianity, in the context of Japan's barricading itself against foreign influences.
1644–1911	Quing Dynasty in China	The Manchurian Emperors withdraw the monasteries' privileges, and render ordination difficult. Popular Buddhism abides, as part of a pragmatic piety.
1707	Several small Laotian states	The importance of Buddhism dwindles.
1752–1885	Military expansion of the Konbaung dynasty in Burma Beginning of British colonialization	The new rulers take aggressive measures against the Mon and against Thailand. In wars against the East India Company, between 1826 and 1885, the Kingdom loses its rural territory to colonial control. Reform movements stand in opposition to state surveillance of the Order.
1868–1871	"Council" of Mandalay	King Mindon Min, concerned for the strengthening of his position, convokes a 'council,' in whose course the sacred scriptures are engraved on marble tablets.
from 1782	Chakri Dynasty in Thailand	The country preserves its independence. The rulers promote

		Buddhism, and interfere repeatedly in the structuring of the Order.
1802–1945	Nguyên Dynasty in Vietnam: Buddhist renewal movement, resistance to French colonization and Christian mission	Having come to power with French help, Vietnam's rulers must relinquish the South to France in 1862. As Christian mission is seen as a tool of colonialism, the government has missionaries in the North murdered. By 1885 the French have taken control of the whole country. Since 1920, the revitalization of a seriously impaired Buddhism is underway. Lay associations and student centers strive for reforming and anticolonialist goals.
Era 9: Era of imperialism. Buddhist modernism and anti-colonial resistance		
1815–1948	Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is a British colony Buddhist modernism	Under British rule, Christianity is determinedly promoted, and the entire educational system is stamped with mission. The repression of the practice of their religion plunges the Buddhists into a crisis, from which Buddhist modernism is formed. The leading representative is Anagarika Dharmapala. Theosophist Henry Steele Olcott performs a supporting role. Buddhist institutions are created.

1851–1868	Rama IV Mongkut reigns in Thailand	As a monk, the king had occupied himself intensively with reform Buddhism, and now founded the *Dhammayuttika Nikaya.* This branch of the Order stresses a strict observance of the Vinaya, sermons whose content was understandable (instead of simple recitation), and study of the texts. The majority direction, *Maha Nikaya,* goes on as before.
1863–1953	Kampuchea under French, Japanese, and Thai rule	Many monks are active in the movement for independence supported by Prince Sihanouk (King Norodom II Sihanouk).
1868–1914	Meiji age in Japan	After the compelled opening of the country, the restored Imperial Government makes → Shintô the state religion, and, with a view to a strengthening of national identity, persecutes Buddhism as un-Japanese. Beginning in 1875, however, it protects universal freedom of religion.
1881	Founding of the *British Pali Text Society* by T. R. W. Rhys Davids	The society avails itself of editions and translations of Buddhist source texts, especially of the Pali Canon.
1886–1948	Burma is a British colony	Buddhist modernism emphasizes

		meditation and the rules of the Order. Resistance movements against the British are frequently motivated by religion; many connect Buddhism with Marxism. In the Second World War, the Japanese army occupies the country.
1891	Founding of the *Mahabodhi* Society	The society called to life by Singhalese Anagarika Dharmapala promotes the cooperation of all Buddhist directions, and the rebuilding of Indian pilgrimage destinations.
1893–1945	Laos is French protectorate	
Turn of the Century	First European Theravada monks in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka	The first Bhikkhus from Europe include Briton Ananda Metteyya (Allan Bennett, ordained in Burma in 1901) and German Nyanatiloka (Anton Gueth, ordained in Burma in 1904 who lived subsequently in Sri Lanka).
1914–1945	Modernization and military expansion of Japan New schools of Nichiren Buddhism	Modernization in Japan inspires the scientific investigation of Buddhism on the one side, and its critical review and demythologization on the other. Between 1924 and 1929, compilation of the Chinese Canon (*Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*).

		Other schools or lay movements of Nichiren Buddhism arise, that feel obligated to the nationalistic spirit of the time.
beginning of 20th cent.	Renewal movement in China	As a counter-measure to Christian mission, monks and laity seek to revive Buddhism through publications and teaching activity. The movement does not, however, achieve extensive success.
1924	San Soe-tae founds Korean Won Buddhism	The *Union for the Study of the Law of the Buddha*, since 1946 called *Won* ("Circle"), rejects celibacy, and distinguishes itself by great activity on the part of laity, both men and women. It operates charitable and educational organizations.
Era 10: Decolonialization, independence, and political upheavals		
from 1938	Frequent regime changes and military dictatorships in Thailand Buddhism is state religion	Monks partly represent approaches of social reform, partly subscribe to American-inspired anti-Communism.
1945–1975	Indo-Chinese wars, partition and reunification of Vietnam	France's attempt at recolonialization ends in 1954 with a defeat. In the North, Buddhist unification with the Communist Viêt-Minh is arranged. By way of measures hostile to Buddhism, the South Vietnamese regime, supported

		by the United States, and of Catholic coloration, provokes a politicization of the Order, culminating in demonstrations against the military overlords and in self-immolations. The Vietnam War ends with the defeat of the American intervention troops and the overcoming of South Vietnam by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese army.
1948	Independence of Sri Lanka	In the conflict between the majoritarian Buddhist Singhalese and the minoritarian Hindu Tamil, the theological connection on both sides between religious and politico-military power contributes to the sanguinary escalation (especially since 1983).
1948–1958 and 1960–1962	Civil government in Burma	U Nu, twice head of state, attempts to strike a synthesis between socialism and Buddhism. In Rangoon from 1954 to 1956 the "Sixth Buddhist Council" assembles with the task of a review of the Scriptures. The attempt to reform the Order through state legislation provokes resistance among the monks.

1949	Founding of the People's Republic of China	Under Mao Zedong, there occurs a wave of state appropriation of monasteries, and of the compulsory laicization of monks and nuns. The economic basis of the monasteries is lost.
1950	Founding of the *World Fellowship of Buddhists*	Umbrella organization in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Its first President is G. P. Malalasekera.
1954	Independence of Kampuchea	As head of the regime, Sihanouk involves monks in reform plans, but limits their political activity.
1956	Neo-Buddhism in India	Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar goes over to Buddhism publicly, followed by former casteless (Dalit).
from 1962	Military dictatorship in Burma (Myanmar)	The Order is extensively under state control, but partly active in the opposition.
1966	*World Buddhist Sangha Council*, Colombo, Sri Lanka	Inter-school merger of monks and nuns.
1966–1976	Cultural Revolution in China	Like all other religions, Buddhism becomes the victim of destruction in the area of the Chinese state, including occupied Tibet. Subsequently, a more tolerant attitude is manifested toward worship.

from 1975	Government of socialist Phatet Lao in Laos	State control, and massive restriction of the Sangha; from 1979 onward, revival of religious activities.
1975–1979	Khmer Rouge reign of terror in Kampuchea	Every exercise of religion is prohibited, the Sangha is dissolved, and monasteries are destroyed. Most monks fall victim to the terror, which takes a million lives altogether.
from 1976	Socialist Republic of Vietnam	In Vietnam, united after the war, religious practice is limited, and politically engaged Buddhism is excluded. The Sangha (Mahayana majority and Southern Theravada minority) stands under the state-controlled *Buddhist Center*. Refugees by the hundreds of thousands, including many monks and nuns, forsake the economically and politically devastated country.
after 1979	Revitalization in Kampuchea	Reconstruction of the Sangha, new monasteries and Pali schools.
Era 11: Buddhism as a global religion		
since middle of 20th cent.	Presence outside of Asia, especially in North America, Europe, Australia Migration and reception	The diaspora from Buddhist countries is constituted by refugees and other migrants. With the quest for alternative religious forms, all great school directions enjoy recep-

		tion. Conversions occasion the adoption of new earmarks of form and content, and adopt institutional forms in Buddhist groups, with centers for formation, religious practice, and meditation.
	Meaning and importance of meditation	A legacy of Buddhist modernism is the rediscovery, further development, and popularization of Buddhist meditation techniques, even, and especially, among the laity.
	Committed Buddhism	The present day finds Buddhist participation in social movements in Asian countries and in the diaspora. Fields of endeavor include social reforms, human rights movements, alleviation of poverty, efforts for peace, ecological movements, animal protection, and medical and charitable services.
	The Quadruple Assemblage	Even in the lifetime of the Buddha, his community consisted of monks, nuns, and lay followers of both genders. While the importance of monasticism is often outstanding in the history of Buddhism, now one witnesses a growing participation of Buddhist female and male followers in the shaping of their religion.

Kirsten Holzapfel

Festivals of Theravada Buddhism

Calendar: The festival year is orientated to the solar year and to lunar calendars, with regionally distinct names for the months. Feast days are determined by the phases of the moon, and fall on different dates from year to year, although they are celebrated in the same seasons.

a) *Regular festival days:*

- Bi-weekly, at the full moon and new moon, the recitation of the *Patimokkha*. At a celebration for the confession of sins, the ordained recite the Rule of the Order (not universally practiced).
- Full moon, new moon, and days of the first and fourth quarter moons: *Uposatha Days*.

For the laity, these offer occasion for reinforced religious engagement (voluntary): service through contributions; recall of the five ethical self-obligations; voluntary temporary asceticism through additional self-obligations, that otherwise are only for the ordained; temple visits and hearing of doctrine.

b) *Festivals in the course of the year*

Festivals of national importance are indicated. Further, there are many regional feasts. Festivals are occasions for visits to the temple, recitation and hearing of teaching, contributions to the Order, and presentation of sacrificial gifts such as flowers, candles, and incense sticks.

Gregorian Calendar	*Lunar Calendar*	*Name*	*Land*	*Explanation*
January	Full moon in the month of Duruthu	Duruthu Poya	Sri Lanka	Commemoration of a mythical visit by the Buddha to Sri Lanka. Processions from the Kelaniya Temple near Colombo
January/ February	Full moon in the month of Navam	Navam Poya	Sri Lanka	Procession of the Gangaramaya Temple in Colombo, with dancers, drummers, and elephants
February/ March	Full moon in the month of Magha	*Magha Puja. Sangha Day* Makha Bucha in Thailand Bun Makha Busa in Laos Meak Bochea in Kampuchea		Commemoration of the exposition of the Patimokkha before 1250 monks. Triple circumambulation of the Stupa, the ordination hall, or a figure of the Buddha.

Gregorian Calendar	*Lunar Calendar*	*Name*	*Land*	*Explanation*
March	Full moon in the month of Tabaung		Myanmar	Watering of the Bodhi Tree, building of sand pagodas. Pagoda festivals, especially that of the Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon.
Mid-April	Several days	*New Year Moon* New Year of the Hindus and Buddhists in Sri Lanka Thingyan in Myanmar Songkran in Thailand Bun Pimai in Laos Choul Chnam in Kampuchea		The celebration has also integrated Buddhist elements. Ritually sprinkled with water are figures of the Buddha, as well as monks and other persons of dignity (at times only their hands). At the street festival, participants playfully soak one another with great splashes of water. Erection of sand stupas in the precinct of the temple.
May	Full moon in the month of Vesakha	*Vesakha, Buddha Day* Vesak in Sri Lanka Kahsoung in Myanmar Visakha Puja in Laos Visakha Bucha in Thailand Visakha Bochea in Kampuchea Buddha Pumima in Malaysia and Singapore		The Buddha's birth, complete Awakening (*bodhi*), and demise (*parinirvana*) are celebrated on one and the same day.
May/June	Around Vesakha: the date varies from place to place	Bun Bang Fai	Laos and the Northeast of Thailand	A feast to receive rain. Bamboo flares are borne in procession, dedicated, and shot into the sky, in the hope that they will be answered with rain. Those whose rockets fly especially high are feted. The builders of failed rockets are cast into the mire. Music, and wild, erotic dance.
June	Full moon in the month of Poson	Poson Poya	Sri Lanka	Memorial day of Arahat Mahinda Thera, who, according to Singhalese tradition, brought Buddhism to Sri Lanka. Pilgrimage to the Mountain of Mihintale.

Gregorian Calendar	*Lunar Calendar*	*Name*	*Land*	*Explanation*
June/July	To the full moon in the month of Esala (Asalha)	Kandy Esala Perahera	Sri Lanka	Folk festival in Kandy, of several days. Dancers, drummers, and artists, along with festooned elephants, join the procession. One elephant carries a small gold shrine containing relics of the Buddha.
July	Full moon in the Month of Asalha	*Asalah Puja, Dhamma Day. Day of the Teaching* Esala Poya in Sri Lanka Khao Phansa in Thailand		Commemoration of the first Instruction pronounced by the Buddha, at Benares. On the next day, Vassa begins.
C. July (August) to October (November)	3 months, usually in conjunction with Asalha Puja	*Vassa, Rainy season* During the Indian Monsoon, in the ancient period, the members of the Order remained in their monasteries.		The monks return to their monastery, to devote themselves to meditation and the teaching. Preferred time for entry into the order, to stay long or only temporarily.
During the Vassa period	Dates vary regionally	From Thailand to Malaysia *Feasts for the Deceased*, frequently several days		The famished spirits are offered gifts of food. Recitations by the monks, and gifts to the monastery for the benefit of the deceased.
August/ September	Full moon	Bun Khao Padap Dinh	Laos	Secondary burial: cremation of the exhumed bones
September		Bun Khao Salak	Laos	Celebration for the dead
September/ October	Full moon	Phchum Ben	Kampuchea	Celebration for the dead
October	Full moon	*Pavarana Day, Day of the Admonition* Vap Poya in Sri Lanka Ok Pansa / Tak Bat Devorohana in Thailand		Festival for the end of Vassa, the rainy season. The monks hold a celebration of confession. Reflection on the return of the Buddha from the sky of Tushita, where he has presented a divinity who in the previous life was his mother, with the Instruction.

Gregorian Calendar	*Lunar Calendar*	*Name*	*Land*	*Explanation*
		Thadingyut, Abhi-dhamma Day	Myanmar	Festival of Lamps
		Bun Ok Phansaa	Laos	Festival of Lamps. On the eve of the feast, boats with lamps, incense, flowers, and other sacrificial gifts are consigned to a river.
October/ November	Within the month following Vassa	*Katina Celebrations*		In a solemn ceremony, the laity bestow new robes on the monastic community. This celebration is mentioned as early as the Pali Canon
November/ December	Full moon	Bun That Luang	Laos	Festival of the That Luang Temple in Vientiane and other temples. Procession of lamps around the temple by night, markets, music, and pyrotechnics.
November	Full moon in the month of Tazaungmon	Tazaungdaing. Kathein (Kathina)	Myanmar	Festival of Lamps. Gift of new robes to the monks and to the Buddha statues. Competition among the young women for the best weaving.
December	Full moon in the month of Unduwap	Sangamitta Day. Unduvap Poya	Sri Lanka	Commemoration of Arahat Theri Sanghamitta. According to Singhalese tradition, she brought a shoot of the sacred Bodhi Tree to Anuradhapura.
Between November and March	Widely varying dates from place to place	Bun Pha Vet	Laos	Reading of the generous Prince Vessantara's story, "Jataka" (former life of the Buddha). A preferred time to enter the monastic order.

Kirsten Holzapfel

Calendar

Lunar/Solar Year

1. A calendar presents a system for ordering time by dividing a unit, the year, into a framework whose smallest components are days. This system coordinates a society's social, economic, and religious activities. Objectification and communication are served through 'natural' rhythms, impressive meteorological phenomena (seasons), the world of plants and animals, and, frequently, the phases of the visibility of the moon ('lunation,' 'month'). A year built by lunar months (12 × 29.54 = 354 days) is coordinated with a solar year (some 365.25 days) by the addition of a thirteenth month, or of a number of days to one or other month (a shift, or 'leap'), either in rhythm with the seasonal vegetation cycle or according to calculated leap-rhythms (lunisolar calendar). Skillful manipulation brings the discrepancy down to less than one-half month, which is adequate for the daily needs of even more complex societies. The result is a rhythm of months, or half-months, often ritually marked by feast days (→ Feasts and Celebrations). But farming cultures often require shorter periods of from four to ten days (weeks).

History

2. a) Calendars oriented to the solar year alone, without reference to the actual phases of the moon, are the exceptions rather than the rule. In the European-Mediterranean realm, such a calendar was first developed in Egypt during the second half of the second millennium BCE at the latest, first in the form of a simple 365-day year that gradually shifted ('leapt') with respect to the seasons, and that took 1461 (1460 Julian) years (Sothic periods) to conform once more to the original astronomical position of the sun; in many areas of life, then, it failed to supplant the lunar calendar.

Rome: Republican Calendar

b) The process that led to the Gregorian calendar began in a rather backward region as far as as technology of the calendar is concerned—in fifth-century BCE Rome. In the conflicts of the social groups, which included disputes over control of the calendar (empirical lunar calendars constantly require decisions on adjustment), the calendar became a matter of codification. An arbitrary fixing of the lengths of the months, and the moments of the calendrical leaps, led factually to a solar calendar detached from lunar phases. However, typical traits of the lunar calendar remained in place, such as the unequal lengths of the months (March, May, July, October with 31 days, the others with 29) and a resulting 22-23-day leap month. Characteristics of today's Western calendar (names of the months, unequal lengths) stem from this prototype. At the same time, the fixing of the lengths of the months made it possible to let each new series of weeks (in Rome, a period of eight days) run through a lunar cycle. Previously, a new month, as in many calendars, had meant the abrupt beginning of a new series of weeks—an 'invention' that was almost simultaneous with the same change made in the Jewish calendar during the Babylonian Exile.

Julian Calendar

c) Doubtless in consultation with Egyptian specialists, the Roman calendar was optimized in 45 BCE, by minimizing the extension of the shifts (to one leap day), and fixing the rhythm of the shift (to once every four years). But it was not the enlistment of professional knowledge that lay at the basis of

this calendar's success: it was the intervention in its favor—in the face of all contrary criticism—of the mighty dictator Gaius Julius Caesar, and its protection (with certain adjustments) by his successor Augustus. This system was the one to which the lengths of the months correspond in our calendar today. It won enormous popularity, prevailing in Italy as well as, presumably, in the West and the North of the Roman Empire. In the East, it offered a stable reference point for numerous local calendars, which kept their own names for the months and the time of the observance of their respective new years. Thus, the Palestinian Jewish calendar, which bears an especially marked imprint owing to the developments of the Babylonian Exile (see 2b, above), was one of the calendars that remained lunisolar, thereby contributing to the molding of the people's identity. That the particularist → Qumran community used a solar calendar of 364 days only confirms this function of the calendar.

d) The *Christian ecclesiastical year* followed the Julian calendar, but integrated the Jewish seven-day week and the lunisolar calculation of the feast of Easter. Only in the fourth century, after an extremely conflictive process, the Easter date was defined as the first Sunday after the first full moon of spring. With the integration of Christian 'feast' days, the Roman calendar gradually became the Christian calendar. The inertia of this sort of framework of perception and regulation, which defined the year day by day, becomes clear only in a case of conflict, when its 'ideological' function is called into question. In a calendar reform of 1582, Pope Gregory XIII corrected the progressive inaccuracy of the Julian calendar, leaping over the dates of ten days and fine-tuning the rules for the leap year: leap years at the turn of a century occur only in those centuries not evenly divisible by four (1700, 1900, 2100). In a Europe no longer united in a single religious confession, the reform was looked upon as 'Catholic.' It was accepted by most Protestant states only with great hesitation (in 1700)—in some cantons of Switzerland only in the mid-nineteenth century. In the Orthodox Churches, the Julian calendar continues to be employed (with improved rules for the calculation of leap years). On the other hand, the calendar (1792) of the French Revolution, at first a technically inferior 'rationalization' of the Gregorian calendar, prevailed only briefly, even though it provided an anti-Christian alternative, and promptly installed new 'feasts.'

Gregorian Calendar

e) The Christian calendar, with its scientific astronomy and simplicity of application, with the growth of literacy, and, not least of all, with European expansion, has enjoyed broad propagation—a typical instance would be the career of the Jesuit missionary Schall in sixteenth-century China. Nevertheless, numerous local calendars have survived along with it, and sometimes in its stead, and are cherished as part of a religion and culture of days gone by. The *Islamic calendar* as well has found widespread observance, despite the difficulty of applying a purely lunar calendar, which shifts back steadily through the solar year. Now that calendrical information can be calculated centuries in advance, and readily be disseminated in the media, practical difficulties are practically without a role.

Outlook

3. Calendars that regulate a whole society, or indeed the whole world, have as a rule been difficult to ideologize since ancient times (names of the months, date of the new year, enumeration of the years 'since the revolution'). Nevertheless, some religious groups still use their own calendars—as part

of the general differentiation of complex societies, in which individual rhythms as well as temporal schemes of different social areas or organizations differ (work on Sunday, top season, uninterrupted periods of activities).

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→ *Astrology, Feasts and Celebrations, Sunday/Sabbath, Time*

Jörg Rüpke

California

The "Golden State"

California's dream of boundless frontiers continues to lure religious seekers. This state, whose shores overlook the expansive Pacific Ocean, offers a place for the spirit to roam free in search of new vistas. The frontier is, as Cotton Mather once wrote, "a temporary condition through which we are passing to the Promised Land" (Dyrness 1989, 29). And this Promised Land of California has seemed to guarantee economic, spatial, and religious fulfillment. It is not surprisingly that the state received its name from a fictional island of bountiful wealth in García de Ordoñez de Montalvo's sixteenth century novel. Hernan Cortes was probably the first to apply it to what is now known as Baja California (a part of Mexico; → Central America). The "Golden State" possesses untapped resources that bring prosperity and new beginnings. And so—although certainly the name for the 31st state of the United States of America—the word 'California' carries with it visions of hope and untapped wealth for the soul.

In reaching toward new frontiers, California has always resisted being too aware of history. What really interests Californians is moving ahead. Yet some of the state's history is essential for grasping its contemporary religious life.

History

The Spanish, the largest group of Europeans first to arrive in California in the sixteenth century, found a land with scattered, independent groups of hunter-gatherers, or 'Indians' (→ North America [Traditional Religions]). The Spanish sought to convert these Indians to Catholicism. They first set up forts along the coast and then missions. The dean of these missions

was the Franciscan Father, Junipero Serra, who arrived in California in 1769 and continued until his death in 1784. In 1821, Mexico gained independence from Spain, but could not control this new area. In May 1846, the United States went to war with Mexico over Texas. The war spread, and through a series of battles the U.S. eventually gained control of a huge southwestern area, including California, with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed on 2 February 1848. California officially became a state on 9 September 1850.

From the Gold Rush to Silicon Valley

Perhaps even more significant—and just over a week before the treaty—gold was discovered on 24 January 1848. The 'Gold Rush' began. Though certainly Protestantism had arrived earlier, with this influx of people, a new, freewheeling frontier faith emerged, sometimes creating tensions with established ecclesiastical bodies. Gold—and like it the search for a quick, new prosperity or spiritual experience—has marked the history of California. Gold production peaked just four years later, and so in 1860s the state's economy needed new stimulation, which it found through agriculture as well as railroad expansion. The railroads employed immigrant workers, especially Chinese—some converted to Christianity, but others maintained more traditional Asian religious practices. Though hit hard by the Great Depression of the 1930s, California continued to grow a population who found work in a variety of burgeoning fields, such as entertainment and oil. Again, these economic expansions brought immigrants to work, which further diversified Californian religion. Most recently, the development of the microprocessor in the area near San Jose has made 'Silicon Valley' synonymous with entrepreneurial wealth. California has seemed to offer yet another version of new frontiers and opportunities.

Religious Plurality

Variety summarizes the religious and cultural climate of the state. Besides a full array of world religions (such as Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism), California is home to a wide range of Christianity (Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Protestant denominations, non-denominations, and mega-churches), as well as to a panoply of New Religious Movements (NRMs; → New Religions), neopagan groups (→ Paganism/Neopaganism), and more secular approaches to transcendence. If religion is to survive in this state of religious hothouse, it must do something different.

New Religious Movements and the New Age

NRMs have filled the landscape so much that some have coined the term 'Cultifornia.' The community of Heaven's Gate, with its 39 suicides in the Southern California town of Rancho Santa Fe in 1997, brought memories of an earlier, similar mass suicide. Jim Jones began his preaching in San Francisco before moving to Jonestown in Guyana, eventually leading 900 persons to mass suicide in 1978. Other, slightly less dramatic movements have also sprouted in California. Anton Szander LaVey began his Church of Satan in San Francisco in 1966, eschewing traditional spiritual views of Satan for a more freewheeling hedonism in the name of the Devil. In addition, other movements with a broader, more secular sense of transcendence have sprung up on the shores of California. For example, → Esalen Institute, self-described as an "educational center devoted to the exploration of human potential," was begun at Big Sur by Stanford graduates in 1962. The → New Age movement dots the landscape, so that one

can find more books on → channeling than on the Bible in Monterey, as many crystals as crosses in Marin County.

Christian Movements

Innovations to traditional patterns of religion provide a new aspect to the traditional Christian beliefs. In 1906, the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles, initiated by W. J. Seymour, brought a new direction to the Christian 'holiness' movement and began modern Pentecostalism. Currently, the Pentecostal churches vie with Catholicism for the large Spanish-speaking population. One of the largest Presbyterian churches in the U.S., of over 5000 members, can be found in Menlo Park (north of the Silicon Valley). California is the hothouse for mega-church growth. A prototype of all mega-churches and the 'seeker sensitive' movement is the Robert Schuller's Crystal Cathedral, a stunning glass structure designed in 1974 by the architect Robert Johnson. Schuller, a Reformed pastor, attempts to blend self-esteem with the message of the Bible to draw those who otherwise reject Christianity. Another movement, redefining the California religious landscape, is Calvary Chapel—originally a part of the 'Jesus people' of the late 1960s—brings together fundamentalist and charismatic movements and became the seedbed for Christian rock through its mass evangelistic services.

California's Future

The technology of electronic media and the internet will hold some answers to the religious future of California. In addition, the state has a growing 'minority' population so that soon there will be no majority racial ethnic group. This may mirror California's religious make-up. Finally, given its past, California's religious frontiers are always at least partially open and therefore impossible to predict with certainty.

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→ *Esalen Institute, New Age, New Religions, North America, Paganism/Neopaganism*

Gregory S. Cootsona

Cannibalism

Concept

1. After landing in the isles of the West Indies in 1492, Columbus reported 'man-eating' inhabitants of the islands, the 'Caribs' (*caribes, caniba*, 'strong,' 'shrewd'). The word 'cannibalism' was derived from their name. With the discovery of the New World, it replaced the concept of 'anthropophagy' (Gk., *ánthropos*, 'human being'; *phageín*, 'to eat'), the term that had been used since antiquity and the Middle Ages. Anthropophagy in the strict sense is the actual consumption of human flesh; the broader sense includes the drinking of blood, or the consuming of the ashes of bones, as with the Cashibo Indians.

Real and Symbolic Cannibalism

2. Formally and systematically, the numerous reports of cannibalism can be divided into reports of (a) real cannibalism, (b) symbolic cannibalism,



Symbolic cannibalism of a whipped cream torte? This torte, a full-size replica, deceptively similar to the Lenin laid out in Red Square Mausoleum, was created by Russian artist Yuri Shabelnikov, and was consumed in the Moscow Gallery Dar in 1998. Even anti-Communists, eyewitnesses report, felt a chill running up their spines—this was no simple, raw perversity, the symbolic desecration of a corpse. 'Dining on a corpse,' taken literally, refers to a sign piled high with religious meaning: the totemistic or sacramental meal of 'God-eating.' Shabelnikov expressly cites poet Lev Oshanin: "Lenin is in you, Lenin is in me," while also appealing to a basic figure of the Christian mystical union (cf. John 14:20). A psychological drive leads what has been loved and reverenced to seek incarnation in the lover. (Hubert Mohr)

and (c) fantasies of cannibalism. *Real cannibalism* will include a cannibalism occurring in extreme situations of hunger ('cannibalism of necessity'), as reported, for example, of starvation crises during the Thirty Years' War. Ritual real cannibalism is primarily *symbolic cannibalism.* This is based on the notion that a person's strength and vitality are localized in organs and in the blood. One is thought to be able to assimilate these by way of the consumption of a person's body or bodily parts. Consumption of relatives or of members of one's own social group is termed *endocannibalism*, while that of outsiders or enemies is *exocannibalism.* As part of the ritual of warfare, the latter can serve to deprive the enemy of a capacity to terrorize. Ritual cannibalism is also cited in reports of → human sacrifice. The Gimi and Fore in New Guinea are regularly cited as examples of the cannibal. The fact that the Fore can be victims of the very rare kuru disease, which is similar to mad cow disease, convinces many that this group consumes human brain. The reality of ritual cannibalism is actually a matter of current scientific debate, as reports of cannibalism defy precise eyewitness observation. These reports then are less a matter of the (ethnographically grounded) description of a ritual praxis, than of the unquestioning transmittal of the hearsay, censuring, and fixed opinions of third parties and/or of writers' fantasies.

We also encounter the *cannibalistic fantasy* in myths, sagas, and fairytales, as with Polyphemus the Cyclops in Homer's Odyssey, or in Saturn who devours his children, or in "Hansel and Gretel" as a stereotype of the child-eating witch.

3. Cannibalism is always ascribed to 'others.' Here, then, is rhetoric of differentiation, and metaphor for being other. That cannibals always dwell 'beyond the pale' is exemplified by non-European societies' view of their

neighbors, as well as of Europeans. As for the Europeans' own view, the reproach of cannibalism has historically been *directed outward*, serving to distinguish the civilized Christians from the cannibalistic → heathen. It functioned as an ideological justification on the part of the colonizers: It had accepted the vacillating description of foreign cultures that is now revulsive, now fascinating (→ Orientalism/Exotism). *Directed inward*, it fostered discrimination against religious groups or marginal social entities. Thus, the allegation of cannibalism struck a bond with the legend of ritual murder ("Jews kill and eat Christian children"; → Anti-Semitism), or with the imputation of witchery in the stereotype of the cannibalistic → witch. Finally, it was referred to the Catholic understanding of the Eucharist (doctrine of transubstantiation; → Lord's Supper/Eucharist), and was formulated as a comprehensive accusation in terms of a criticism of Catholicism.

Generally, in the discourse upon cannibalism, indignation at the monstrosity of the consuming of human flesh entwines with the (subliminal) fear of this (oral) form of aggression. At the same time, reports of cannibalism produce a grotesque fascination.

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→ *Human Sacrifice, Lord's Supper/Eucharist, Orientalism/Exotism, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Sabine Hensel

Canon / Canonization

Canonization as a Process

1. The concept of canonization (from Heb., *qana*, 'staff,' '[measuring] reed,' adopted as a loan word in Greek) describes the process in which a set of symbols, texts, actions, or artifacts is fixed as authoritative and normative. The collection, ordering, and commitment to canonical writing of self-evident daily relationships, cultic practices, styles of piety, and moral conceptions serves to reinforce tradition. It is a process of crystallization that can go on for centuries, as the various expressive religious forms solidify in the stockpile of the canon. Canonized material loses its place in real life. In a canon, oral traditions are reworked in writing, and in various phases of transmittal; spontaneous expressions and practices become self-evident in agenda, protocols, and liturgies; the extraordinary experiences of individuals are recounted and collected as exemplary stories. The special sign of a religious canon, as contradistinguished from a collection of classical materials, or from a corpus of laws, is the sacralization of the

material gathered. At the term of a canonization process stands a sacred → book, such as the Jewish Tanach, the Christian → Bible, or the Muslim → Qur'an—the basis of the concept of a book religion—or a collection of sacred writings such as the Buddhist Tipitaka or the Sikh Adi Granth. A canon ensures the identity of a community, together with its religious forms of doctrine and praxis over several generations. The reason is that the material of a canon is available for repetition as place and time demand. It becomes the medium of both memory and the cultivation of meaning. In the religious canon, tradition is promoted to the rank of divine revelation, authentic ancestral word, or sacred testimony. Thus the canon itself becomes productive of religion.

Reaction to Crises

2. Canonizations are often *reactions to crises.* The threat of a loss of tradition must be overcome with a forced protection of tradition. This crisis situation may come from without, or it may be provoked from within. Thus, the Judaic textual corpus arises after the destruction of Jerusalem, the central place of worship, and the exile of Jewish society. After the loss of a self-evident daily praxis, often a substitute is fashioned, in the form of the sacred text. Scholars and scribes move into the place of priests and prophets. The central position of cultic practice is assumed by scripture readings and their exposition. An inner crisis in Christianity in late antiquity forces the determination of a New Testament canon. The internal pluralism of religious traditions begets religious uncertainty. A solid reference text is necessary. The New Testament is principally the official Christian reaction to the recommendations for a Christian canon on the part of Marcion, a founder of Christian communities, who at the end of the second century sought to establish a 'purified' textual corpus that would not incorporate Jewish traditions. The church councils reacted. Marcion was excluded, the 'Old' Testament remained canonical, the four Gospels were not reduced to one. The canon was finally closed only in the third to the fourth centuries.

Power and Institution

3. Canonization is bound up with power. Seldom does a canon appear simply because traditions have succeeded in perpetuating themselves. A canon is usually the result of subtle or open interference on the part of an institution, such as a school of textual criticism, a synod, or a council. The approach to sacred texts is regulated by taboos and barriers, such as rules for interpretation, lesson rituals, and monopolies on interpretation. The body responsible for a given religious community assumes the authority of experts in exposition and interpretation. Accordingly, expository traditions of the canonical texts grow to be a particular canonical form themselves, which thereupon forms a kind of second-level canon, such as the Mishna and → Talmud, the Hadiths (→ Islam), or the Bible commentaries of the ancient Church. But the canonical product can also be a *canon actionis* that prescribes the manner of reading these texts, and the ritual implementations in which the sacred text plays a role. Any ritual can be described as a canonization of the execution of specific acts. The canon is expounded at festivals, divine services, and devotional sites, as well as in schools, colleges, and academies. Thus, the canon is equivalent to a medium of cult and formation.

Security and Loss of Traditions

4. Canonization processes are *ambivalent*. On the one side, they serve to ensure identity and concentration of meaning; on the other, they occasion the loss of some material of tradition, since any authoritative selection shuts out other traditions. In a relatively benign variant, the excluded material will only be listed as apocryphal, therefore as merely 'inauthentic' material. The apocryphal text may be good and useful to read, it will be said; but it lacks authority. At times, processes of canonization are intensified to the level of censorship. Once a corpus is regarded as unconditionally and exclusively valid, it is ascribed a monopoly on truth: strands of tradition that have not been adopted are considered →heresy—false, threatening teachings. They are lost in oblivion, blacklisted, or transmitted only secretly, so that, as a concurrent extracanonical shadow, they harbor the opportunity for a renewal of a religious community. The canon, then, is not first of all a reaction to heresy. First it indirectly produces the heresy, by erecting a criterion of deviation (itself). Only then does it become the norm of repudiation.

Old Texts and Modernity

5. The canon contains the paradox of hostility toward renewal and potential for innovation. The 'archival' character inherent in this medium immunizes it from innovations, for to point to 'that which is written' is to mount an obstacle to any contemporary objection or revisionist complement. The shelf is full. And thus arises the danger of a fundamentalist constriction. On the other hand, because of its aesthetic quality, which makes it appear as especially relevant also for a nonreligious cultivation of meaning, a holy text is open to ever-new interpretations. The canonical text has demonstrated its durability by hundreds of years of application. Thus, it enjoys an a priori reliance at least equal to that of the 'classics.' Precisely the cultural and temporal distance, and 'strange' manner, of the old texts renders the canon attractive. And so, again and again, it becomes productive of meaning, and thereby relevant to the real world. The canon exerts its binding effect, but it also dispenses persons from making an ongoing, immediate, personal interpretation. The canon serves as a religious grammar, offering a fund of concepts, counsels, and tales to which religious communities may refer in their religious implementation and theoretical self-explanation (doctrine, theology, philosophy of religion). The creeping, imperceptible alteration of interpretation keeps the canon alive, since any interpretation is tied to what its subjects can achieve with respect to reception. Thus, the canon contains in itself both completeness and openness.

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→ *Bible, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Memory, Oral Tradition, Reception, Tradition, Writing*

Petra Bahr

Capitalism

1. The concept of *capitalism*, fallen from fashion today—the preferred term is *market economy*—denotes an economic mode whose constitutive condition is the exchange of goods, on a theoretically transparent market, by its formally free economic subjects, with labor being counted as one of these goods. A long-term equilibrium between supply and demand is supposed. Whether the value of these goods is 'objectively' determinable—for example, when it is measured by the average amount of work time spent in their production—or 'subjectively' determinable—for example, in terms of maximal expected profit—was a major theme of economics for a century. In Western science, the doctrine of 'subjective' value has been dominant for some generations. Consequently, a capitalistic economic mode is only possible when certain presuppositions are verified, at least at the outset: free disposition of land and real property, freely disposable work time, private ownership of means of production, free contract conditions, freedom of trade, and minimal control of competition—to name only the most important requisites. Even of themselves, these presuppositions show that the capitalist economy is a historical phenomenon, and that it can by no means be identified with 'economics.' In Europe, free disposition of land and real property was possible only after the properties of the Church had been dealt with through secularization, and after the elimination of the feudal system in which farmers were bound to the soil. The emancipation of the farmers was, again, the prerequisite for the appearance of an employment regime in which they were instead dependent only on the sale of their labor (proletariat); free trade and competition must prevail over guild-based systems.

Social Boundaries

In its pure form, which prescribes unrestrained competition without state interference as an essential element, there has never been such a thing as capitalism. Since the nineteenth century, the tendency to exclude competition through monopolies or agreements, and state limitation of free trade (prohibition of child labor, curtailment of the working day, and so on) has always accompanied the institution of the capitalist economic mode. With the reinforcement of the organized labor movement, through the influence of → Marxism, a socially domesticated capitalism came into existence (over the course of decades), at least in the developed industrial societies of Europe.

Religious Roots of Capitalism?

2. Still disputed today is the question whether capitalism required certain intellectual, perhaps even religious, prerequisites for its appearance and its success. Certain observations seem to incline to the affirmative, as for example the fact that, in the nineteenth century, some (far from all!) societies of a Protestant stamp were further advanced in industrial and capitalist development than were those of a Catholic coloration. Even on this count there were exceptions, as for example in Belgium, or in the industrial regions of northern France. It has always been difficult to isolate the religious factor in a historical analysis to the point that one may speak of it as an independently operating variable. Only with Max → Weber's *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* ("The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism") at the beginning of the twentieth century was the theme, for one thing, detached from the field of economic history, and for another, altered in such

a way that the question under consideration could no longer be answered. Inasmuch as Weber disconnected capitalism's 'spirit' from its concrete configuration (so that the vehicle of this spirit need not be capitalists) did it become possible to establish a mental kinship of selection between the Calvinist teaching on grace, as it was carried further by the English Puritans, and the savings and investment compulsion, as based on a renunciation of consumption by an earlier class of entrepreneurs. This connection between a piety serving only the glorification of God and an ascetical attitude with regard to all worldly satisfactions is plausible. But it cannot be established with certitude as an objective historical relationship.

Churches against Capitalism

3. Certainly, however, the large churches of the Christian religion had considerable initial difficulties with the acceptance of capitalistic economic modes, as with the casts of mind that corresponded to them. Part of this is to be traced to the fact that the churches had adopted conceptualizations of value that appeared to be irreconcilable with capitalism. This applies especially to the inherent drive of capitalism to increase its capital (its productive assets), which to a traditional outlook must have looked like the miser's amassment of treasures. Throughout antiquity greed was hateful as vice, and in the Middle Ages indeed as mortal sin. Then came the fact that a developing capitalism must necessarily destroy traditional lifestyles, such as the relationship between landlords and soil-bound farmers, and thereby also the feudally based system of levies maintained by the Church. Only newly forming communities of religion, which were frequently splinters from the established churches, and so were without social and political stability in traditional structures, could in practice relate at least neutrally to the rise of capitalism. Thus, there seems actually to have been a connection between an earlier class of entrepreneurs and the so-called sectarians, as the Quakers, the Russian Old Believers, and the surviving French Protestants. These examples alone show that religious ideology could have been playing a subordinate role at most.

4. With the collapse of the societies of Soviet-dominated 'real socialism,' capitalism seems to have succeeded in becoming the only economic system. Even the remaining socialist states (China, Vietnam, Cuba) are compelled to introduce capitalistic elements like free enterprise and a minimum of regulations vis-à-vis labor relations. Whether the capitalist economic system will long be without a viable alternative is not foreseeable today. It is foreseeable, however, that, if religions today are to survive, they must come to an arrangement with the groups that support capitalism. Most religions have already made this peace.

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→ *Asceticism, Economy, Marxism, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Monasticism, Protestantism, Weber*

Günter Kehrer

Capital Punishment / Execution

1. Whether it is permissible in law to kill a person, either in the name of the state, or indeed of religion, ranks as one of the most fundamental and most disputed of ethical problems. As the heaviest and ultimate form of punishment, its implementation awaits the correct solution to the problem of what societal or political instance has the right of life and death.

Historically, capital punishment developed out of crimes regulated by private, family, tribal, and sacral rights and their atonement, and was committed to a community of law as its apposite instance. Its introduction as a general right constitutes a regulation vis-à-vis unauthorized or arbitrary private justice. Especially the *lex talionis* (Lat., 'law of retribution': "an eye for an eye," Exod 21:23-25) opens up the possibility of regimentation, by maintaining the proportionality between crime and punishment.

Religious Positions on Capital Punishment: Judaism

2. a) In the Hebrew Bible, capital punishment is prescribed for, among other crimes, murder and kidnapping (Exod 21:12-16), certain sexual practices (Lev 20:10-16; Exod 22:19), adultery (Lev 20:10), incest (Lev 20:17), → blasphemy (Lev 24:15-16), idolatry (Exod 22:19), profanation of the Sabbath (Exod 31:14-15), prostitution on the part of the daughter of a priest (Lev 21:9), and striking or cursing father or mother (Exod 21:15,17). The legitimization of the death penalty is the right of vengeance, especially in the case of sacrilege, in order to keep the people of YHWH 'pure' through retaliation. Likewise, the deterrent principle is of importance in the consideration of capital punishment. Except for blood vengeance, whose punishment was death by the sword, stoning and burning alive were the most frequent forms of capital punishment; impaling and hanging were seen as a particular dishonor. Beheading and crucifixion were not used until Roman times.

The belief that the human being has been created in the image and likeness of God, and that the resurrection is to be that of the whole person—as well as faith in God's command of love of neighbor—greatly curtailed the use of capital punishment in rabbinical Judaism. Where capital punishment seemed unavoidable, the value of external integrity of the body was stressed. Despite a relative autonomy in legal matters of religion, the Jewish religious councils were not in charge of death sentences, even before the fall of Jewish civil autonomy in 70 CE (hence, the Christian assumption that "the Jews killed Jesus" is utterly wrong; → Anti-Semitism). Nevertheless, the death penalty played a significant role in Jewish legal tradition. Despite the multiplicity of Jewish groups of various colorations, the texts (composed between 70 and 600 BCE) of the bodies of rabbinical scholars in Babylon and Palestine have been regarded as 'normative' by extensive parts of Judaism to our day. In Israel, capital punishment is still legally permissible, but has been executed only one time, in 1962, with the hanging of Adolf Eichmann.

Christianity

2. b) The New Testament, as well, attests to the use of capital punishment (John 8:2-11), and Jesus's crucifixion belongs to the forms of punishment used in the Roman provincial regime (→ Cross/Crucifixion). In a special way, however, in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5-7), Jesus radically questions



In Europe, not least of all on account of arbitrary sentencing by the dictatorships of the 1930s and 1940s, capital punishment was completely abolished. But in the United States, the discussion is in full swing. In Europe, the main arguments are that death precludes a judicial appeal, or that the value of the human being is disregarded. In the United States, where the decision to use capital punishment is in the hands of the several states, and criminal sentences are usually pronounced by ordinary citizens, religious arguments are front and center. The demonstrators here, in front of a court in Pittsburgh, hold multiplied copies of a poster that proclaims to the jurors God's command in the Bible, "Thou shalt not kill" (Exod 20:13). More than seventy percent of the proponents of capital punishment are loyal Christians, who counter the opposing arguments with verses from the Bible, but who appeal to the same commandment, "You shall not murder," in their stand against abortion. In the photograph, the text of the Fifth Commandment is supplemented by a homemade poster that contests the positive effect of capital punishment for instruction and education, while the admonition represented by the American flag recalls the role of the United States as a model for the rest of the world. (Christoph Auffarth)

whether a person might judge other human beings, while Paul, in his Letter to the Romans (Rom 13), refers to the authority of the state and subordination to state power. This field of tension also marks the discussion carried on by the Fathers of the Church.

→ Augustine formulates his new doctrine for the state in Roman jurisprudence in his *De libero Arbitrio* ("On Free Choice"), 1. From then on, capital punishment was necessary, in cooperation between heavenly and earthly justice, for the maintenance of the order of the state at the hands of the Emperor as representative of God. Despite the importance of conversion and penance, the Church under Innocent I (402–417), at the beginning of the fifth century, relinquished its disapproval of capital punishment.

In the thirteenth century, capital punishment received enormous impetus with the institution of the → Inquisition. True, clergy might not themselves act as judges; nonetheless, in the case of heretics (→ Heresy; Witch/Persecution of Witches), a mercy to be extended by the spiritual power of retribution—*gladius spiritualis* (Lat., 'spiritual sword')—was cancelled in favor of an appeal for execution at the hands of the state power of retribution—*gladius materialis* ('material sword'). Indicating that, after all, a sinner may always do penance before execution and thereby win deliverance, Thomas Aquinas (1225/26–1274) too pronounced in favor of capital punishment for the safeguarding of the community, and proponents of capital punishment appeal to Thomas's argumentation even today. Especially with the Spanish Inquisition, the execution of heretics was presented as a spectacular community event and demonstration of faith, with religious procession and fiery stake (*Auto de fé*, Span.; *Autodafé*, Port.: 'Act of Faith'). Likewise, the majority of the Reformers concurred with the imposition of capital punishment; exceptions are to be found only with fringe groups like the Anabaptists (→ Baptists).

In the Catholic and Protestant Churches, controversies rage over the legitimacy of capital punishment even today. Opponents appeal to philoso-

phers Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), who, instead, require the perpetrator to repent and thereby restore the moral order. With the argument of a failed resocialization, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) comes forward in opposition to capital punishment. With him and Karl Barth (1886–1968), interest in punishment shifts to a subject-oriented understanding: From the eighteenth century onward, focus is no longer on the revenge of an offended sovereign, but, as Michel Foucault explains, on the disciplining of citizens within a new system of justice, whose interest is in the solicitous supervision of the circumstances accompanying the course of a person's life.

c) As in Judaism, judges in *Islam* see only to earthly sentences, leaving final judgment to God. According to the Islamic books of jurisprudence, the four series of capital transgressions are: → apostasy, prohibited sexual activities, robbery, and murder. The first three belong to the so-called *hadd-* ('border') punishments, whose sentences are precisely specified. The last is subject to the *lex talionis,* the principle of retaliation, and has its origin in the right of vengeance. The legal concept according to which, in the case of collective murder or manslaughter, not only is the direct perpetrator guilty, but ultimately his or her fellow murderers as well, explains why in certain circumstances more than one agent may be punished for the same deed. Depending on a number of factors, such as the perpetrator's religious status or an understanding arrived at with the injured family, a capital sentence may be commuted to a fine in money or property ('blood money'). However, as with the entire complex of penal law, this solution is approached differently in the various schools of Islamic law.

The Battle against Capital Punishment

3. It was especially with Montesquieu (*Lettres Persanes*, "Persian Letters," 1721) that the 'unbounded bloodshed' of capital punishment began to come under criticism. The actual battle against capital punishment began with the writings of Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794). The Milanese jurist was the first (1764) to question the deterrent value of capital punishment, as well as its necessity for the sovereign: after all, once executed, criminals can no longer be examined for signs of repentance. For Beccaria, capital punishment eventuated as idolatry of government. As an enlightened absolutist, he was concerned to make a clear division between religion and reason. Voltaire (1694–1778), as well, expressed himself against capital punishment, in commentaries on Beccaria's writings. Nevertheless, even within the Enlightenment and the humanist tradition, the discussion was carried on whether capital punishment was legitimate for the protection of society or whether the individual's right to life should prevail instead. Only with the beginning of the twentieth century did a stance of repudiation of capital punishment win out in the states of (Northern) Europe (Addendum 6 of the Human Rights Convention of the member states of the European Council, April 28, 1983). After the arbitrary practice of capital punishment at the hands of a state terrorism during the National Socialist regime, the Federal Republic of Germany abolished capital punishment by the *Grundgesetz* ("Fundamental Law"), Art. 102, in 1949 (by comparison: German Democratic Republic, 1987; Austria, 1968; in Switzerland, still in force in military penal law). The Evangelical Church of Germany has condemned capital punishment; this is not in principle questionable for the Catholic Church.

Today's Position

4. In the frequently irrelevant discussions of capital punishment, proponents emphasize a deterrent effect of capital punishment. Further arguments are the 'people's sense of justice' (the concept of revenge and retribution), as well as the permanent protection of the populace from the perpetrator. On the other hand, there is no way to establish a connection between the number and seriousness of a culprit's transgressions and the imposition of capital punishment. Even its abolition in the face of the people's will to the contrary entails no consequences in this respect. Permanent protection of the population can be guaranteed just as well through the exclusion of the culprit from general societal contact. None of the arguments in favor of capital punishment can continue to be brought forward without flagrant fallacies or weak points. On the contrary, in practice, a multiplicity of 'racist' cases and irrecoverable miscarriages of justice can be verified.

In 1986, with his *scapegoat theory* René Girard offered a new angle from which to view capital punishment. For him, social aggressions are diverted and released through the persecution and execution of outsiders. In view of the ratio of prisoners sentenced to death to those actually executed (one hundred fifteen to one in the United States in 1993), one understands that a group is being created here from which individuals can be selected for the collective drainage of aggression. Although there is a worldwide trend toward the abolition of capital punishment, and it is prohibited, or no longer actually imposed, in more than one-half of all national states, in 1998 at least 3,899 death sentences were pronounced, in seventy-eight countries. In thirty-seven of the ninety national states that continue to practice capital punishment, 1,625 executions were performed, eighty percent of them in China, Congo, the United States, and Iran. On April 29, 1999, the United Nations Organization passed a resolution urging the worldwide abolition of capital punishment.

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→ *Conflict/Violence, Cross/Crucifixion, Fatwa, Inquisition, Law, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Markus Wachowski

Carnival

Fasting Eve—
Fasching—*Carnival*

1. The word 'carnival' is derived from the Italian *carne* ('meat') and *levale* ('removal'), recalling the practice of abstinence from meat during the penitential season of Lent. It was originally used for the name of Shrove Tuesday, the eve of the first day of Lent (Ash Wednesday). Derived from the Old English *lengten* ('springtime,' implying the lengthening of the days), 'lent' is the annual forty-weekday Christian season of fasting, abstinence from meat, and sobriety of manner, in the spirit of a memorial of the suffering of Christ on the cross. Shrove Tuesday, then, has traditionally been considered the last appropriate or permissible moment before Easter to 'indulge'—not only by eating meat, but, likely, in rollicking recreation and frivolity. The celebration of this moment was called Carnival. Today we refer to celebrations such as this, which may be entirely secular in composition and spirit, and held at any time of the year, as 'carnivals.'

In the history of religions, Carnival (or Fasting Eve) integrates three phenomena: the seasonal feast of the winter solstice, the principal ascetical time of fasting, and the central structural element of conversion (Lat., 'turning around') with a symbolic reversal of social relations.

Shrove Tuesday: Usages and Their Precedents

2. A reversal of the social hierarchy was originally an element of the Roman Saturnalia, when masters and mistresses served their slaves. In the Middle Ages, the clerical festivals of a 'backwards world' saw, in various locales, the selection of a child or → 'fool' as Bishop. Since around 1500, the figure of the fool has been integrated: his symbolic depth-dimension of foolishness—ass's ears—lack of charity (bells, ref. to 1 Cor 13:1), and lust point to a godless condition that remains outside the Christian salvific order. The fool receives the symbolic right to practice honesty with impunity, the purpose being to hold before a normality customarily seen as 'pleasing to God' the mirror of its actual foolishness. The extent of a countermovement behind the fool toward modern rationalization and the upward revaluation of the anthropology of reason is discussed in scholarly research, and the bond to pre-modern phenomena is disputed. In Protestant regions, the usages of 'Fasting Eve,' regarded as superstitious relics of the past, have largely vanished. The nineteenth century actually 'invented' Carnival as currently celebrated on Shrove Tuesday. The "Ascent to the Throne of Hero Carnival"—motto of the first Carnival procession, in Cologne in 1823—marks not only the *revitalization* of supposedly old usages in the spirit of Romanticism, but entry into the club-like Carnival, organized by propertied, educated groups. Only now does a proper feast day appear, with *Rose Monday*, especially in Rhineland. And with the extension of the 'session' to the whole time from November to Ash Wednesday, a 'fifth season' is created.

The notion of a continuity with the ancient customs of Shrove Tuesday—'Fasting Eve'—is regarded critically today, just as, in Germany, is the citing of 'Teutonic' sources by National Socialism especially. The etymological derivation of 'Carnival' from the *carrus navalis* (Lat.) of the ancient festival of Dionysus is a construction of the nineteenth century, just as is the derivation of *Fastnacht* (Ger., 'Fasting Eve') from *phallus* or *faseln* (Ger., 'to act crazy') has been refuted. The Christian coding, however, does not exclude the possibility that ancient traditions, for instance in the

medieval clerical festivals (perhaps as a product of the reading of ancient texts), might occasionally have been taken up or incorporated into traditional elements of the folk-celebration of Fasting Eve (possibly pre-Christian fertility rites). Two characteristics of continuity abide: all carnival-like festivals are held at the winter solstice; and they constitute a social rite of passage to a new year, so that they render social normality symbolically out of commission, thus inviting a polemics pointing, however briefly, to an alternative world.

Holi

3. In the initiatory rites of oral religions as well, the social order can be emptied of its validity and thereby reversed. In India at the *Holi* feast, a spring festival having its roots in fertility cults, there are allusions to a reversal of social relationships. Women, principally of the lower classes, sprinkle members of the upper with water or coloring, and select the 'King of Holi.' While the celebration of the winter solstice and ascetical practices are interculturally widespread, the criticism of societal patterns of order that would have its underpinnings in religion and its organization in ritual is not to be found so clearly enunciated in extra-European cultures.

Masking

4. As a compensation for the strict controls of Lent, carnival festivals were accepted and encouraged by Church and society alike. Disguises, especially → masks, were a component of the festivals from the beginning. Furthermore, they belong to the constitutive elements of a symbolic reversal of values vis-à-vis 'normal' relationships. At the same time they offer the masked person opportunities for the individual widening of her or his environment: to be what one plays. In this sense, masquerading was (and is) a latent threat to Church and society, and was therefore regimented the moment the festival threatened really to call the social order into question.

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→ *Calendar, Drama (sacred), Feasts and Celebrations, Mask, Ritual, Theater*

Hans-Georg Lützenkirchen and Helmut Zander

Caste

1. The concept of *caste* is usually associated with some of the seemingly most deplorable phenomena of the Indian social order. These include a fatalism opposed to progress, discrimination against large parts of the Indian population, and a religious determination of social class. Let it be pointed out, however, that this is a conceptualization maintained in Europe, which, in principle, can no longer think justice apart from an egalitarian society. It can even be argued that 'caste' as a conceptual hierarchization of Indian society was 'invented' by European scholars and politicians in the nineteenth century (→ Orientalism/Exotism).

2. First mention of a permanent classification is found as early as the *Veda*, which speaks of four *varna* (groups). But it is only after the development of new occupations, consequent upon the adoption of a sedentary culture among the Indo-Europeans, that the *Dharmashastra* specified these groups more precisely (from 200 BCE).

Hierarchical Order

At the pinnacle of the system of the *varna* are the *Brahmin* (priests, 'Brahmans'); after them come the *kshatriya* (warriors and nobility) and the *vaishya* (merchants and farmers). Only these three *varna* belong to the 'twice born' (*dvija*), and may receive the initiation, from which the *shudra* (workers and laborers) are excluded. The importance of integrating the indigenous population was presumably determined with the appearance of the *shudra* castes, since these had never existed before the beginning of the immigration.

Without a Caste

Outside the *varna* stand the primitive population (*adivasi*), and certain occupational groups like the leatherworkers and street cleaners ('untouchables'). The scriptures call them *candala* ('the least'); → Gandhi gave them the euphemistic name *harijan* ('children of God'); today they are usually designated as *dalit* ('the crushed'). Our common word 'pariah' is from the Tamil, and in that language means 'drummers,' but lacks the negative connotation attaching to it in the West. Officially, the untouchables are grouped among the 'scheduled castes,' while the *adivasi* are listed among the 'scheduled tribes.' The expression 'backward castes' stands for an average number of disadvantaged groups for whom the state reserves places in education and work.

This schema is first of all an ideal or typical description, in large part determined by the ideological interests of the Brahmans. Further, the expression 'caste' is a European invention, derived from the Portuguese *casta*, meaning 'something unmixed,' and introducing a racist component. Finally, while theoretically all of the many thousands of individual castes (*jati*, 'birth') can be ranged under the four *varna* groups, this says nothing as yet as to the defining elements of the social structure. Thus, for example, the status of a given *jati* is not to be defined in sole terms of the *varna* hierarchy, but can vary by region and local tradition. The manifold *relationships among the castes* are fixed according to the following elements.

Relationships among the Castes

(1) *Separation:* Each caste is marked by unequivocal distinction from the other castes. This is expressed primarily by specification of its residential location within a village. Marriages are contracted only within a caste

(endogamy); the taking of meals is governed by the injunction of ritual purity (commensality).

(2) *Specialization:* Members of a caste may practice only those callings assigned to their *jati* (ritualized division of labor).

(3) *Hierarchy:* An individual's social prestige is determined by caste membership. However, the social rank of a *jati* within a *varna* group can differ widely.

In the intent of the caste system, vocational specializations serve the maintenance of religious norms. Economic relations rest extensively on personal relations. In practice, this means that the dominant caste in a region receives its goods and services from the other castes, and in return provides them with material support. For example, if an agricultural caste is dominant, its members receive goods (e.g., earthenware) and services (e.g., haircut and shave) from the other castes. In exchange, the lower-ranking castes receive foodstuffs, leasing or rental, or money. In this so-called *jajmani* system ('patron system'), the castes that are strongest economically generally stand at the head of the hierarchy; depending on circumstances; however, that place may fall to the caste having special political influence or ritual rank.

Again, of great importance is *commensality*, which lies at the basis of the 'clean/unclean' scale of evaluation. Any commerce with unclean things—subject to a multitude of local modifications—prohibits, on a general or temporary basis, certain social contacts. In particular, patrilinear descent, important in terms of 'purity of ancestry,' accords *marriage regulations* their great importance (→ Family/Kinship/Genealogy). Group membership (*varna*) and subcaste (*jati*) are the fixed normative points in marriages between families. While the concept of caste is ordered to a religious, salvific end, it does not determine a rigid set of regulations that would rule out the necessary pragmatism of the everyday. The respective hierarchies are not, in social reality, unconditionally oriented to the absolute *varna* hierarchy; rather, they depend on the local stamp of the comprehensive system. This comprehensive system is broadly typical of India and Hinduism even today. A like view is justified to the extent that—as one may say despite certain misleading conceptualizations concerning caste—without castes there would be no → Hinduism. Not only social relations, but religious rights and duties are stipulated by caste membership. Observance of the duties of caste is an inseparable component of *dharma*, and without the fulfillment of these duties, deliverance from the cycle of births—the goal of all Hindu religions—is regarded as impossible.

Ordering of Castes and Hinduism

Change of Status

3. The ascription of all persons to determinate castes by all caste members is principally conducive to the regulation of personal relationships, from which the Brahmans by no means always draw the greatest profit. Nevertheless, the caste system is not just a mental construct. Otherwise there would not be such vehement opposition to the broadening of government measures in favor of the *backward castes.* Not only members of the *dvija* castes, but also those of other castes, who can improve their ranking through the learning and use of Sanskrit, see their privileges threatened through such measures. Changes of status are sought within the caste system, and not through calling it into question. Conversion to another religion deprives members of a backward caste of their claim to reserved places in training and employment. On the other hand, a crossover to

Christianity, Islam, or Buddhism frequently presents the only opportunity to escape the status of untouchable, and at least find recognition, perhaps even employment, in the new community. Although the total number of conversions is small, they are a thorn in the side of Hindu religious extremists. Thus, in January 1999, an Australian missionary together with his two sons were burned alive—only the bloody apex of a series of encroachments on churches and mission stations.

Dismantling the Caste System

4. In the twentieth century, the leading champions of the untouchables were Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar and Mahatma → Gandhi. Their efforts, however, were crowned with no lasting success. Today, owing to new lifestyles, many of the earlier differentiations and limitations are being dismantled, especially in the large cities. On the other hand, an intensification of caste awareness must be acknowledged as well, for instance in the Hindu chauvinist movement. What tendencies will prevail in the long term is a question whose answer must be awaited. But a wholesale dismantling of the caste system not only would be all but impossible, owing to its essential structure, but would mean that the principle of subsidiarity resting on it would have to be replaced by public assistance, of which India would scarcely be capable in the foreseeable future.

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→ *Boundary, Gandhi, Group, Hinduism, Indian Subcontinent, Purity*

Thomas Schweer

Catharsis

Concept

1. Generally, the ancient Greek concept *catharsis* denotes 'cleansing' or 'purification.' By way of a determinate, prescribed action—usually cultic and ritual—a condition regarded as unclean is forsaken, and, either as novelty or anew, replaced with a state of → purity. The opposition of clean and unclean is universal and enters a system of classification as an ordering of experiences (M. Douglas). In a more restricted sense, 'catharsis' is a medical expression, and denotes a procedure intended to restore a bodily imbalance through removal and discharge. The physician, whose measures are intended to deliver the patient from a 'surfeit' (D. Goltz), must occasionally reinforce self-purifying systems of the body. This conception, according to Aristotle, is verified in tragedy, and his definition of it is the basis of its modern usage in aesthetics and psychoanalysis.

Aristotle

2. In his *Politeia*, Plato indicted the art of poetry for molding powerful affects in such a way that the state comes to be "guided by the like and

dislike to be in the state, instead of being governed by law" (607a). In his *Poetics*, on the other hand, Aristotle stresses the 'cathartic' function of art, defining this function more closely in terms of its example in tragedy. The effect of tragedy is to "evoke misery and shudders, and thereby work a cleansing from these states of arousal" (1449b). In the original as in translation, it remains unclear how one ought to conceptualize the purification, by art, of these two passions, *éleos* and *phóbos*—whose exact meaning, for that matter, is disputed. ('Misery' and 'shudders,' we have called them; 'compassion' and 'fear' are the older translations.)

Moral Interpretation

(a) The first interpretation of Aristotle takes its point of departure in the idea that the passions themselves are purified, so that, along with the subject experiencing them, they are improved. From the late Italian Renaissance to Corneille and Goethe, this is the interpretation defended by nearly all experts in theater, although they weigh certain elements differently. In Germany, Lessing's considerations in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* ("Hamburg Dramaturgy") have been the most influential. Lessing explains that "purification is due to nothing else but the transformation of the passions into virtuous skills" (78th *Stück*). To this, again, B. Brecht is indebted in his theory of epic theater. He nevertheless replaces the catharsis, for whose success he requires the "empathy of the audience with the persons in the action,"[1] with appreciation and partisanship.

Medical Interpretation

b) The second interpretation of our Aristotelian locus is that misery/fear and shuddering/compassion are first to be evoked, and only then efficaciously eliminated. This is the position of classical philologist Jacob Bernays (1824–1881), who is followed by the majority of Aristotelian scholars. Bernays arrives at his insight by way of a comparison with Aristotle's *Politics*, where the Philosopher sees the cleansing function of music as a 'relief,' or 'easing' (1342a). By 'catharsis,' he understands a "designation transferred from the bodily to the sensuous sphere, for the purpose of such action, on the part of an anxious individual, that seeks not to alter or repress the antipathetic element, but to arouse it, thrust it forth—and thereby attempt to work the relief of the one who is suffering the anxiety."[2]

Psychoanalysis

3. Bernays' interpretation is of decisive importance for the rise of a new science, that of → psychoanalysis, although, it is true, the latter will not limit itself to it. In the Vienna of the 1880s and 1890s, it presents a most appropriate horizon for the understanding of new phenomena. At the encouragement of his patient Anna O. (Bertha Pappenheim), general practitioner Josef Breuer developed a method of eliminating hysterical symptoms by means of memories evoked under hypnosis. With his younger colleague, Sigmund → Freud—Bernays' nephew by marriage—he produced his revolutionary *Studien über Hysterie* ("Studies on Hysteria," 1895), in which the new method is credited with a 'cathartic effect,' inasmuch as notions or conceptualizations that have become pathogenic emerge from oblivion, and, 're-remembered,' are recounted and 'rejected.' Catharsis has since become the decisive concept for methods of dealing with the psyche (Soul), which make use of dramatic forms of expression and work with stimulating models of conceptualization.

Cultic Praxis: Cathartic Rites

4. It is probable that the applications of the concept of catharsis, with which we have so far been dealing, have developed from their occurrences in cultic connections. In any case, this concept is indeed encountered in cults—not surprisingly—as → purification, and is usually presented as a preparatory, introductory action to which one must submit in order to take active part in a religious celebration. To this purpose, the candidate's normal condition must be surrendered, and another adopted, often that of dedication or consecration. Catharsis can therefore stand in close connection with practices of → initiation. It occurs as a washing (→ Baptism) or a censing, or may take the forms of abstinence and → asceticism. At times it calls for physically aggressive actions, such as hurling or striking. Cathartic rituals can also be introduced as a remedy for a → crisis. Ancient societies have used them to free someone or something from an evil, or to purify a person or thing of sacrilege (*míasma*). Occasionally a group or its representative would select a scapegoat (*katharmós, pharmakós*; cf. Lev 16), to be driven off or slain as representing the group. In Western religions, most of all in Christianity, a penitent confession of sin has an eminently purifying function. It may occur publicly, as in the early Church or in the American Pentecostal movements of the twentieth century, or, as in the Catholic Church since the High Middle Ages, in the form of 'auricular → confession,' the content of which, on the part of the priest, is secret by law. When, at divine service or in individual séance, ecstasy and → trance are introduced, cathartic characteristics may attach to cultic seizure by a spirit.

1. Brecht 1967, 16:240.
2. Bernays 1858, 12.

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→ *Crisis, Illness/Health, Initiation, Purity, Ritual, Soul, Trance, Theater*

Martin Treml

Catholicism

The spectrum of the concept 'Catholicism' is broad, stretching from a vague understanding to concretely identifiable phenomena. In the widest

sense, Catholicism describes the Catholic Church together with all of the manifestations of Catholic Christianity, without spatial or temporal limitation. In the narrowest sense, it is provided with an attribute (for instance, in the expression, 'political Catholicism'), and denotes functional or ideological segments of a given 'milieu Catholicism.' Along this broad scale, one may identify four focal variants, current in everyday use and in research, of the meaning of the term 'Catholicism.'

'Catholic' and 'Catholicism'

1. The broadest denotation of the concept of Catholicism applies to *every manifestation of the Catholic Church* over the course of two millennia: the Roman Catholic Church and the attitudes and actions it has inspired. This usage spans a continuity, and appeals to the earliest use of the word 'catholic' (Gk., *kathólon*), in the sense of 'general,' 'universal,' by Ignatius of Antioch, (d. c. 110), in order to cite a feature of the Church. Actually, the meaning of the tradition of a single part of Christianity appears only with the confessionalization of the concept as Catholic, in the sixteenth century, when the concept 'Catholicism' is first used. The formula 'Roman Catholic Church' (see 2) was first established with the separation of *Old Catholicism* from 'Catholicism' in a countermovement to the dogma of the infallibility (1870). In contradistinction to → Protestantism, the Catholic Church stresses → tradition along with the Bible, as well as the role of a clergy sundered from the laity as administrators and allocators of the goods of salvation. Divergences in teachings on justification and on grace, in the understanding of the → Lord's Supper and the Sacraments, in the understanding of office, as well as in a particular centralism (→ Papacy), make ecumenical progress difficult even today.

The Roman Catholic Church

2. 'Catholicism' often functions as a synonym for *Roman Catholic Church*. Theologians especially relate with skepticism to this identification. The division between Church and Catholicism in the sense of the "historical expressions of life, and their consequences," emerging from that Church is the occasion of the "misinterpretation" of historical vicissitudes "as favoring, or detracting from, the proper essence of the Church."[1] Insofar, however, as the interest in a pure 'essence' of the Church—the existence of which, even so, is adopted in faith, and whose profile, once more, is always defined by the Church itself—stands behind it, this distinction is purely theological, and otherwise unusable. In another respect, the division between Church and Catholicism is altogether important analytically: Catholicism as a social, political, and cultural phenomenon points far beyond the narrower purview of the official Church, although it does stand it in close connection with it.

Catholicism as Weltanschauung

3. More frequently, under 'Catholicism' a *Weltanschauung* or *worldview* is understood, for one thing as an ensemble of dogmas and religious values, for another as an ideology with secular claims and effects. Thus, 'Catholicism' can refer to the overall system of the Church, or to the respective variants of that system (Latin American, Irish Catholicism). Even as early as the nineteenth century, Catholics labeled their system of interpretation a *Weltanschauung*, whose closed character and supposed indefectibility it proudly displayed to its adversaries. Catholicism has had its current specific ideological and political stamp since the first third of the nineteenth century. In *ultra-montanism* (from the Latin, *ultra montes*, 'beyond the

mountains' [Alps] from the perspective of Middle and North Europeans, i.e., from the viewpoint of persons living north of the Alps), the system became interiorly disciplined and sealed off against the outside—against the infections of modernity later included in 'modernism.' Since the defeat of Fascism and state socialism, Catholicism has been regarded as the last survivor of the great, centrally organized ideologies. In contradistinction to the level of a reflective high ideology, with specific dogmas and statutes (frequently a challenging compromise among scholars, popes, and civil powers), new scholarship moves closer to the level of the concrete population and the everyday. The history of this mentality comprises collectively distributed patterns of interpretation, emotions and ritual practices (pilgrimage, belief in miracles, 'superstition,' procession, pious devotion, → veneration of the saints, and so on), as well as their instrumentalization and their effects on life patterns, politics (attitude in elections), and society (formation of milieus). One sees that the normativization and expansion of a belief to be prescribed by the confessions and churches (Catholic and Protestant) triumphed not as early as the confessional age of the → Reformation, but only in the nineteenth century, a second confessional era.

Catholicism as Milieu

4. Since the 1960s, 'Catholicism' has been commonly understood as referring to concrete *milieus.* This sociological approach has emphatically taken its distance from the postulation of any (supra-temporal, metaphysical) 'essence' of Catholicism or of the Church, and concentrates instead on the part of Catholicism, among all 'categorical' Catholics (Church members), that finds itself in a movement or organized network. In societies where Catholics constitute only a numerical → minority, this concrete formation in communication and solidarity is called a *sub-society*, because it forms a society within a hegemonic (Protestant) greater society. In the United States (Catholics, 1910, 18%; 2002, 24%) one speaks simply of US Catholics; for Germany (Catholics, 1900, 36%; 1995, 33.4%) the milieu concept has established itself; in Switzerland one speaks of sub-societies (Catholics, 1900, c. 39%; 1992, 46.1%); in the Netherlands (1900, 35%; 1992, 36%) they are called 'pillars.' In countries where Catholics are in the majority, divided between laicism and loyal Catholicism (Austria, France), the term is 'camps' (Belgium, 'pillars'). The highest level of the degree of formation of these various Catholicisms is the *pillar*: Between the end of the nineteenth century and the 1960s, Dutch Catholics had their own schools, labor unions, and associations, including even sporting associations, elected a Catholic party, and listened to their own radio stations. A like confessional separatism is also to be observed in Germany, even before the *Kulturkampf* ('battle for/over [a] culture'). When the milieus eroded is disputed: the earliest dating for the demise of the Catholic milieu in Germany is around 1900, another is during the time of National Socialism, the latest as late as Vatican II (1962–1965). Core structures of this milieu are still alive today, and scholarship investigates its current homogeneity.

Segments of Milieu Catholicism

5. Purposefully restricted concepts of Catholicism are applicable to certain *segments* of milieu Catholicism that have responsibility for a specific task, or that evidence a special direction.

Political Catholicism refers to political representation of Catholics, which manifested itself in the early nineteenth century as a 'Catholic movement,' against secularization and state omnipotence, and later, in many countries,

in Catholic parties (1870, *Zentrum*, Ger., "Center"; 1918, *Katholieke Staats Partij*, Dutch, "Catholic State Party"; 1919, *Partito Populare Italiano*, "Italian Popular Party"; etc.). *Vereinskatholizismus* ("Association Catholicism"), supported Catholicism's political commitments in its largely religious, but also political, social, and cultural organizations. The largest mass organization was the *Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland* ("Popular Association for a Catholic Germany," 1914, 805,000 members). What is termed *'Social' Catholicism* challenged → industrial society (the 'social question'), attempting, at first, to dominate it through its charities. Later, Catholic social doctrine tried a middle way between capitalism and communism or socialism. *Cultural Catholicism* refers to two phenomena: associations for the fostering of Catholic interests in science, literature, and art—and then, recently (as counterpart of cultural Protestantism) the wing that opened itself to modernity, including Old Catholicism, Reform Catholicism since the 1890s, and liberal Catholicism. Here lie traditions of *leftist* or *critical Catholicism*, which criticizes celibacy and authority and comes forward in favor of more freedom on the part of the faithful vis-à-vis the hierarchy. On the other side, *rightist Catholicism* (national Catholicism) developed into a tributary of National Socialism in Germany. Present problems of a normative tonic for the failing importance of the churches (despite a remission after 1945), of their moral imperatives, and the accelerating privatization of the faith since the 1960s, come to expression in concepts like 'occasional' or 'opportunity Catholicism.'

1. Rahner 1961, 89.

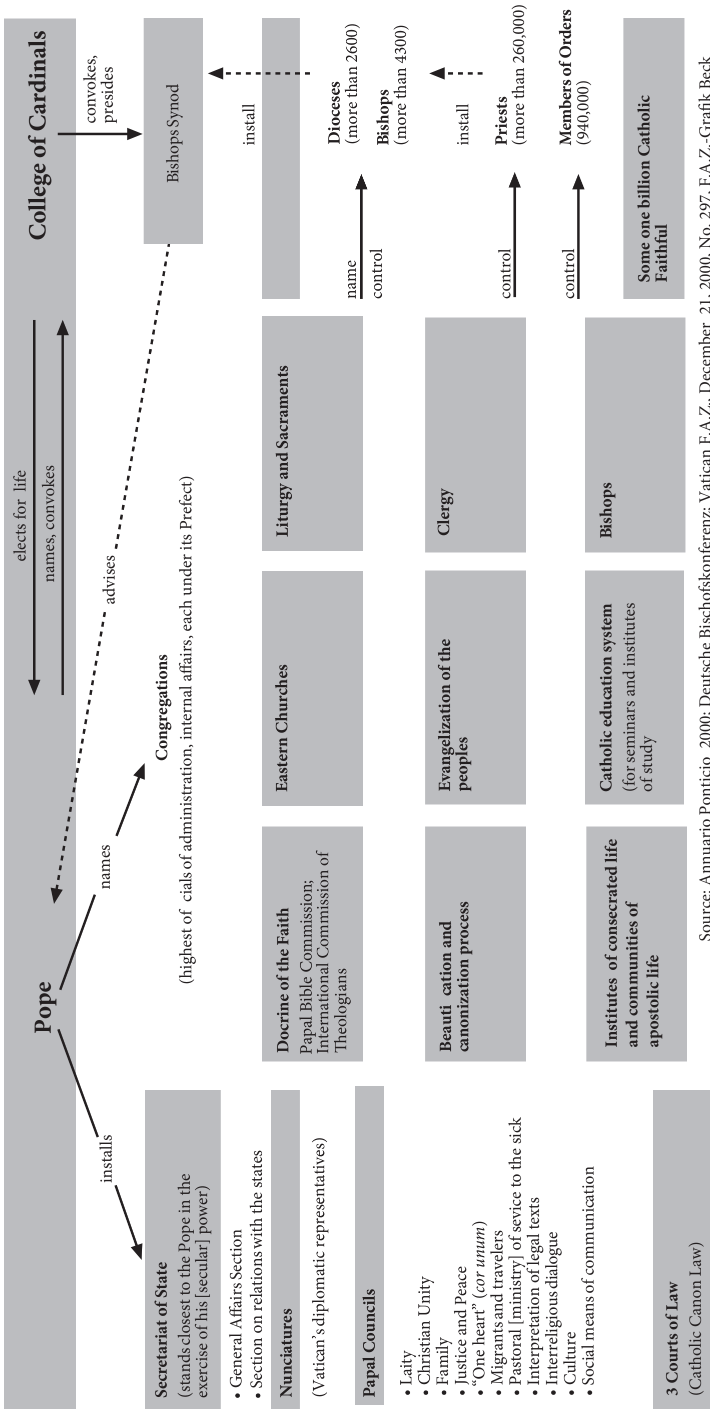
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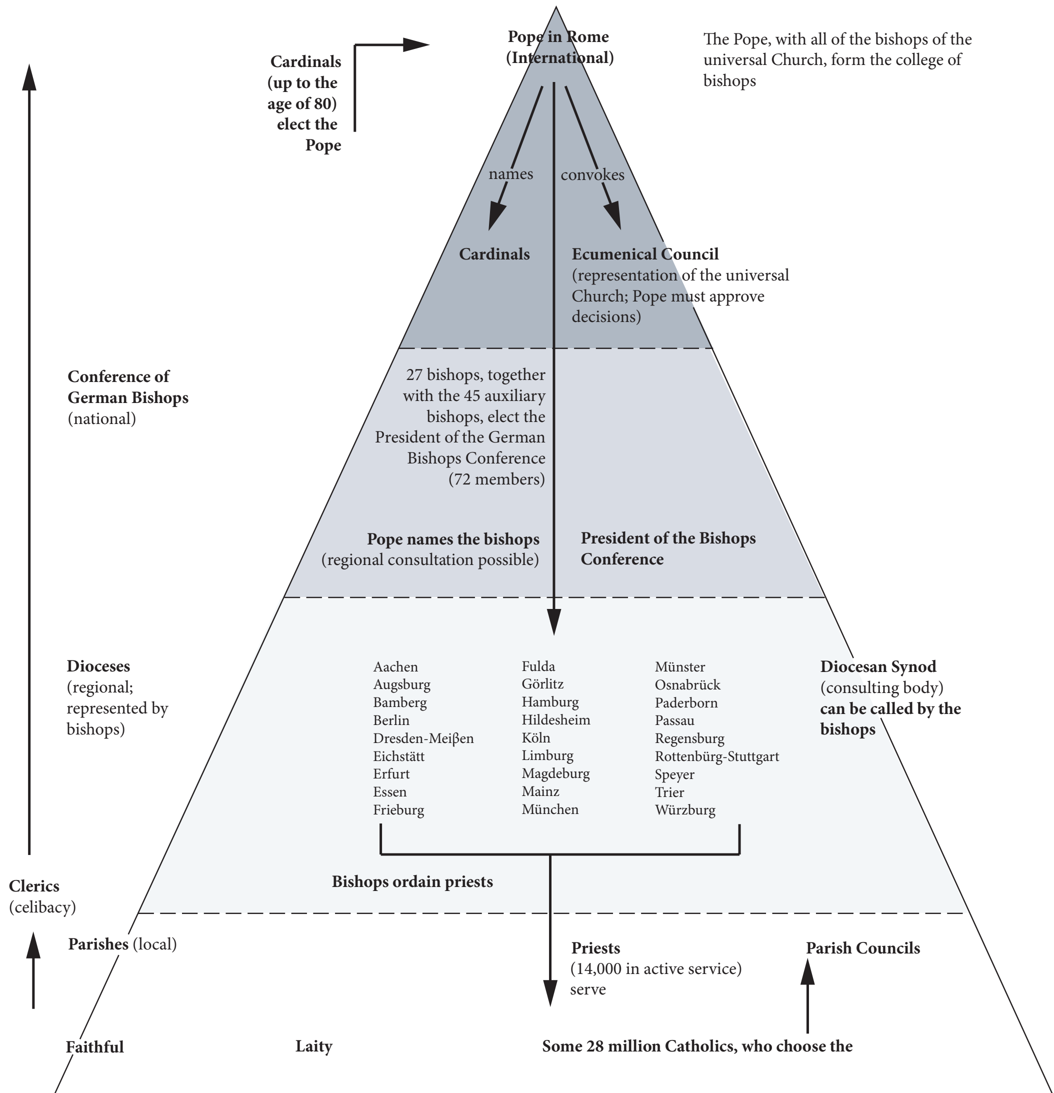
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→ *Christianity, Confession, Veneration of Saints, Mary, Miracles, Papacy, Protestantism, Relics (Veneration of), Rome*

Olaf Blaschke

Catholicism: Tables





The Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church: Example of Germany

Cave

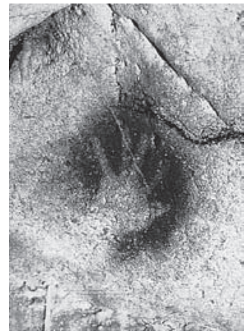
The Cave as Place of Worship

1. Caves, as places of cultic, ritual or religious actions in the broadest sense, are a worldwide phenomenon. They can neither be circumscribed by a historical period, nor simply connected with particular societal forms. Caves, in all times and on all continents, serve as particular fixed points in the landscape of nature. By way of their natural structure as 'gates to another world,' they play an important role in human beings' cultural and mythological interpretation of the environment.

Old Stone Age

2. In the section of human history accessible only by archaeological methods, caves seem to have been of special importance not only for modern persons, but also for European and Near Eastern Neanderthals. The first unambiguous, representative artistic expressions of the modern person likewise come from caves. Here, on the one hand, we find the small ivory objects in Southern Germany, and on the other, the paintings recently discovered in the grotto of Chauvet (Ardèche, in France), which are more than 30,000 years old. These paintings, besides, represent the oldest example of the European phenomenon of producing representations and signs in deep caves, away from the light of day.

Although the precise content of these paintings remains forever closed to us, still, after a painstaking analysis, they at least permit a glance into the world of thought and imagination in which persons lived during the Old Stone Age (the Paleolithic) in Europe. Simultaneously, these caves demonstrate an intensive and specific involvement with the natural environment, which extends far beyond ecological and economic needs (→ Nature). The hunting and gathering peoples of the Paleolithic moved in meaningful, mythological → landscapes as well, as we know from ethnography.



The depiction of human hands on the walls of caves is a worldwide phenomenon. Representations of this kind demonstrate a close connection between the artists and the caves with their natural structure. The picture shows the negative of a hand, from the Old Stone Age grotto of Ardèche, in France, which is some 30,000 years old. The coloring was probably sprayed on by mouth. The occurrence of hallucinogenic substances in these dyes supports a 'shamanic' and ritual interpretation of Stone Age cave art.

3. In all parts of the world, caves are important points of demarcation. They have never served simply for the housing and shelter of 'cave men,' but have always been part of a bustling world. In this sense, they themselves represent lively little 'universes.' For example, with the discovery of paintings or etchings, we behold a blend of realities mythological and real, alive and inanimate. Caves seem to be places of a ritual and religious age, in which the natural order of the everyday world loses its meaning, or is even twisted into its contrary.

This observation stands in correspondence with general structures of → ritual, which call for an exclusion from 'normal time' and are frequently accompanied by extreme bodily and psychic states, hallucinations, and 'sensory deprivation' (the exclusion of external sensory influences; → Perception). These latter elements are doubtless responsible for the fact that in all cultures and in different social circumstances caves claim a special meaning and importance. They are points of intersection with the 'suprasensory' and entryways to another world. Their walls often become, as it were, thin membranes, through which an exchange with supernatural powers and beings takes place. The 'sun dance' of the Cheyenne, for example, is the compelling representation of a mythological story with which, each year, nature is reanimated. The central 'cabin of new life' here symbolizes the sacred mountain Nowah'wus, on which—in a cave—the great medicine spirit (*Maheo*) slept with the female companion of a mythical shaman. Still



In Myalapur (Karnataka) in India, a young assistant priest reverences the god Mallanna—a divinity identified with Shiva—in the god's cultic cave, swinging a camphor lamp before him. The mask imbedded in fabric shows the location at which the god has appeared to human beings. Like a prince or a king, he wears elegant clothes and a large turban. As a mount, a horse is furnished to him, and also a trident—Shiva's attribute. Worshipping in caves is a widespread practice in India. In keeping with Hindu cosmology, the maternal bosom of Nature, from which the

today, the Cheyenne seek out this mountain and its caves for meditation and fasting, in connection with rites of initiation and vision quests.

4. This is the basis on which we conclude that caves have probably never lost their meaning for religious life. In traditional tales and sagas, the cave stands for a connection with nature and the earth, and is seen as akin to an 'Earth Mother.' She may join life-bestowing attributes and lethal ones all in one person. Caution, however, is often enough in order here when a millennial ritual tradition is postulated for familiar or famous caves. Such a tradition can represent actual continuities, the repeated use of natural conditions, or things only recently produced. The discovery of an unambiguous distinction is often beset with difficulties at the hands of historical and archaeological methods.

Many caves on Crete, for instance, are set in connection with Greek mythology: Rhea is supposed to have brought Zeus into the world in the cave of Dicte, while he himself, concealed from his father Kronos, grew up in the grotto of Camare. In these instances, continuities between Minoan and Greek portrayals are clearly observable, although they are scarcely plausible for later times. In the early New Stone Age (Neolithic), the Eileithyian Cave seems to have been a dwelling and burial place, and was often mentioned even by ancient authors (such as Homer). It was only

in the middle of the last century, however, that it was rediscovered, after centuries of oblivion.

Nevertheless, points of application of actual traditions are offered by, for example, the 'Black Madonnas,' with whom it is apparently a matter of applying a Christian meaning to older cave cults. In this case, the archaic fruitfulness-motif of 'birth in the cave of the earth' gained access to Christian iconography, just as early Greek Orthodox presentations attest the birth of Christ in a stone grotto. Last, but not least, we should recall that the place of pilgrimage of Lourdes is likewise in a cave.

Besides all of this, caves, as places of religious life, are often bound up with the romantic world of imagination of certain movements that may be inspired by esoteric spirituality, or feminism. Such movements bestow upon caves the rank of 'archetypal places of → initiation' and render them the object of projections of a long-lost, apparently original connection with the earth, if not indeed the object of a mystical experience of nature.

entire world of phenomena unfolds, is also represented as a cave lying beneath a mountain. This concept is present in temples (as 'images of the cosmos'), where the sanctuary—a dark room with smooth walls—is always unmistakably reminiscent of a cave. Many caves even acquire meaning as the dwelling place of respected ascetics. (Benita von Behr)

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→ *Landscape, Nature, Place (Sacred), Pre- and Early History*

Martin Porr

Celibacy

1. In Western society, → sexuality is considered an important component of being human. In most cultures, one's own procreation in one's children is fully as basic a need as a perspective on one's life. When the Catholic Church demands of its priests the unmarried state as a charisma specific to their office, it stands in stark contrast to the values of modernity. The Catholic Church theologically grounds a compelled renunciation of sexuality and → family in the unmarried state of Jesus himself. What for him was demanded by the inconstancy of the underground movement, and rendered bearable by the expectation of a total, imminent upheaval, becomes a valid injunction forever and everywhere.

True, historical findings make it clear that lifelong *celibacy* (Lat., *caelebs/coelebs*, 'unmarried' [masc.]) for those in Christian office has been the usage since the fourth century, in their situation of competition with the 'holy' or 'holier' monks. But only in the Western Church, and only since the Second Council of the Lateran (1139), has the unmarried state for all priests been imposed unconditionally. As the Reformers—provocatively—dismantled celibacy and replaced it with the vicarage, the Catholic Church, in a counter-move, promoted celibacy to the status of an unconditional

For Catholics in the United States, the current shortage of priests is often painfully evident. Louise Haggett found no priest to visit her mother in a nursing home—until she turned to married priests. And so, in 1992, C.I.T.I.'s ("Celibacy Is The Issue") idea of "Rent a Priest" was born. Married Roman Catholic priests offer their services at www.rentapriest.com. Through a database, those interested can find priests in their area who are at their disposal for consultation, the celebration of Holy Mass, and the sacraments. Besides the important rites of passage, such as marriage and funerals, assistance in need (Communion and the Sacrament of the Sick at the sickbed) is provided. Offers are made for the private celebration of Mass with the faithful at home, or for the celebration of marriages of divorced Catholics—the latter against the teaching of the Catholic Church, which not only prohibits such ceremonies, but declares the marriages themselves null and void under immutable divine law. Indeed, priests not living in celibacy are no longer permitted to act as priests at all, except in a case of imminent danger of death. Nonetheless, even in the official teaching just referred to, they are recognized as validly ordained; and of course they offer the education and experience of their office. Provocatively, they here demonstrate their pro-family stance with an unusual presentation of the Last Supper: Jesus surrounded by his disciples, their wives, and their children! Together, these priests excluded from the clergy stress the 'holiness of the married life' as well as their irreversible ordination: "Once a priest, always a priest" (principle of the *character indelebilis*, 'indelible character'—the permanent mark imprinted on the soul by the reception of a non-reiterable sacrament). The private

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characteristic of → Catholicism, in the Council of Trent in 1563. Compensation for the renunciation, on the other hand, is invisible: the "marriage with heaven" (*coelum*), as the popular etymology ran, was visible only indirectly, in the cohesion of brotherhoods and in the social prestige that was the occasion of admiration and influence; today, the celibate priest is alienated from community and society.

2. Along with all of this appears the question of the compatibility of sexuality and holiness. Is a 'celibacy' so narrowly bounded by a Christian institution also to be found in other religions? Sexuality is often regarded as incompatible with ritual activity—but also with hunting and war, for example; nevertheless, it is seldom required lifelong. This obervation demonstrates that sexuality is at times regarded as befouling and impure,

but that it has no affinity with the Christian concept of → sin (→ Purity). The distinction is clear from the Indian ritual handbooks, the *Brahmanas*, which appeared some seven hundred years BCE. If a *yajamana* (a married man allowed to have a sacrifice offered) is appointed to a particular ritual, and is himself thereby ordained, he must be chaste before and during the ceremony, and this in some cases for a year. The sacrifice leads the *yajamana* into another existence, and the transition is seen as birth. In the course of the sacrifice at hand, he is like a fetus, and hence not sufficiently mature for sexuality. There may be no other culture that has been so concerned with → asceticism and celibacy, on the one hand, and on the other, with sexuality, as the Indian (→ Indian Subcontinent; Hinduism). Another basis for celibacy in Indian culture is the notion that the loss of semen means the loss of spiritual power. There are numberless tales which recount of an ascetic that, through sexual abstinence, he has amassed so much strength that he has become a threat to the gods. Only by sending some utterly beautiful nymphs to his side, to be his temptation, were the gods successful in seducing the ascetic and thus in despoiling him of his strength. Celibacy continues to play an important role in Hinduism: In the last phase of their life, Indians of the three highest conditions are supposed to wander about as *Sanyasin* (roaming ascetics), and although this is rarely done, it surely shows the meaning of celibacy on an ideological level. Celibacy is also of importance in certain neo-Hindu movements that have appeared in the West, such as the → Hare Krishna.

and individual nature of their personal histories of sufferings should be countered with a constructive, need-oriented appeal to a personal calling. The target group of the Rent a Priest program are especially persons who, on whatsoever grounds, feel alienated from the institutional Church. For their own legitimation, the initiators appeal to the circumstances of early Christianity. Married priests who do not wish to be dispensed from their office, but who continue to understand themselves as (Catholic) priests even without celibacy, are offered, over the Internet, the opportunity to make their concerns public, to reach their clientele in an uncomplicated and trans-regional manner, and to develop their own fields of activity. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

Celibacy in the European History of Religion

Classical Antiquity

3. a) If we turn our gaze to the West, we see another situation. In *classical antiquity*, celibacy was not a general goal of life. It is striking that priests regularly did not live in celibacy, but priestesses often did. Virginity obviously had a different meaning with women than with men, and indeed women's virginity was ascribed a superior power. Correspondingly, it is to be observed in Greco-Roman mythology that there were indeed virgin goddesses in the society of the divinities, such as Athena and Artemis, but no virgin gods. Priestesses often assumed the role of oracular medium between gods and human beings, and had to be chaste, since the god gave his oracle through sexual union, and the priestess in question must therefore never have been touched by a man. True, there were also prescriptions of chastity for laity; however, they were linked to a particular place or festival, as during the three days of the Thesmophorian Festival in Athens. Here again it is striking that celibacy was mostly expected of women. With the Romans, the Vestals are doubtless the best-known example: For a period of thirty years, they had to live in virginity. In Hellenism, the demand for celibacy intensified after the passing of the classical period. Stoics, Neo-Platonists, and some Gnostics (→ Gnosticism) valued sexual abstinence as worth the effort. This outlook emerged from a dualistic conceptualization, in which the body is subordinated to the soul: the soul, in the view of believers, must be released from the body if it is to reach salvation.

Early Christianity and Late Antiquity

b) It is in terms of Hellenism and Judaism that we must appraise celibacy in *Christianity.* In the New Testament, it is never prescribed. Paul, however, preferred a celibate lifestyle as an appropriate preparation for the imminent end of the world (1 Cor 7:25-40). The earliest and most senior leaders of the early Christian community, obviously, were selected from among married men. Besides these beginnings of an institutionalized clergy, there

were also wandering charismatics, who were personally conscious of being filled with the Holy Spirit, and who lived their celibacy in the following and discipleship of Jesus. These charismatics disappeared fairly early, as they were looked upon as a threat to the newly established ecclesiastical hierarchy. In third century Egypt, 'desert ascetics' (anchorites) appeared and influenced the formation of → monasticism. The origins of monasticism are not entirely clear, but in any case a role was played by the worsening economic situation, and the resulting disintegration of solidarity groups. The early development of monasticism in the East, where it also fulfilled ministerial needs, contributed to the fact that pressure on the lower clergy to live in complete celibacy was never great in those areas, as monasticism provided as an alternative for devotees of celibacy. True, it was—and is—forbidden to priests of the Orthodox Church to engage in sexual relations before the divine service. Bishops, however, failed to escape this pressure to remain unmarried. In the first place, the people attributed a higher sanctity to them, and in the second place the authorities did not look kindly on the distribution of church possessions among children of bishops, since this could have given rise to powerful church dynasties. In the Eastern Church, monks are still usually selected to be bishops.

Eastern Monasticism and Orthodox Churches

4. To return to the problem with which we began: if celibacy seems necessary—not, indeed, for Christianity, but for a charismatic understanding of the priest and for the identity of the Catholic Church—then the Church confronts a serious problem. In view of the dearth of priests, priests will now have to be brought in for Mass 'on the fly.' If celibacy is a matter of historical contingency, however, so that it will still be possible to be observed, even praised and recommended, but without its being unconditional, then parishes will have 'their' priests again. Certain Catholic parishes in the Netherlands, with the sufferance of the Bishop, already have 'their' married priests.

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→ *Asceticism, Catholicism, Charisma, Family, Monasticism, Priest/Priestess, Purity, Sexuality, Specialists (religious)*

Leo Tepper

Celts

Concept

1. Today's denotation of the concept *Celtic* (from 'Celts'; Gk., *Keltoi*, *Galatai*; Lat., *Celtae*, *Galli*), from the soccer team to harp music, can be seen as the product of a lengthy, repeatedly interrupted history of its →

reception. Generally, the concept designates at least three distinct stocks of content: (a) certain ethnic groupings, (b) an Indo-European language group (Irish, Gaelic, Welsh, and Breton are still actively spoken today), and (c) an archaeological complex in western Middle Europe, distinguished by its synonymous style of art.

Antiquity

2. The name *Keltoi* first appears around 500 BCE in Greek texts and served to designate the 'barbarous' societies, the so-called *keltiké*, living along the northern and middle coasts of the ancient Mediterranean world. Traditionally, these 'early Celts' were ranged as part of the Hallstatt culture (800–500 BCE) so interesting to archaeologists (→ Pre- and Early History). Beginning in the fifth century BCE, along a geographical belt that stretched from eastern France to Bohemia, there arose a new, differentiable culture, now named for the earliest Swiss archaeological site, La Tène, that is regarded as Celtic.

In the third century BCE, the 'Celtic world' consisted of a shifting mosaic of autonomous tribes stretching from Ireland to Hungary; it also comprised some enclaves in the area that goes from Portugal to Turkey. For Caesar, the *Celtae* were merely a tribe among others in greater Gaul, and must have taken that name themselves. It may be that the generalization came from cultural contact between Greece and Gaul.

Contrary to today's praxis, no ancient author designated the Britons or Irish as Celts. However, an ideological function of the identification of the 'Celtic' appears already in the ancient authors.

Religion

3. Besides some of the testimony of ancient authors, we have inscriptions; both name a plethora of Celtic gods and goddesses, but ordinarily in terms of the *Interpretatio Romana*, and therefore in dependency upon the system of Roman gods. From the elaborate burial gifts found in graves of the early Celtic cultures on the Continent, it can be concluded that they held a belief in a life after death, at least for their nobility (graves of princes). Steles and images there portray divinities, often in combination with animals, which has been interpreted as totemistic. Additionally, there are indications of a mythological kind derived from medieval Welsh and Irish folklore—to festivals throughout the course of the year, and to notions of 'another world.' However, scholars dispute the authenticity of these texts, and, even more vigorously, question any connection they might have with Continental systems of belief that disappeared centuries before their appearance on the British Isles. Investigation of sites of Celtic → sacrifice indicates a comprehensive sacrificial praxis, presumably prevailing throughout → Druid culture; but we have neither descriptions of the Celts' rituals, nor reports on the conceptualization of their beliefs. From finds in Gaul it can be concluded that there was a warrior cult in which skulls were revered, and where, perhaps, even → human sacrifice played a part. In view of the wide temporal and cultural variance of the cultures that have been pointed to as Celtic, the very existence of a Celtic religion is disputed; scholarship assumes instead the existence of different systems of worship and belief prevailing at different times. As the content of Celtic beliefs can no longer be discovered, and owing to the multiplicity of heterogeneous sources, the Celtic religions, since early modern times, have been the subject of fanciful reconstructions and compilations, which constitute an important aspect of the reception of Celtic culture.

Reception of the Celts

4. Beginning in the sixteenth century, one encounters the notion that the Gauls were Celtic ancestors of the French, and any political, philosophical, or religious wish representations were projected onto a pre-Roman past, which was not sufficiently known. Even today the erroneous seventeenth-century ascription of bronze-age places of burial and worship to the Celtic Druids remains influential (Stonehenge). Normative for the popular image of the Celtic literature and mentality in the second half of the eighteenth century were the *Works of Ossian*, written by James Macpherson (1736–1796), which unleashed a veritable wave of Romantic 'Celtization.' In the nineteenth century, nationalistic, nativist endeavors and progress in archaeology, and newly founded 'Celtology,' mutually conditioned each other. The contraposition of Celtic Bretons, Welsh, Scots, and Irish to French, Franks, Teutons, Anglo-Saxons, or English betrays an intrinsically contradictory pattern, the presentation of which can range from that of a morally superior periphery to a technically superior central culture; but in any case the Celtic is the 'other.' In the literary movement of the Irish Renaissance at the beginning of the twentieth century, esteem for the Celtic culminates in the concept of the Irish, as the never-Romanized 'most Celtic Celts.'

Celts and New Age

5. The most recent development is the reception of supposedly Celtic religiosity in the → 'New Age,' including, for example, the idea of a Celtic matriarchate (Jean Markale), and the mobilization 'of the Celts' for the idea of a European unity. Although its swollen connotation has rendered it nebulous, the concept of Celts today serves not only as a specification for strangers and foreigners, but also, and especially, as a self-designation by not a few persons. This phenomenon has received copious contributions from its application in art films (such as "Excalibur," 1951), just as with bestselling novel *The Mists of Avalon* (Marion Zimmer Bradley, 1982). The French comic strip "Asterix" (Albert Uderzo and René Goscinny, since 1959) became especially popular, and has been translated into numerous languages across the world. It has sold 200 million copies worldwide. Since the 1980s, there are also attempts to revive an imaginary 'Celtic shamanism,' partly with the help of Native American rituals.

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→ *Antiquity, Druids, European History of Religion, Reception*

Silvia Kurre

Celts and Teutons: Time Chart

Era 1: Pre-Christian Northern Europe

8th–6th cent. BCE	Hallstatt culture	The Hallstatt Culture, named for a cemetery near Hallstatt in the Salzkammergut, extends from its nucleus to the middle Danube, then across Central Europe. It replaces the Bronze Age Urn-Field Culture. Numerous large grave hills and high forts appear.
4th cent. BCE	La Tène culture	Influenced by the Scythians, the Greek trading colonies, and the Etruscan culture, the Celtic La Tène Culture stretches to Spain, Northern Italy, and Britain, accompanied by a major social organization, with certain city centers. The *Viereckschanzen* (Ger., 'square trenches'), very extensive mainly north of the Alps, are most often interpreted in religious terms, although unambiguous archaeological testimonials are lacking.
387 BCE	"Gallic Catastrophe"	In 387, a Celtic army strikes the legions of the Roman Republic in the Battle of Allia, destroying them, plunders Rome, and besieges the Capitolium. A ransom finally purchases the retreat of the Celts into the

		settled region of the Plain of the Po.
278 BCE	Plundering of Delphi	A Celtic host invades Greece, and besieges Delphi.
58–51 BCE	Julius Caesar conquers Gaul	In 58, Julius Caesar besieges the Helvetians, invades Gaul (today's France and the Benelux countries), and subjugates the Gallic tribes in a series of campaigns. His report, *De Bello Gallico,* discusses the Druid religion in Gaul and Britain, and brings the names of the Gallic gods into conformity with the Roman Pantheon. Gaul becomes part of the Roman Empire. A mixed Gallo-Roman culture appears.
9 CE	Battle of Varus	After three legions, under Varus, are annihilated by Teutonic tribes in the Battle in the Teutoburg Forest, the Roman attempt to subjugate the Teutons all the way to the Elbe is abandoned once more. In the nineteenth century, the heroic figure of "Hermann the Cheruscan" becomes a national symbol in Germany ("Herman's Monument").
from 43 CE, 78–84	Romanizing of Britain	Roman marshal Agricola forges ahead with the conquest of Britain, which had been begun in 43,

		and in 84 besieges the Caledonians in the Battle of Mount Graupius. The conquest of Scotland, however, remains to be accomplished, just as does an invasion that has been planned. Instead, the Wall of Antony is built into a border defense.
98 CE	Publius Cornelius Tacitus: *Germania (De Origine et Situ Germanorum Liber)* (Lat., "Germania—Book of the Origin and Place of the Teutons")	Roman writer Tacitus writes a polemical, cultural, critique of Rome's 'collapse of mores.' Roman culture and history seem to him to be inferior to those of the Teutonic tribes. His opus is one of the rare sources that deal with Teutonic religion, but must be read critically. Since the Renaissance, and especially in the first half of the twentieth century, the positive image of the Teutonic religion serves for national and popular edification and ideology in Germany.
from 400	De-Romanization of Britain	The Roman Province of Britain is abandoned. In around 420, the legions withdraw. From 450 onward, the Teutonic tribes of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes conquer the Southeast of the island, forcing the Britons back to Wales and Scotland. Along

		with them, Christianity withdraws to these 'British' regions.
Era 2: Christianization of the Pagan World		
5th cent.	Saint Patrick	Patrick, half British, half Roman son of a decurion, plies a mission in Ireland. The Church of Armagh lays claim to his succession, and, beginning in the eighth century, fosters his ascent to the status of Ireland's 'National Saint.'
563	Founding of the Iona Monastery (Hebrides)	Irish peer Colum Cille founds the monastery of Iona on an island of the Hebrides. From there, and from its daughter monastery Lindisfarne, founded in 635, Irish monks' (Re-) Christianization of Britain and Germania (land of the Teutons) proceeds apace.
596	Founding of Canterbury	King Aethelberht of Cantia is baptized, and bestows Canterbury on Roman Legate Augustine as seat of the episcopate of Britain.
7th–11th cent.	Flourishing of the Irish Church	In the Irish monastic centers, an extensive Christian and mythological literature appears. Irish monks serve missions to Britain and Germany ("Iro-Scottish Mission" / "Scottish Monasteries").

772–804	Saxon Wars of Charlemagne	Charlemagne conducts campaigns against the Saxons, and in 772 destroys the Isle of Irm, a key sanctuary of the Teutonic tribes, compelling mass baptisms. The baptism of Widukind, Duke of the Saxons, is in 785. In the folk paganism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the victory of 'Charles, Slaughterer of the Saxons' is seen as a historic 'original sin,' that had been punished by the victory of the 'foreign' Christian religion.
10th cent.	Christianization of Scandinavia	C. 960: Danish King Harald Blauzahn (Ger., 'Harald of the Blue Tooth') is baptized, and builds dioceses in Denmark. Beginning in 995, Norwegian King Olav Tryggvason, and his successor Olav the Holy, introduce Christianity into Norway, in some cases by force. In 1000, Olav Skötkonung ('King of the Scots') is baptized. In 1083, King Inge has the central pagan temple of Uppsala closed. In 1164, Uppsala becomes an episcopal see.
from 988	Christianization of Russia	Vladimir I, Prince of Kiev and Novgorod, marries Anna, sister of Emperor Basileus I of

		Constantinople, and introduces Christianity into the Russian Empire.
1000	Iceland	The Icelandic King introduces Christianity by Parliamentary Decree. The images of the Nordic gods are hurled into the Goða, but their private veneration is still permitted. The saga literature of the twelfth century preserves traits of pre-Christian society.
1168	Destruction of the last Pomeranians' temple	Waldemar I of Denmark captures the fort of Arkona on Rügen, destroys the pagan Pomeranians' last temple, and takes the statue of Slavic god Swantewit to Denmark as booty.
Era 3: Origins of the modern image of the Celto-Teutonic Culture		
c. 1137	Geoffrey of Monmouth: *Historia Regum Britanniae* (Lat., "History of the Kings of Britain")—Beginning of the Myth of Arthur	Geoffrey of Monmouth composes a fictitious history of the prehistoric kings of Britain, according to which a King Arthur builds a Britonic Empire and successfully combats Romans and Anglo-Saxons. His book becomes the starting point of an extensive folk literature of King Arthur.
from 1150	Tales of "Tristan and Isolde"	After 1150, there appear various adaptations of the saga of

		Tristan and Isolde (e.g., by Béroul, Eilhart of Oberge, and Gottfried of Strassburg). The material presumably spread from Wales to the rest of Europe in the eleventh century, and developed motifs of Welsh mythology.
13th cent.	*Nibelungenlied* ("Song of the Nibelung")	At the episcopal see in Passau, the *Nibelungenlied* (Ger., "Song of the Nibelung") appears, a compilation of various traditions of Teutonic tribes in a framework of courtly/feudal poetry. The epic defines the modern image of the Teutons at the time of the migration of the peoples.
Era 4: Modern paganism: National revitalization and romantic fantasies		
c. 1634	Geoffrey Keating: *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (Celt., "Foundations of the Knowledge of Ireland")	Around 1634, Irish clergyman Keating writes the *Foras Frasa at Éirinn* ("Foundations of knowledge of Ireland"), on the history of Ireland since 1169. It develops numerous medieval texts and oral traditions. His book is the point of departure of the modern Irish language, as well as of the Irish resistance to cultural Anglicization.

1717	John Toland founds the *Ancient Druid Order* in London	Toland's foundation occurs in parallel fashion with the founding of the first Freemasonic lodge, in London. In the spirit of the Enlightenment, it aims at religious tolerance, philanthropy, and a philosophical understanding, without any particularly accentuated interest in the Celtic.
1750	Jean-Jacques Rousseau: *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (Fr., "Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts")	In 1750, Rousseau publishes his celebrated Essay on a question proposed for competition in the Academy of Dijon, treating whether or not scholarship and art have contributed to an elucidation of mores. It develops the idea of cultural alienation of the person, which subsequently provides the framework for the image of pagan cultures.
1760–1765	Ossianism	Scotch pastor James Macpherson (1736–1796) publishes the 'works' of a poet named Ossian, purportedly translated from the Gaelic and dating from the third century BCE. They are translated into a number of European languages, and unleash an enthusiasm for 'Celtic mythology' and 'national' Scottish poetry, influenc-

		ing many authors of Romanticism. After many wars of words, they are revealed to be Macpherson's own composition.
1792	Belfast Harp Festival	In 1792, Belfast Cathedral Organist Edward Bunting (1773–1843), collects the last extant professional harp compositions of the traditional schools of the bards, and transcribes them for performance (*gorsedd*). Notes and texts of some of these form the sole extant testimonials of the schools of the Irish bards.
19th cent.	Arthur Romanticism	Influenced by Romanticism and historicism, the medieval Arthurian literature is taken up anew. It spreads abroad, especially in England, in a number of new folkloric arrangements, and finds wide propagation, beginning with the novels of Sir Walter Scott.
1849	*Kalevala*	In 1849, Elias Lönnroth (1802–1884) publishes the *Kalevala*, a combination of Finnish and Samish traditions, which he works into an epic. It becomes the Finnish national poem.

1893	*Gaelic League*	In 1893, in Dublin, Douglas Hyde (1860–1946) and Eoin Mac Neill (1867–1945) found the *Gaelic League*, for the revival of Irish culture and the Irish language. It becomes a mass movement in Ireland and America.
1902	Lady Gregory: *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*	In 1892, Lady Augusta Gregory, an Anglo-Irish peer, joins the Irish independence movement. In 1902, she publishes a collection of Irish sagas in English, her free translations still serving as the basis of most books on 'Celtic mythology.'
Era 5: Political paganism: the nationalist, popular, and racist reception		
1876 1881	Richard Wagner opens the B*ayreuther Festspielhaus* with the operatic cycle, *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (Ger., "The Ring of the Nibelung") Premiere of Wagner's *Parsifal*, a "Festival Drama for the Dedication of a Stage" (*Bühnenweihfestspiel*)	Wagner's dramatic musical work is one of the most influential neo-mythic sketches of the nineteenth century. His chefs-d'oeuvre adapt materials from 'Celtic' (his Arthurian epic "Parsifal") and Nordic mythology and heroic sagas. His later work aims at a 'regeneration' of Christendom, under anti-Semitic auspices, by way of a cultic theater. The "Bayreuth Circle" (H. St. Chamberlain, Hans von Wollzogen, Leopold von Schröder) puts Wagner's ideologically

		racist orientation to work in racism and popularism (sketch of an 'Aryan' religion). Under Winifred Wagner, Bayreuth becomes the preparation, and ideologically atheistic impulse, for National Socialism.
from 1866	German National Movement—Georg von Schönerer	In 1866, in Vienna, the German National Movement (*Deutschnationale Bewegung*) is founded, with its powerfully nationalistic and anti-Semitic features. In 1866, its chair, Georg von Schönerer (1842–1921), pleads for the establishment of the year 113 BCE (victory of the Cimbrians and Teutons over the Romans) as 'year 1' of a new *völkisch* era. In 1901, Schönerer founds the *Alldeutsche Vereinigung* ("Association of all Germans"), with its orientation in the direction of a *völkisch* imperialism.
around 1895	Arthur Bonus: Teutonization of Christianity	Like Friedrich Naumann and, later, J. W. Hauer, Bonus represents liberal Protestantism's affinity for, or transition to, the *völkisch* camp.
around 1900	"Teutonic Occultism" (e.g., Arian myth, theosophy, Nietzscheanism)	Viennese Guido List develops 'Ariosophy,' on the model of Helena Blavatsky's 'Theosophy,' an esoteric Votan-religion. He

		bases it as well on the myth of a Teutonic priestly elite, the 'Armani.' In 1907, Adolf Lanz alias Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels founds the *Ordo Novi Templi* (Lat., 'Order of the New Temple'), the first in a series of 'mystery associations' in the spirit of *völkisch* religion. Others will be the *Wodan Bund* (1909), the *Urda Bund* (1911), and the *Germanen-Orden* (1912). The exemplar is usually that of the Masonic lodges. In his periodical *Ostara* (1905 ff.), Lanz proclaims a catholicizing racial religion.
1908	Ludwig Fahrenkrog founds the *Deutsche religiöse Gemeinschaft* (Ger., "German Religious Community")	Fahrenkrog's group, soon renamed the *Germanische Glaubens-Gemeinschaft* (Ger., "Order of the Teutonic Faith"), is one of the first attempts at the founding of a pagan *völkisch* religion. The total number of the members of these groups, however, gradually decreases, until, by 1914, they number less than 200 members in the German Empire.
1923	*Völkisch* "Artamanen" settlement project	The initiator is author Willibald Hentschel. He is the author of the novel *Varuna,* based on the racist myth. The settlement's purpose is the rearing

		of a Teutonic 'Aryan' elite.
July 1933	*Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutsche Glaubensbewegung (ADG)* (Ger., "German Faith Movement Community")	Conceived as a collective entity composed of all religious *völkisch* groups, in 1923 it was renamed the *Deutsche Glaubensbewegung* ("German Faith-Movement.") One of the initiators is Tübingen Indologist and religious scholar Jakob Wilhelm Hauer. In 1936 the Movement is dissolved by the National Socialist state.
1933–1945	Reception of and speculation on the Teutons reach their climax under → National Socialism	Despite the exclusion of rival *völkisch*-groups, as well as Hitler's personal hostility and political primacy, there develops, especially in Heinrich Himmler's SS, a certain pagan occultism in the spirit of *völkisch* religion. (Foundation *Ahnenerbe*, "Legacy of the Ancestors"). It was intended to have its cultic center in the Wewel Fortress, in Westphalia. Since 1936 it has used 'God-believing' (*gottgläubig*) as the label for a new national piety.
Era 6: Pagan and neo-pagan movements since 1945		
1950s	The Wicca Religion appears, as the ritual religion of the "New Witches"	Founded in England by Gerald Gardner and Doreen Valiente, it claims to tender the ancient wisdom of the 'wise women' of (e.g., Celtic) prehistory. Especially since the 1970s,

		Wicca is increasingly winning members in the United States.
1954/55	John R. R. Tolkien: *The Lord of the Rings*	The three-volume cycle of novels sketches a fantasy world of its own. Along with Tolkien's 1977 *The Silmarillion,* it becomes a cultic text and foundation stone of the literature of → fantasy.
from 1973	Ásatrú	Founded by Sveinbjörn Beinteinsson, *ásatrú* ("Belief of Ases") is recognized in Iceland as a religious community. Jörmundur Ingi Hansen has been its leader since 1994. Numerous loosely affiliated, sympathizing groups appear in Europe and America during the 1990s.
from the 1970s	Alternative religious reception of the Celts and Teutons	The alternative and ecological movement sketches out an image of 'Celtic,' and in lesser measure 'Teutonic,' piety as 'nature religion,' and (erroneously) sees its testimonials in the remnants of Stone Age megalithic cultures (Stonehenge). The fragmentary or missing tradition is replaced particularly with notions of Native American → shamanism.

1981	John Boorman: *Excalibur*	Influenced by Tolkien, the film epic about the sword “Excalibur” mixes settings from the High Middle Ages with (illusorily) pre-Christian motifs of the Arthur material. Thereby it creates a style for further film adaptations with a Celtic Anglo-Saxon setting (“Highlander,” “Conan,” etc.).
1982	Marion Zimmer Bradley: *The Mists of Avalon*	The fantasy author gains worldwide success with a free adaptation of motifs from the Arthur material, reworked from the viewpoint of a matriarchal mythology. Thereby she establishes a genre within the literature of → fantasy.

Georg Hehn

Cemetery

Surrounded by a wall, and near a church (or even partly within), and enjoying the latter’s ‘immunity’ from assault lies the cemetery (Middle English *cimiterie*, from Lat., *coemeterium*, Greek *koimētērion*, and ultimately from *koiman*, ‘to put to sleep’; compare Ger., *Frieden*, denoting ‘peace’; cf. *Friedhof*, ‘cemetery’). Even fugitives seeking → asylum could find safety here. The social prestige of the departed is reflected in the choice and form of the burial place. In the course of the nineteenth century, locations of burial were established on the edge of a city, or outside it—separation of the living and dead being regarded as hygienically necessary—and made into spacious parks. In a republican spirit, the display of prestige or wealth is minimized. Distinction of religions is absent among Christian confessions; Jews are separated; the graves of suicides and the unbaptized were long relegated to locations outside the walls. In the Southern United States, until very recently separation along racial lines has been the rule.



A devoted young woman from Hong Kong gives the departed a drink. It is the Ching-Ming Festival, and relatives bring their departed a sumptuous meal, serving them the food in front of their headstones. Here the dead are represented as photographs. (Christoph Auffarth)



The double world in which the Australian → Aborigines live since their 'discovery' by the Europeans is reflected in this multicultural cemetery scene on the island of Melville in the north of Australia, around 1990. In conformity with indigenous burial rules, hollow eucalyptus trunks are erected, which contain the bones of the departed. These are the burial pillars for a second burial: the dead are originally placed elsewhere, for example on a tree, until the process of decomposition has left only whitened bones. These are then gathered and hidden in the trunk receptacles, which are decorated with symbols from Aboriginal mythology. Western and Christian burial usage is demonstrated by the grave in the middle: relatives have also adopted a simple wooden cross, and the molded shape and religious symbolism, of a European grave. (Hubert Mohr)



Russian Orthodox Christians, as here in Volgograd, visit the cemetery at Easter for a common meal with the departed as part of their celebration of the Feast of the Resurrection. The grave is fenced off; the dead are present as images of the living. Their share of the meal consists of red-colored Easter eggs, which are blessed at the Easter Liturgy, and then laid before them at the gravestone. Freshly planted flowers, and the well-tended grave, testify to the visitors' lasting solicitude for the dead. (Christoph Auffarth)



Romuald Spira prays before the grave of an ancestor, cabbalist Nathan Spira (c. 1585–1633), whose work *Discoverer of the Depths* (posthum., 1637) became fundamental as a text for the modern Ashkenazi → Kabbalah. The Remu Cemetery (founded 1551), where the grave marker in the middle of the photograph is found, shared the fate of the Israelite religious community in Poland who buried their dead here: at the beginning of the Second World War, the SS built a shooting target range on the forty-seven *mazzewe* (monuments) still standing, destroying all of them but one. Excavations at the end of the 1950s unearthed more than 700 gravestones intact, which, owing to the destruction of Jewish culture in Poland, had received neither scientific attention nor any maintenance. Spira, one of few survivors, has documented the inscriptions, which he has taught himself to do. Today, in Poland as in Germany, the Jewish communities that kept them up and needed them have mostly disappeared, since their members were driven out or killed. (Hubert Mohr)

→ *Ars Moriendi, Death and Dying, Funeral/Burial, Materiality, Memory, Monument/Memorial Places*

Christoph Auffarth

Central America

Pre-Spanish Time

1. In the pre-Spanish era, the cultural space of *Central America*, reaching from the region of the Maya to northern Mexico, was a land of rival, hierarchical central states, all nevertheless penetrated by a practically homogeneous religion. Their cities were also cultural centers with temple pyramids in which an influential priesthood celebrated the polytheistic state religion, with its complex rites and rituals, to maintain the fragile cosmic equilibrium. Their rituals were all observed on the basis of a complex calendrical system of a solar ritual year, having with fifty-two-year world cycles, in which each individual day was ascribed special characteristics. Religiously motivated arts and sciences flourished particularly among the Maya. Our romanticized picture of their societies as peaceful pantheistic → theocracies, living in the rain forest, was demystified over the course of our progress in the deciphering of their written records.

Indian Religiosity Today

2. After the destruction of the Indians' places and writings, the murder of their priesthood, and their compulsory conversion to Catholicism, one may speak today of still independent Indian religions only in Central America's outlying regions. This is the case among the Huitchol in the West of Mexico, among the Cuna of Panama, and, with qualifications, among many other groups, such as the Talamanca, who along with Christianity, continue to practice another religion.

With the *Maya*, too, in and alongside the Catholic religion that was forced upon them, many old elements of belief are active. Market locations like Chichicastenango, in the highlands of Guatemala, serve the Maya as centers of worship as well. To the threshold of the church there—as of old to the steps of the temple pyramids—they present their divinities and ancestral spirits with copal incense, candles, flowers, maize, liquor, Coca-Cola, cigarettes, and bloody sacrifices, while the interior of the temple, then as now, is reserved to the priestly class. In San Juan Chamula, in 1869, the Tzotzil Maya crucified a boy, lest they ever again need to worship a white. In the 1880s, they expelled the Catholic priests for good and all, and henceforth venerated the richly ornamented figures of their own deities and nature powers on the walls of the church. Sweet smelling pine needles cover the church floors, on which Mayan priests observe the old Central American → calendar with ceremonies of healing, divination, or the preservation of fertility and the equilibrium of the universe. The intimacy and ardor of their invocations, their vows, their rituals of → sacrifice, their noisy quarrels with the powers—all of which reach the stage of trance—are in no way disturbed by the tourists permitted to visit, for an admission fee, this thoroughly reinterpreted and now fully Indian church.


F.D.2005
0 250 500 km
Phoenix
Dallas
UNITED STATES
Houston
Chihuahua
MEXICO
Wirikuta
Monterrey
Mythical land of origin and place of peyote pilgrimage of the Huichol
Plateros
Pilgrimage to the Child Jesus (Santo Niño de Atocha)
Catorce de Real
Pilgrimage to Saint Francis
San Juan de los Lagos
Place of Pilgrimage
El Tajín
Totonaki
Zapopan
Guadalajara
Basilica of the Virgin of Zapopan
Papantla
Ceremony of the Flyers
Tula (Tollan) 3
Tzintzuntzán 4
MEXICO
Teotihuacán
Janitzio
1,2 Puebla
Festivals at All Souls
Malinalco
Cholula
Aztecs
Xochicalco
Huatla de Jiménez
5 Catemaco
Village of the Mixe, Pilgrimage Place of Drug and Shamanism Tourists
Monte Albán
Zapoateki, Mixteki
San Juan Chamula
Mayan Worship Center
Palenque
Maya
La Venta
Almeki
Uxmal
Maya
Chichen Itzá
Maya
Belize
Belmopan
Caracol
Maya
GUATEMALA
Maya
Copán
Guatemala
EL SALVADOR
El Salvador
HONDURAS
Suyapa
Marian Pilgrimage
Tegucigalpa
NICARAQUA
León
Managua
Largest Cathedral in Latin America
Costa Rica
San José
Cartago
Basilica of Our Lady of the Angels, Patron of Costa Rica
PANAMA
Panama
Portobelo
Pilgrimage to the Black Christ
Havana
CUBA
BAHAMAS
JAMAICA
Kingston
1 Tepeya Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe; Indian/Catholic Pilgrimage Place
2 Aztecs (Former Tenochtitlán)
3 Tolteki Mythical Home of Quetzalcóatl)
4 Taraski (Purépecha)
5 Catemaco Brujo (Sorcerer), Curandero (Healer), and Shamanism-Tourist Center
6 Tikal Maya
7 Yaxchilán Maya
8 Bonampak Maya
9 Esquipulas Pilgrimage to the Black Christ
10 Chichicastenango Maya-Quiché Worship Center
CENTRAL AMERICA SETTLEMENT AREAS OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS
Indian Cultures (Selection)
Cuna
Huichol
Mayan Cultures
Talamanca
Afro-American Cultures
Garifuna (Afro-Carib)
Miskito (Afro-Indian)
Religious Minorities
Mennonites (German Protestants)
Quaker (United States Americans)
Sacred Topography
Catholic
Other Places of Religious Devotion
Pre-Spanish Ceremonial Centers





The Flight Ceremony of the Totonaki—first described by chroniclers in 1535—has retained its basic form since pre-Spanish times. Dancing atop a pole some thirty meters high, a flutist/drummer plays both of his instruments, while four others 'fly down,' upside down, in thirteen revolutions, as 'sun birds,' each attached by a single foot to a long rope. Thus they bear the fertility of the sky down upon the earth. The number symbolism refers to the Central American calendar, with its thirteen ritual months, and world cycle of fifty-two (4x13) years, as well as to the Indian cosmology, with its five points of orientation: the four directions of heaven, and the world axis at its center. Nowadays the flyers also have to 'balance' the ritual quality of their tradition with a tourist attraction. In several locales the action is effected at the festival of the respective local patron saints; in Papantla, in Mexican Federal State of Veracruz, it is presented at the Feast of Corpus Christi. Totonaki who work at the festival have organized into a trade union—*Unión de Danzantes y Voladores de Papantla* ("Union of Dancers and Flyers of Papantla")—and present their dances and flights on various occasions as part of the national heritage. The photograph shows a production of the flying ceremony in the archaeological district of Teotenango, in the Federal State of Mexico, in an action reminiscent of the pre-Spanish presentation in the ceremonial centers. (M. Gabriel and D. Neitzke)

Exotic Movements and Movements of Revitalization

At the same time, pilgrimage → tourism is massive. It has flourished since the 1960s, fueled by Carlos Castaneda's novels, together with reports on the use of hallucinogenic plants in the → shamanism of the Mixe and Huichol. Against her will, Mixe shaman Maria Sabina, of Huautla, became an icon of the pop-culture elite. Their foolish exoticism provoked acts of violence and destroyed culture, but occasioned a revitalization of elements of folklore. Here may lie one of the roots of those neopagan, folkloristic movements, often dominated by middle-class urban whites that label as specifically 'Central American' a store of esoteric ideas that is actually available throughout the world. We refer to movements that publicly present their glorious, sparkling speculations on pre-Columbian spirituality without any reference to actually living Indians.

Folk Catholicism

3. But neither has a Catholicism of force and compulsion simply delivered from their old beliefs groups that are Indian, or that merely behave as Indian. Often, as the Spaniards repeatedly erected churches upon temple pyramids that they had reduced to ruin, their the new symbols and forms veiled old content. A syncretism was formed, very vital and alive, molded and shaped in great diversity according to region, class, and ethnic membership. This phenomenon stamps a country like Mexico most profoundly. There, a powerfully laicized condition and attitude has long negated and battled the existence of the Church. Theological knowledge is not very widespread, and in the private sphere is supplemented with a plenitude of local myths, practices of a variety of hues, and conceptualizations like that of a multiplicity of → souls in the same person (as well as of illnesses caused by the loss of these souls, and nagualism, the belief in *alter egos*, which are frequently animal), witchcraft, or apparitions of speaking tortillas.

It does not correspond to Indian tradition to perceive layered religions as incompatible systems. Gods and goddesses are but fleeting manifestations of an abiding, absolute transcendence; they can be defeated or complemented by others, and they change with the concrete life of believers. The white creator god is most typically feared as a threat, and associated with the sun. In some places, the figure of Jesus is regarded as a cultural hero; the extremely brutal presentation of his battle with death in art and in Passion plays articulates their own suffering. But, generally speaking, the elements of the Trinity, awash in a host of saints that have taken on so many traits of the old gods, play a minor role.

Veneration of the Saints

Everywhere, in homes, buses, and the market place, colorfully sparkling *altars with figures of the saints* are to be found, to whom one turns with one's everyday cares. These figures are absolutely understood as independent local divinities. The favorites are the various figures of → Mary, most importantly the dark-skinned *Virgin of Guadalupe*, acknowledged as patroness of America after long rejection on the part of the Church. According to legend, she appeared to a baptized Indian in 1531, on the ruins of the important worship and pilgrimage center of the Middle American Earth and Mother Goddess Tonantzin, in Tepeyac, before the gates of Mexico City. Here the suffering and oppressed venerate her, in

pilgrimages and ecstatic dances, as their Patroness and Defender, and beg of her deliverance from the inevitable social and natural catastrophes of Central America. But her miraculous likeness also adorns the packaging of many consumer products. In the pantheon of Central American folk Catholicism, Tonantzin Guadalupe represents the central divinity; from the premise of her iconographical preeminence, however, no conclusions whatever are to be drawn suggesting any matriarchal societal structures.

Festivals

The name day of a patron saint is the most important festivity of the year. Besides that, one should mention the night of the dead, during which the souls of the dead return from the world beyond, to join their living relatives in feasting, dancing, and drinking to excess, atop graves magnificently decorated and studded with candles and orange marigolds. In some places, the deceased are honored by a temporary home altar as well, on which they are offered their favorite dishes, and some of the other things they have loved, together with their skeletons and grinning skulls of frosting or papier-mâché, while visitors are served cocoa and sweet 'bread of the dead.' The atmosphere of this festival of the dead is permeated with macabre jokes and wild, derisive singing.

Other Faith Communities

4. Non-Indian religious minorities include, along with some Jews and Baha'i: the Afro-American Garífuna, who live on the Caribbean coast and practice both Christianity and a religion revolving around ancestors and spirit-possession; the Afro-Indian Misquito, who adopted the Protestantism of the (mainly English) pirates of their coastal region; and the Mennonites, who live on quite extensive tracts of land given them by the United States, speak a Low German dialect, and retain their Puritan Protestantism.

Protestant Mission

Since the 1980s, various Protestant, often fundamentalist, confessions have exercised a strong attraction. Their aggressive mission has frequently stood in direct connection with counter-insurgency programs, administered from and financed by offices in the United States, and has been very successful, precisely among Indian groups that are being exploited, oppressed, and destroyed. Flamboyant preachers deliver a stereotyped message of sinfulness, imminent apocalypse (present in Indian mythology and historical experience), and individual awakening. But they also offer unequivocal orientations in need, which are experienced as modern, and a more active community life than that offered by the Catholic churches with their frequently inadequate pastoral attention. Reliable statistical material is not yet available, but it would be reasonable to estimate that fifteen percent of the Mexican population, and doubtless the greater part of the (mostly Mayan) population of Guatemala, currently belong to evangelical sects. The latter's aim is the complete extermination of the local systems of belief, with their opulent festivals, siblingship, and a hierarchical arrangement of offices in religious politics, which often forms a basis for protection of autonomy and community. These are replaced by the rigid, individualistic ethic of an ideology that, fragmented though it may be, claims to be universal. Offering certitude only in the world to come, it demands, in the present one a life of prayer, song, work, order, abstinence, and political resignation.

Theology of Liberation

Over against this, all Central American guerilla movements worthy of mention in recent decades, including today's Zapatista Army in Chiapas, are based on the Catholic theology of liberation (→ Liberation Theology), both ideologically and in their inner lives. This theology encourages laity and catechists to form basic Christian communities, and, in common, to create an interpretation of the situation of their lives based on a local proclamation of the Bible. Many see an armed religious battle for a paradise on earth as the only alternative to death by exploitation, deprivation, and violence.

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→ *Afro-American Religions, Catholicism, North America, South America, Syncretism, Tourism, Veneration of Saints*

Dietmar Neitzke

Central and South America: Time Chart

Era 1: Precolumbian era (c. 15,000 BCE–1492 CE)

around 15,000 BCE	Settling of America: hunter-gatherer cultures. Phases: Paleo-Indio, formative, era of the regional developments.	Shamanism, hunting rituals (cave paintings). Economic base: hunting (deep rain forest). After the end of the last glacier period (c. 5000 BCE), shallower forest. In the case of the

		coast dwellers, mussel heaps (Puerto Hormiga, in Colombia). Manioc raising.
around 1500 BCE–1600 CE	Sacred Kazikism of Colombia (Kalima, Quimbaya, Sinú, Tairona, Muisca)	Raising the storable vegetable maize makes possible the development of complex societies, with social differentiation, specialization (goldsmiths), and religious specialization (priests, shamans). Development of magnificent irrigation and drainage systems (Sinú culture), terracing (cf. the *Ciudad Perdida*—Span., 'Lost City'—of the Tairona, Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia); meaning and importance of the cult of the dead (tumuli, subterranean mausoleums, with gifts for the dead, especially of gold).
c. 2000 BCE–today	The culture of the Maya (Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras)	Phase 1: Pre-classical 2000 BCE–250 CE Phase 2: Classical (250–900 CE) Phase 3: Postclassical (900–1540 CE) Even today, the economy of the Maya rests on maize farming (the Maya call themselves 'persons out of maize'), grain farming plays a key role in the mythical element of cultic life. Among the outstanding 'high culture' achievements of the

		historical Maya culture are: irrigation systems, terracing, development of hieroglyphic script and the 'Maya Calendar,' a detailed knowledge of astronomy (cf. the "Venus tables" of the Dresden Codex) and meteorology, important for an agrarian society. The multiplicity of small sacred and political temples and power centers (e.g., Palenque, Tikal, Copán), in which an Indian upper class (nobles, priests, scientists, administrators) ruled over the farmers—unlike the centrally organized 'theocracies' of the Incas and Aztecs—made the Spanish Conquista difficult. The independent Mayan Empire of Itzá (Petén) successfully resisted the Conquista until 1697. After the collapse of the old governmental structures, the Maya have retained their old popular faith until today, a 'Christian paganism.'
c. 400 BCE–1470 CE	In the area of the Andes and adjacent coastal region, the Chavín, Huari, Tiahuanaco, Moche, Nazca, Lambayeque, Chimú arise: prerequisite for the subsequent empire of the Incas.	Temple installations (Sun Gate of the Tiahuanaco at Lake Titricaca, the Sun Pyramid of the Moche at Trujillo, the Nazca lines: astronomic agrarian calendars, connection with the rituals

		of a farming culture, in order to carry the vital resource of water; irrigation canals, ceramic and gold artifacts. The appearance of multi-layered societal structures, which, in a religious perspective, might have been based on veneration of the sun.
around 1000–1533 CE	Rise and fall of the Incas: at its zenith (1438–1532), the Inca empire embraces the great geographical area of Cuzco, from Peru and Ecuador to Southern Colombia, to the south to Bolivia, Northern Chile, and Northwest Argentina.	A religio-political temple complex, with religious specialization and sacred rule, characteristically with the veneration of numerous deities (*huacas*). Wide-ranging networks of streets, agrarian irrigation and terracing systems. The Inca Emperor, whose seat was the Sun Temple in Cuzco ("Coricancha") legitimized his position of power by his descent from the sun-deity Inti. After the death of Inca ruler Huayna Capac (1493–1527), the *Tahuantinsuyu* ("Totality of the Four Regions of the World") found itself in serious crisis: the brothers Huascar (1527–1532) and Atahualpa (1527–1533) struggled for the royal succession in the Civil War. This facilitated the Spaniards' conquest.
c. 1350–1521	The Aztec Empire: the political military	The theocracy (sacred ruler Moctezuma is

	empire, stretching from Mexico to Guatemala, rested on the alliance of the three city states, Tenochtitlán, Tezcoco, Tlacopan.	accounted the representative of the Fire God, and is successor of Quetzalcoatl and Huitzilopochtli), was a society of social classes (nobles, priests, merchants, artisans, farmers), a vassalage of subjected Indian peoples that must offer tribute. Sacred architecture (cult metropolis Tenochtitlán, founded in 1325). Hernán Cortes's conquest (1519–1521) of the Indian Empire, which succeeded the alliance with other oppressed Indian peoples (Totonaces, Tlaxcalteces). The Aztec ritual practice of the human sacrifice, whose quantity is disputed, is supposed to have served a myth. The myth in question would have been that these sacrifices were necessary to maintain the cosmos, and to promise the continuation of human existence. They provided the Europeans with their strategy of legitimization of their subjugation and annihilation of these 'barbarian heathen.'
Era 2: The Invasion of America (1492–1550): Genocide, enslavement, and a coercive mission—military and spiritual europeanization, economic exploitation		
from 1492	European, imperialistic war policy of 'Bible and Sword'	After the Spanish Reconquista (defeat of the Spanish Muslims,

		pogroms against the Jews), Columbus arrives on the island of Guanahani: Encounter with the peaceful Taino culture (850–1500 CE); within an extremely short time, however, exploitation, enslavement, and extirpation of these natives. Legitimated by four papal bulls, Pope Alexander VI (1493, e.g., *Inter Cetera*; conferral of rights of possession of the 'discovered' lands, missionary assignment), begins the greatest genocide in the history of humanity, on the alleged basis of punishing and eliminating 'cannibalism,' human sacrifice, devil-worship, and lasciviousness.
1531–1533	Conquest of the Inca Empire by Francisco Pizarro, Murder of the Ruler of the Incas, Atahualpa	Special natural phenomena (moon, earthquake) presage to the Incas the *pachacuti* (end of the present world age). The Conquista is seen as a cosmic catastrophe—and for the Aztecs, the return of Quetzalcoatl. Just so, in keeping with the myths of their religion, the Incas awaited preternatural events on Viracocha. Inca king Atahualpa, murdered by the Spaniards, lives on in the collective memory of the Quechua population. His

		post-mortal name is Inkarrí. This messianic myth provides munition for numerous revolts motivated by the politics of religion.
1534	Pedro Heredia: irruption into the area of the Zenú (Columbian coast of the Carribean): in an extremely short time, the Spaniards despoil cemeteries of 836 kg of gold.	The myth of El Dorado drives the various expeditions of the Spaniards into the interior of the country. In their measureless lust for gold, they scour the continent, plundering and ravaging. Behind the myth of the “Man Changed into Gold” lurked the initiation rite of the Kazik of Guatavita (near Bogota). The newly installed ruler of the Muisca was rowed, on a raft, out to the midst of the Lake of Guatavita, was covered with gold dust there; then people cast into the lake votive gifts of gold that they had brought. For the Spaniards, gold possessed only material value. The Indians reverenced the noble metal as a concrete representation of the divine Sun and its creative force.
1536–1539	Three expeditions in the area of Muisca (highlands of Bogotá, Colombia): Quesada, Federmann, Belalcázar	
1542	Amazon expedition of Francisco de Orellana (report of Dominican friar Carvajal)	
from 1503–1720	System of the *Requerimiento* and *Encomienda* (Span., ‘Task,’ ‘Assignment’): coercive mission and economic exploitation	Forced labor (working in the fields, mining) by the Indians in regions granted to the conquerors by the Spanish Crown. In return, the white

		masters accepted the obligation of bringing the natives to the Gospel and civilization. The Indians were read the *Requerimiento,* a document in the Spanish language, which sanctioned land appropriation and Christianization by papal authority. Resistance meant enslavement, war, and physical annihilation.
16th/17th cent.	Era of the Inquisitions (e.g., in Cartagena de Indias in Colombia; Lima and Peru)	Combat of the traditional Indian religions: corporal punishments, monetary penalties imposed upon the 'pagan heretics'; destruction of sacred objects; internment of Indian priests in reeducation camps. Beginning in 1558: Inquisition of Franciscan bishop Diego de Landa: persecution if Maya priests, book burning (Maya codices).
1609–1768	The Jesuit "State of God" among the Guarani Indians of Paraguay	The Franciscans (1575) sought to protect the natives from the economic exploitation of the *Encomendieros* in designated Indian defense areas, and the Brazilian slave hunters ('Paulists'). The Jesuits founded their 'State of God,' economic autonomy, withdrawal from the whites, instruction in the Gospel.

Era 3: Creole independence, formation of Latin American national states: ‘Interior colonialism’ (political, economic, religious)

from 1819	Era of the Latin American national states	Simón Bolívar routs the Spanish host in Colombia (1819); Brazil’s independence from Portugal (1822; Emperor Pedro I). For the natives, these new economic policies alter nothing of their destiny: exploitation, subjugation, and missionizing continue by the respective Creole, hegemonic oligarchy to our present day.

Response of the original inhabitants: Religious rebellions in the area of the political (open incitement, ‘Great Rejection’)

around 1560	*Taqui Oncoy* (“Song and Dance of the Pleiades”)	Expectation of salvation among the Peruvian Quechua population, whose members were possessed by the local nature deities (*huacas*) manifested in their shrines. The goal was rescue from the impending world destruction, which the Andean creative forces would effect by fever and flood, in order to restore the mythical Inca era. Reaction of the Spaniards: more and more destruction of the *huacas.*
1639	Rebellion of the Encomienda Indians in the Mexican province of Quintana Roo (Maya lowlands)	Destruction of the churches, profanation of sacred Christian objects, then withdrawal into the wild, and life as small farmers.

around 1742	Juan Santos Atahualpa	Quechua Juan Santos, Son of God, and *Apu Inca* (reincarnation of Inca rulers Atahualpa and Huayna Capac), ignites an Indian guerrilla war, in order to reestablish the mythical Inca era. Especially the Indian peoples of the Montaña (Campa, Amuesha, Conibo, Shipibo, etc.) join the bloody revolt: for a hundred years, the Peruvian Montaña remains liberated from the Spaniards and mestizos.
1780–1781	Tupac Amaru II (José Gabriel Condorcanqui Tupac Amaru)	Condorcanqui designates himself legitimate Inca ruler, and organizes an uprising for the restoral of the Inca Empire in the region of Cuzco. Crushing, and public execution, of Tupac Amaru II by the Spaniards (1781).
1847	'Mestizos' War' (= caste war)	Greatest Maya uprising since the European invasion: return to 'Catholic paganism.'
1857–1860	Venáncio Kamiku Christu	Charismatic shaman preacher Venáncio Kamiku Christu, chosen by God after his recovery from a serious disease, calls for a revolt in the Amazonian border region of Brazil, Venezuela, and Colombia. It is to be that of the 'Great Rejection,' among the Wakuénai (Baniwa). Participants

		anticipate the imminent destruction of the world, and the return of the mythical Ancestors, at which only Indians who have prepared themselves (through ritual dance, asceticism, and refusal to labor for their white masters) are to be redeemed. 'Manioc from heaven' feeds the Baniwa after the ethnic cleansing.
1867–1870	Rebellion of the Tzotzil (Chiapas highlands)	Crucifixion of an Indian youth, lest a white continued to have to be adored: propagation of a distinct Maya Christianity.
19th cent. to middle 20th cent.	Battle of the X-Cacal (Maya of Yucatán) against the Mexican national state	The *cofradías* (religious brotherhoods), administrators of the local cults of the saints, organize the resistance against the national-state system of political religion.
1984	*Comando Quintín Lame*	In 1984, in reaction to the murder of Indian priest Alvaro Ulcué, and the bloody invasion of Hacienda López Adentro, c. 100,000 Páez Indians of the Colombian Cauca region had organized the Guerrilla organization *Quintín Lame.* This group had appealed to the guiding figure of Manuel Quintín Lame (1880–1967), an Indian of the Colombian Cauca

region, who had begun to organize the struggle for Indian land-rights among the peoples of Southern Colombia (Cauca, Tolima) as early as 1914. Quintín Lame, who composes an Indian manifesto (*The Reflections of the Indian Who Instructed Himself in the Colombian Forests*), and declares himself to have been sent by God, stands in battle, in the historical tradition of mythical Kazikes Angelina Guyumús, Juan Tama, and Calumbás (eighteenth century), who had been 'born' of cataclysmic landslides. His starting point is a conviction of the Indian with respect to the white man on grounds of his 'proximity to nature,' and of the divine gifts connected therewith. The aim of the movement is the recovery of the Indian lands, the defense of the Indians' particular culture (and with it, their religion). Between 1989 and 1991, in the wake of peace negotiations on the part of the Colombian government with various guerrilla fractions of the country, these Guerrilleros lay down their weapons.

Revolutionary currents in the Catholic Church of the twentieth century: The spiritual invasion of Latin America by American evangelical pentecostal churches and awakening movements

1965	Camilo Torres	This Catholic priest joins the Columbian Guerrilla ELN ("National Liberation Front"), to fight for the rights of the simple people. Shortly thereafter, he falls in the armed conflict. Camilo Torres is no exception: priest 'Cura Pérez' was leader of the ELN until shortly before his natural death.
1968	Latin American Bishops Conference of Medellín: Birth of → Liberation Theology	The bishops' option for the poor and oppressed, revolutionary purposes, etc., social justice, etc.; change in missionary self-understanding: the missionary task is no longer the primary aim, but an option of solidarity for the Indians (cf. *CIMI—Conselho Indigenista Missionário*—Port., "Catholic Mission Council of Brazil"). In the ecumenical movement today, one speaks of 'guided guides,' and equal rights in the 'inter-religious dialogue' (the missioner seeks to learn from the Indian). After the collapse of 'real socialism,' Pope John Paul II, before his visit to Latin

		America, proclaimed as well the end of liberation theology.
1970	Founding of the CRIC (*Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca*—Span., "Indigenous Regional Council of the Cauca") Alliance of the Indians of the Colombian Cauca	New self-image on the part of the Indian, starting signal for the pan-Indian movement, intensification of the historical battle for 'land and culture,' which had never been given up, appreciation of native medicine and shamanism, Indian piety and spirituality.
1971	Declaration of Barbados	Leading anthropologists take a critical position toward the role of the Indian mission.
January 1, 1994	Rebellion of the Maya of Chiapas (Mexico), founding of the *Zapatian National Liberation Army* (EZLN)	Indian resistance has lasted for five hundred years, and continues without interruption today. The Maya join the Zapatista guerrilla organization (under 'Subcomandante Marcos') whose avowed end is the struggle for their rightful land, along with recognition of their culture, their Indian identity, and their religious traditions, and, thus, their sovereignty. Even practicing their religious traditions under the cloak of 'syncretism' ultimately represents passive resistance, and an attempt at a cultural survival as Indians—once they had been defeated,

		in direct military confrontations with the European colonial powers and their heirs, the respective Creole national-state hegemonies.
around 2000	Rivalry in Latin America of four religious forms and traditions: (1) Shamanism and Indo-American religions; (2) Catholicism (3) Afro-American religions (Brazil, Colombia); (4) Increasingly, Protestant Free Churches: charismatic Pentecostalists and Evangelical fundamentalists (from the United States)	After the 'failure' of Catholic liberation theology, America's Evangelical Pentecostal churches and awakening movements increasingly are recruiting broad strata of the Latin American population—already over 50 million members! The future of the American subcontinent looks 'Evangelical.' 'Believers' (in Span., *creyentes,* in Portug., *crentes*) are oriented toward fundamentalism, unlike liberation theology, and rather, often range from apostolic to conservative. The existing laws of the national state, and the socio-economic and political, feudalistic, status quo are 'divinely willed.' Religious conflicts on the social level are inescapable, as documented by cases from Colombia and Brazil (battering of sacred images and statues of Mary by 'evangelicals'). Today the Indian peoples reject the concept of 'Latin America' as a European construct, the expression of

hegemonic goals. Aymara leader Takir Manami recommends, instead, the concept of *Abya-Yala,* a Cuna Indian (Panama, Colombia) word, designating the American continent in its entirety and means 'land in complete state of maturation/ripening' (*tierra en plena madurez*).

Josef Drexler

Channeling

The New Age Movement and Channeling

Popular in the context of the → New Age movement, the term 'channeling' refers to the conviction of contemporary psychic mediums that they are able, under certain circumstances, to act as a channel for receiving and transmitting information from sources other than their normal selves. In less technical terms, channeling means the reception and transmission of messages from invisible intelligent beings, often referred to as 'entities.'[1] The practice of channeling presupposes a worldview in which embodied existence on our planet is merely one mode of being among many others: the universe is believed to consist of innumerable levels of reality, all of which are inhabited by intelligent beings (→ Angel; Ancestors).[2] All such entities, we ourselves included, go through a long process of spiritual evolution, in which we learn from our experiences by living many lives in many realities, and evolve to ever higher levels of spiritual attainment (→ Reincarnation). Thus it is considered quite natural that entities who have once lived on earth—including important religious personalities such as Jesus, Paul, or Buddha—have now progressed to a superior level of reality, from where they may communicate with human beings by means of channeling. The grand scheme of continuous spiritual evolution on all levels of reality explains, from a New Age perspective, why the contents of their messages may often be very different from what they taught during their lives on earth: in the course of their development they have simply changed their minds and attained more spiritual perspectives. Thus, for example, one may encounter channeled messages attributed to the apostle Paul, in which he expresses regret about his earlier statements on women, and proclaims a New Age worldview very different from anything we find in his letters.

Ways of Channeling

There are several ways in which channeled information is produced. New York psychologist Helen Schucman claimed to hear an internal voice in her head that dictated a text of over 1100 pages, published in 1975 under

the title *A Course in Miracles* and now treated with great respect as a 'New Age bible.' Other channels transmit their messages by means of inspired or automatic writing. But perhaps most widespread is the practice known as spiritual dissociation or 'trance channeling,' in which the medium enters an 'altered state of consciousness' during which the entity is believed to speak with his or—usually, for the majority of channels are women—her voice (→ Trance; Spiritism). In the most common variety, that of light trance states, the voice of the medium mostly remains the same; but in the more spectacular cases of deep trance channeling it may happen that the medium's voice and general body language are dramatically altered (for example, a woman may produce a deep male baritone). In such cases we are technically dealing with the phenomenon known by anthropologists as spirit → possession: the entity is believed to temporarily 'take over' or 'inhabit' the body of the medium, who is usually unconscious of what happens during the channeling session.

A General Category?

While devotees tend to claim that channeling is a universal phenomenon (arguing for example that the prophets of the Hebrew Bible were channeling an entity called JHWH or that Muhammad channeled the Qur'an), it is more correct to see it as a New Age term for the general category of religious revelations that result in verbal messages—a phenomenon that has been surprisingly neglected by historians of religions, in spite of its obvious importance.[3] Interior voices, automatic writing, or inspired speech during trance or possession states have been reported from many cultures and periods of history; but it is more useful to reserve the specific term 'channeling' only for the cases where such phenomena are interpreted from the characteristic multi-dimensional worldview described above. That worldview is a product of post-eighteenth-century developments,[4] and in fact it is in the context of nineteenth-century spiritualism, occultism and theosophy that one first sees clearly emerge the kind of revelatory practices that we would nowadays recognize as channeling.

From Jane Roberts to Neale Donald Walsch

What might be called the archetypical model of a New Age channel appeared after World War II, in the person of the New York poet and writer Jane Roberts (1929–1984). Her enormously popular books, based upon the messages received by means of full-trance channeling from an entity called "Seth," have become perhaps the most basic revelatory source for what became known as New Age spirituality during the 1980s and 1990s.[5] Among the influential channels representing a slightly more traditional English theosophical current one could mention David Spangler, connected to the pivotal New Age community Findhorn in Scotland, or the anonymous channels of the English Ramala community. In contrast, typically American New Thought ideas—with a strong emphasis on the power of positive thinking—are prominent in the books by many channels from the United States, with Sanaya Roman as a very clear example. During the 1980s, under the notable influence of Shirley MacLaine's popular autobiographies and her TV-miniseries *Out on a Limb*, channels such as Kevin Ryerson and J. Z. Knight (channel of an entity called "Ramtha") became well known media personalities. Although the channeling 'hype' of that period has passed, the practice remains widespread in the alternative 'spiritual' scene, and continues to produce a flood of popular books. One of the most prominent examples in more recent years is Neale Donald Walsch's ex-

tremely popular *Conversations with God* series (1995ff.), based upon 'inner dictation' by a 'soft voice' inside his head, attributed to God himself.

The New Age and Christianity

Channeling literature demonstrates very clearly that 'New Age' spirituality, in spite of its professed interest for 'the wisdom of the East,' is a quintessentially Western phenomenon, catering to an audience that is critical of traditional churches and mostly rejects traditional Christian theology, but for which broadly Christian values nevertheless remain the primary symbolic reference. While the early generations of Theosophists claimed to be in contact with spiritual 'Masters from the East' (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society), it is remarkable how rarely one encounters books channeled from entities such as Buddha or Krishna; in contrast, some of the most successful bestsellers in the genre are attributed to sources such as Jesus (*A Course in Miracles*) or a clearly Christian God (Neale Donald Walsch). The popularity of such books also demonstrates another point. For some time the spectacular aspects of deep trance channeling seem to have attracted attention because they could be interpreted as 'proof' of the existence of spiritual beings: the audience could literally observe how an alien intelligence seemed to take possession of a medium's body and voice. In contrast, the popularity of channeling as a literary genre (rather than a practice) seems to rely entirely on the contents of the books: Schucman's or Walsch's 'inner voices' cannot be heard by anyone else, but are believed to come from a divine source simply because readers are so impressed by the language and the contents of the messages. When all is said and done, then, it is the message and not the medium that explains the importance of channeling as a contemporary religious phenomenon.

1. For various definitions, see Klimo 1987, 2; Hastings 1991, 4; Hanegraaff 1996, 24-27.
2. See Hanegraaff, s.v. "Intermediary Beings IV: 18th Century–Present," in: Hanegraaff et al. 2005.
3. On the anachronistic use of channeling as a universal etic category, and the surprising lack of systematic research about the modalities of "articulated revelations", see discussion in Hanegraaff 1996, 24-27.
4. Hanegraaff et al. 2005.
5. Hanegraaff, s.v. "Roberts, Dorothy Jane," in: Hanegraaff et al. 2005.

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→ *Communication, Esotericism, New Age, Parapsychology, Perception, Revelation, Soul*

Wouter J. Hanegraaff

Chaos

Structureless, Life-Threatening Space

1. In all societies explicitly rooted in tradition, a division of reality into a habitual, familiar component and an unaccustomed, strange, threatening one—or the contrariety of cosmos and chaos—has doubtless provided the most elementary orientation. Beyond the familiar, reliable world begins the wilderness—another world, of ghosts, demons, the spirits of the dead, and all manner of unknown, ominous beings.

The concept of *chaos* (Gk., 'precipice,' 'abyss,' 'chasm'), then, has possessed telling elements of religious meaning from time immemorial. In ancient conceptualizing, it means (as yet) unformed, 'unstructured' space, to be interpreted as standing in contraposition to a harmoniously ordered cosmos—or if, of itself, it presses toward that structure, then as a preliminary step to cosmos. Cosmos, then, means structured reality. The denomination 'chaos,' on the other hand, denotes the 'structureless' dimension of reality, which menaces identity, if not life itself.

Poles of Opposition

In models of understanding that think in simple contrarieties, then, the proposition of chaos can be associated, depending on the context, with the 'other,' the 'strange,' the 'alien' (as opposed to one's 'own'), with darkness and the dark (as opposed to → light), with matter (as opposed to spirit), with multiplicity (as opposed to unity), with → evil (as opposed to the good), with the irrational (as opposed to the rational), with the contingent (as opposed to the necessary), and with the new (as opposed to the tried-and-true 'old'). Strikingly, in myth, chaos is readily personified in the form of the monster (especially the serpent or the dragon), as Leviathan or Behemoth (Hebrew Bible). The Egyptian Sun God Re, for example, keeps watch that the world not fall back into chaos, as each morning he repulses the serpent Apophis—whom, however, he is unable to slay. In the Babylonian myth of creation, *Enuma elish*, it is the chaotic primordial ocean, named Tiamat, regarded as woman and as a bisexual being, who in battle with the supreme god Marduk, creates monsters, snakes, and raging demons. In sharp contrast with chaos as disorder, stand numinous conceptualizations of order, such as Maat (Egypt), Me (Sumer), Dao (China), Asha (Persia), Rita and → Dharma (India), and Logos (Greece, especially with Heraclitus). Here one sees a close connection between the various representations of chaos and order, and a religious awareness.

Mythical Animal Forms

Scientific Conquest of Chaos

2. The modern scientific notion that, on the basis of their own cognitive faculties, human beings might manage to overcome chaos and dominate a nature generally ordered by the 'laws' of mathematics, was as yet foreign to antiquity. Antiquity conceived chaos as an abiding reality and as one that everlastingly and repeatedly endangered order. The modern notion is surely bound up with the Judeo-Christian thought of a transcendent, almighty, legislating, creating God, who has made the world out of nothing and has committed this good creation in trusteeship to his image and likeness, the human person.

In this modern conception of the world, ideally oriented to a total, mathematical regularity, chaos is reified as a quasi-independent quantity. Here, chaos represents an expressly negative value. In the framework of a math-

ematically, hierarchical thinking, the appropriate procedure is to exclude chaos in any form. Now one may seek to play off rational order against an irrational chaos, and—precisely in the political arena, as well—one may speak of a downright 'fear in the face of chaos' (J. Schumacher). In an order of eternally prevailing laws, there can be nothing unforeseeably new, and indeed no creativity in the narrow sense. But in the modern context of *philosophy of life*, chaos can be evaluated positively as a yet unformed, inexhaustible plenum open to various formative possibilities. Here it can be conceived as the source of 'creative' life forces that dynamically press to the fore, and be set over against a 'paralyzed,' unproductive, 'orderly' thinking. Modern univocity and uniformity strive in the opposite direction and seek to exclude ambivalences. According to Zygmunt Baumann, modernity has even promised humankind the complete eradication of chaos. As has become painfully evident as the third millennium gets under way, modernity has been incapable of keeping that promise. Reality itself (and not only our conceptualization of the same) seems at present to be growing ever less unequivocal, less lucid—and more chaotic.

Positive Appraisal of Chaos in Philosophy of Life

Chaos Theory and Self-Organization

3. In this connection, of course, one must cite the scientifically grounded *theory of chaos*, which leads to a rehabilitation of the primitive concept in such a manner that this rehabilitation seeks to subject chaos to disciplining at the hands of mathematical methods. Here, doubtless, is the decisive difference from the ancient concept of chaos as rather 'fated.' One distinguishes the modern notion in the attempt to render supposedly 'incalculable' or 'unaccountable' chaos sufficiently available to a calculating thinking—one that must be able to 'take account' of reality—that is interested in predictability and planning, that at least a 'weak causality' can go on being a premise. Alongside nonreligious, naturalistic versions of chaos theory, we also find religious interpretations. These tend to holism (Ganoczy 1995), and postulate a God, of a self-organizing dynamics, completely included in the 'open' process of becoming. Here the traditional personal, almighty, eternal God who intervenes in the world from without is bidden farewell. A certain rehabilitation of the elements of chance found in ancient conceptions of chaos is observable, on the macrophysical level, in 'chaotic' forms of the dynamics of meteorological events, and indeed in all so-called 'turbulences.' Here it is radically evident that the human being must acknowledge impassable frontiers of even short-term predictability.

"Apologia for the Accidental"

4. The 'apologia for the accidental' or the 'coincidental' (O. Marquard), once more moving to the fore powerfully in philosophy today, has, then, religious content. This is shown by the fact that after the obvious failure of all comprehensive, unicausal scientific attempts to explain the world, the task of managing contingency is entrusted to religion. In this perspective, religion can indeed be interpreted as a (more or less persuasive) quest for victory over chaos. Here is a quest that has surely adopted a great variety of cultural and time-conditioned forms over the course of intellectual history, but which, as 'anthropological constant,' is a quest that embraces tradition and modernity, and one at hand in virtually all cultures.

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→ *Meaning/Signification, Place (sacred), Rationalism*

Wolfgang Gantke

Charisma

1. The concept *charisma* (Gk., 'kindness,' 'complaisance,' 'gift'; from *cháris*, 'amiability,' 'charm,' 'benevolence,' 'physical attractiveness'), has undergone a change of meaning in its history. Originally it is to be traced back to the Apostle Paul, who used it in strong dependence on the Christian gifts of 'grace' (such as prophetical speech, instruction and admonition, mercy), and on offices or responsibilities. This notion does not address particular qualities of the individual, but the concept that each person has particular charismas within the community, that come to expression in his activity for the community (charisma of 'office'). For today's meaning of the concept of 'charisma,' on the other hand, it is essential that the concept describe phenomena in religious society that are not infrequently charged with the negative connotation of 'seduction,' mental 'suggestion,' and the like, when referring to individual, *charismatic personalities* or to characteristics of → charismatic movements.

History of the Concept

2. In church history, 'charisma' had more of a subordinate meaning. Already Paul appraised in a rather skeptical manner special gifts like speaking in tongues, spiritual healing, that play a central role in today's charismatic movements. Only at the end of the nineteenth century did it acquire the new meaning of a 'spiritual principle of the invisible Church' (Rudolph Sohm, 1841–1920) that stressed a quality of 'outside of the ordinary,' and began to be employed by Max → Weber as a concept of the sociology of governance and rule. For Weber, charisma is bound up with what characterizes the 'leader'—a personality believed to be "equipped with supernatural or superhuman, or at least specifically extraordinary powers or characteristics not accessible to all."[1] Here the essential mark is that the charismatic personality comes to be ascribed this status only through the faith of his or her followers, so that this personality finally wins authority and control. In religious studies, charisma was also conceived as a characteristic of the → sects (G. van der Leeuw, J. Milton Yinger), and then transferred to the charismatic movements. In research into totalitarianism, and in historical studies, the 'charismatic' is also included in the description of politicians' mass effect: Mussolini, Hitler, and Mao generated intense emotions, the experience of coalescence, and ritual acclamation by means of highly wrought, declamatory presentations.

Charismatic Personalities

3. In today's understanding of the concept, charismatic personalities conjoin two characteristics: a magnetic attraction and qualities of leadership. With Max Weber's description of the 'leader,' other types of 'charismatic personalities' can be included in a religious context, such as the *messiah* (Heb., *mashiah,* the 'anointed' one), and the → *guru* (Sans., 'teacher'). Both are attributed authority of instruction or command by the body of their followers. Messianism can even turn against established power structures, to become a movement. What is important is a personal, emotional bond between the 'faithful' and the 'chosen one,' and group formations are not infrequently dashed in the sequel of the charismatic governance in question. Last but not least, this reciprocal effect between followers and 'their' charismatic rests on the expectation of a salvation or rescue posited more or less in the very person of the charismatic: in psychological terms, in a 'projective identification.'

The concept of 'charisma' has long been included in our colloquial language: as a trait of especially successful politicians, film or television stars, one's next door neighbor—persons who arouse enthusiasm for themselves in others. On the one side, the concept denotes the 'extraordinary' amidst the ordinary, often in a very unspecific way, and on the other, the charismatically gifted figure become a cult figure, the object of a contemporary hero-worship.

1. Weber, Max, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, 5th ed., Tübingen 1976, 140.

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→ *Authority, Charismatic Movement, Hero/Heroism, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Jutta Bernard and Günter Kehrer

Charismatic Movement

1. *Charismatic movement* is a collective concept for Christian missionary movements that legitimate and document their task of persons' awakening through what are called 'gifts of the Spirit' (Gk., *charismata*; → Charisma), such as healing and 'speaking in tongues' (glossolalia). These movements have some 200 million members worldwide and stand in the tradition of the Pentecostal and awakening movements.

Historical Development

2. What is understood today as the charismatic movement in the more proper sense sprang up in the 1960s in the United States. The foundation



Preacher Reinhard Bonnke at the opening service of the major charismatic event, "Euro-Fire-Conference." Two healings were on the program, in token of the working of the Holy Spirit. According to her own testimony, the young woman in the picture was cured of blindness in one eye. The man standing beside her felt delivered from an affliction of the feet, and, all enthusiastic, cast his sandals into the assembly. The preacher's gesture looks like the expression of a cry of jubilation, possibly a 'Hallelujah!' Mass movements like this make a decisive contribution to the success of the charismatic movements.

of its success had already been laid in the forties and fifties, especially through television broadcasts (→ Televangelism). Thus, public efforts and the media were an important element in the charismatic movement from the outset. In the 1960s, the charismatic movement succeeded in winning a great many members even from the traditional Protestant spectrum. The charismatic movement was effective both within existing churches, as a renewal movement, and as a trigger for independent community foundations (Jesus People Revival). In 1967, the charismatic movement gained a foothold in the Catholic Church, and there enjoyed the support of the institution itself. Besides the United States (Word of God Community in Ann Arbor, Michigan), the Catholic charismatic movement has found great numbers of devotees especially in France (*Renouveau Charismatique*). In other countries of Europe as well, but especially in Asia, Africa, and South and Central America, where it has been able to make connections with the indigenous traditions of ethnic religions, the charismatic movement has continued to find members.

Content of Belief

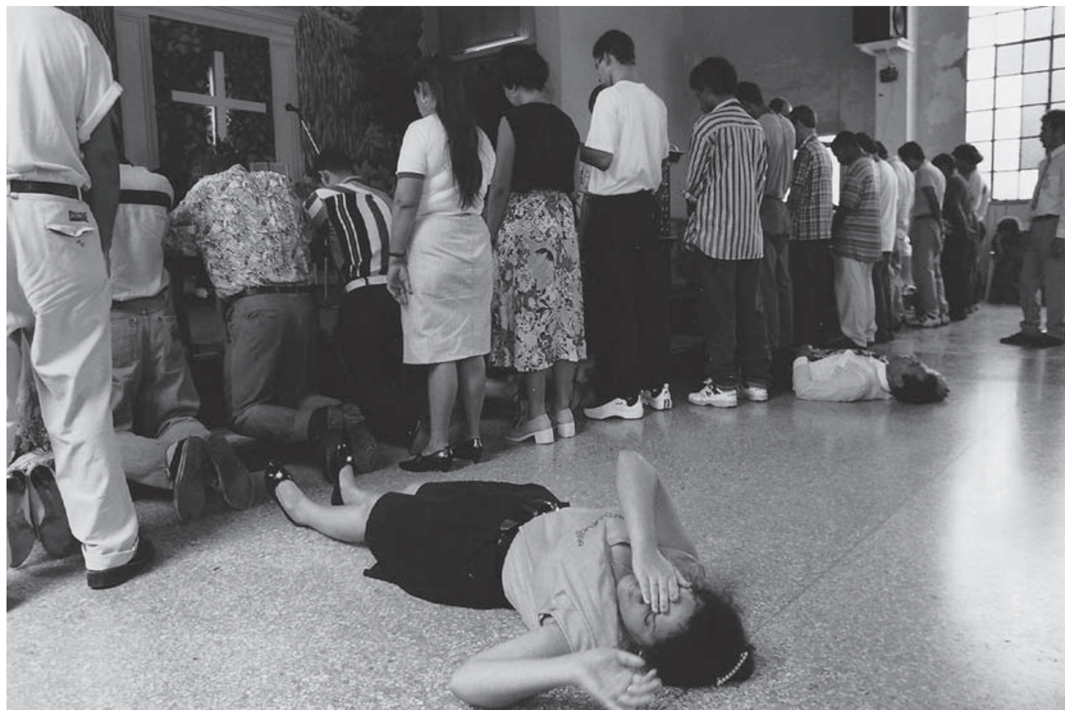
3. Despite charismatics' tendency to openness, and to great variety from country to country and community to community, it is possible to describe certain core elements of the content of charismatic belief.

(1) The Bible is the indefectible, inerrant word of God.

(2) The power of the Holy Spirit is revealed in the community through gifts of the spirit, such as prophecy, healing, or speaking in tongues (1 Cor 12:4-11).

(3) Ideally, reception into the community is consequent not upon birth, but on a free and conscious decision on the part of the mature person. This 'surrender of one's life to Jesus' takes place before the assembled community, but need not be accompanied by the formal act of (re-)baptism (→ Baptists).

(4) On grounds of an imminent expectation of the return of Christ (emphasized in varying degrees), bound up with demonological concepts, it is felt most urgent to convert as many persons as possible to Jesus, and to 'do battle with Satan,' since:



Charismatic divine service in Cuba. Many of those who take part in charismatic services experience the working of the Holy Spirit so intensely that they are literally 'bowled over.' Unlike persons in the picture, those caught up in this 'overturning' experience are not left alone, at least not in matured charismatic communities, but as a rule are attended to by pastoral workers.

(5) Only those who have surrendered their life to Jesus can be sure of their salvation in the Last Judgment.

(6) Conversion must be demonstrated in one's manner of life, especially in love of neighbor and the keeping of the Ten Commandments. Here concrete expression is subject to several conceptualizations, more readily to be referred to the conservative spectrum (so that abortion and extramarital relations are shunned, and the place of the husband in the family is emphasized).

3. The culture of the charismatic movement is decidedly of an oral character, with emphasis on songs, sermons, and dances. Divine services have the character of an 'event,' and elements of pop culture are incorporated. Rhythmic music and 'catchy' songs create a mood of expectancy and contribute to the mobilization and participation of all present. Sermons are frequently supported by music and move, through dramatic moments of tension, to the 'experience': the climax, regularly a manifestation of the Holy Spirit, through speaking in tongues, healings, or prophetic visions. Healing and prophetic visions are generally reserved to religious functionaries, such as preachers or community assistants, while speaking in tongues often becomes a mass phenomenon. Thus, on occasion, strikingly turbulent situations arise, in which individuals or entire groups may fall under trance-like conditions. These intense experiences are clearly part of the secret of the charismatic movement's success, especially in lands of the 'Third World,' where elements of indigenous religions and cultures—for example, traditions of African healing, or of Korean → shamanism—are swept up and integrated into the divine services of the charismatic movement.

4. Worldwide, nearly every charismatic community is distinguished by close networks of pastoral availability, pastoral schooling, and concrete

offers of help in situations of need, as well as by a high degree of commitment and engagement on the part of believers. Here, clearly, the charismatic movement offers many persons the support for which they long, in a world they experience as confused and anonymous. Still, the charismatic movement does not attack existing governmental and societal structures; on the contrary, it is rather stabilizing in their regard. The spirituality of the charismatic Pentecostal groupings has always been egalitarian: that is, it seeks to overcome boundaries of class and race—mostly, to be sure, only within their own communities, without pretensions to change the whole of society. The image of woman tends to be conservative; still, many communities even accept them in positions of leadership. Statements on the *religious and social origin* of the members must remain speculative, as representative investigations are lacking. What is clear is that the nucleus of many newly founded communities consists of persons of an intense Christian socialization, often coming from reform movements that have since become institutionalized.

There is no central transregional authority. Community foundations are often closely connected with individual charismatic persons or with small groups. Nevertheless, the members of the most varied groupings feel themselves to be part of the movement. This feeling of 'belonging' is manifested in worldwide *networks*, usually with a low degree of institutionalization. Institutions are generally looked upon somewhat askance, and accepted only as means to the end.

Over the years and the decades, charismatic enthusiasm has obviously not always succeeded in maintaining itself. Disintegration, or institutionalization and canonization, seem to be the two principal threats to the awakening movements over the long term. Thus, ever new 'waves' of mobilization are necessary, and these are looked upon by their half or wholly established antecedents partly as welcome and partly with mistrust.

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→ *Central America, Charisma, Fundamentalism, Group, North America, South America, Spiritism, Trance*

Claudia Haydt

Charitable Organizations

Task of All Religions

1. Concern for those who have fallen into need, to support them, in deed, by counsel, and with economic assistance, is regarded as an important duty by all religions. Commitment to the cause of the weak is one of the fundamental commandments with which the religions foster the cohesiveness of society. Granted, there are differences in the determination of the goal: whether *caritas* (Lat., '[unselfish] love,' 'charity') is exhausted merely in the bestowal of superfluities or alms, so that one acquires religious merit thereby, or whether instead, solidarity and social justice are the goal.

Here, it is necessary to deal especially with the question of institutionalization. The greatest reason for this concern is that the areas of responsibility among the works of charity have broadened in the present, both quantitatively and qualitatively (underdevelopment, environmental catastrophes, AIDS).

Alms or Solidarity: Christianity

2. In Christianity, the requirement of *caritas* (in Gk., *agape*) is rooted in the commandment of love of neighbor, and originates in the love of God for human beings revealed in Jesus Christ (Matt 5:43). *Caritas* here denotes, for one, the individual's compassionate address to those in need of help, and for another, the organized activity of charity, both in the Catholic Church, and in the Protestant churches where it is called *diakonia*. In the recent history of Christianity, the social consequences of the industrial revolution have hastened the institutionalization of works of charity. For example, in 1848, the *Central-Ausschuß für die Innere Mission* (Ger., 'Central Commission for Home Mission') was founded, and in 1897 the *Caritasverband für das katholische Deutschland* (Ger., 'Caritas Association for Catholic Germany'). The tendency to form associations continued, through the following years, and up to the present. Thus, in 1924, for the merger of the national *Caritasverbände* ('Caritas Associations') with *Caritas Internationalis* (Lat.), with headquarters in Rome since 1951, and, in 1957, the *Kirchliche Internationale Hilfswerk* ('Church International Assistance') and *Innere Mission,* began to approach their 1976 fusion into the *Diakonische Werk der EKD* ('Diaconal Project of the Evangelical Church of Germany'). In England and North America, the great awakening movements of the nineteenth century, in their struggle against slavery and mass impoverishment, produced organizational forms of works of mercy that crossed traditional church boundaries. In the large churches, too, as, for example, in the Anglican Church, new forms of charitable activities emerged, outside traditional offices and structures. In many of the 'Free Churches,' organizations of assistance have genuine independence in their action, as with the *Mennonite Central Committee*, or with the organ of the Quakers known as the *American Friends Service Committee*. In the Orthodox Churches, social concerns *per se* are seen not as the responsibility of the churches, but as personal charitable activities. Nevertheless, for example in North America, Orthodox works of charity have been institutionalized as well, in the association known as *International Orthodox Christian Charities*. Finally, in recent decades, from the → ecumenical movement on the one hand, and on the other, in the wake of globalization, new dimensions are burgeoning in Christian activities of charity. These new dimensions are taking shape in inter-ecclesial assistance and collaboration in development, as well as in commitments to peace and healthy environmental conditions, especially in the 'conciliar process for justice, peace, and the preservation of creation.'

Principle of Subsidiarity

Judaism

3. Works of charity in Judaism are based on *tzedaqah* ('justice,' as a universal norm) and *gemilot hassadim* ('pious works of love,' in the sense of individual activities of charity). *Tzedaqah* comports a strongly obligating character, on the basis of an actual right to assistance enjoyed by those in need. Furthermore—as in many other religions as well—almsgiving falls in the spectrum of charitable action. According to Maimonides, the obligation of *tzedaqah* surpasses all of the other commandments, and the

supreme form of beneficence consists in helping those in need of assistance 'with help for self-help,' and thus delivering them from their need for help—a decisive element in the charitable work of Jewish aid organizations in recent times.

Islam

4. Terminologically, the Arabic word *sadaqat* closely binds Islam to this same understanding. *Sadaqat,* however, denotes voluntary almsgiving, and it is in the *tzaqat,* the social tax incumbent upon every Muslim, that the note of obligation comes to expression. *Tzaqat,* again, although etymologically related to the Arabic *tzaqa* ('grow,' 'be pure'), still retains the associative overtones of the Syrian Christian *tzeqota,* 'service,' 'diakonia.' As shown in sura 2:117 for example, a committed service to the poor belongs to Muslim piety in the same way as does the faith itself, and this not only for neighbors, but also for orphans, the poor, travelers, and beggars. On this basis, Islam has repeatedly placed works of charity at the focus of ethical action. It is not Islam's alleged fatalism, but its pious foundations and endowments (*awqaf*; sing. *waqf*), that determine its historical importance; as early as the time of the Crusades, Muslim hospitals were an example to Christianity. Islamic reform movements set new accents: besides the socialism imported from the West, there is also a proper Islamic socialism (→ Socialism II), which strives to enable the poor to participate in the wealth of society. In similar wise, with *ta'awun* (cooperation), and *tahaful* (reciprocal responsibility), Muslim Brothers formulate demands for creating works of charity that transcend the concept of mere works of mercy. Today, Islamic groups of the most varied direction are typically active precisely where state social services fail: on the level of altogether concrete work in the city quarters, by way of neighborhood assistance and village development projects. On the basis of their roots in the population, the Brothers usually dispose of a better infrastructure than do the corresponding institutions managed by government offices. The offer of charitable assistance likewise belongs to the profile of Islamic international organizations. In its very charter, the Islamic World League assumes the obligation of fostering prosperity (*masalih*) among persons, and to stand at the disposition of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Thus, the League sponsors the Islamic Solidarity Fund and the Islamic Development Bank, two funds available for intervention in situations of need and catastrophic cases.

Muslim Brothers

Various independent Islamic groups as well have a high esteem for works of charity. For the Ibadites, for example, the activity of charity is based on the principle of solidarity (*walaya*). The Ahmadiyya, especially in Africa, have at their disposal a wide network of clinics, orphanages, and other social institutions. The Ismailites organize social programs and development projects through the Aga Khan endowment institution.

5. In the religious traditions of India, accents on the founding of works of charity have been placed somewhat differently, and this since as early as the time of the Vedas. In the traditions of India (→ Indian Subcontinent), ethical behavior is anchored in the concepts of world order (*dharma*) and the consequences of acts (*karma*). Charitable activity is grounded in the *dharma*, and issues from the demand to fulfill one's obligation to care for one's fellow human beings in the framework of the ideal phases of life (*ashramas*), and within the system of classes (*varna*). This gathers up good *karma*, and thereby raises one's prospects for a better rebirth. Buddhism

Buddhism

has fanned out religious concepts especially wide, when it comes to the basis of charitable action. The supreme goal, the removal of suffering (*dukkha*), finds its counterpart in active care and effort for the conquest of suffering in all of its individual and social forms. Compassion, in the form of an actively loving benevolence (*metta*), along with co-suffering felt interiorly (*karuna*), and inner gladness (*mudita*) in the sense of loving concern for one's neighbors, conform to the four *brahma vihara*s, the highest Buddhist ideals. So does *upekkha,* the ideal of equanimity, which is to guide believers throughout every commitment. *Dana,* the almsgiving whose goal is primarily the support of monks and nuns, has a more general meaning as well: it describes any act of charitable activity performed in regard to fellow human beings or any other creature.

Jainism

Apart from Buddhism, in Jainism the commandment of 'harmlessness' and 'mindfulness' vis-à-vis all living beings has been specially emblazoned on the breast. In Mahayana Buddhism—to a certain extent as an ethical counterpart to the practice of the principle of knowledge (*prajna*)—*karuna* is the conceptual center of the concrete activity of love or charity. Indeed, in many traditions, a refusal to give alms receives the evaluation of transgression and wickedness. Recently, the meaning of works of charity has been informed with a new dynamism: in East Asia, new Buddhist movements such as the Sokagakki ascribe an altogether special worth to helping the poor and the sick; the Sarvodaya movement in Sri Lanka orients its programs of assistance to Buddhist principles without appealing to → Gandhi's thought; and in Thailand many social projects are to be found that are based on the initiative of local temples. From Thailand, as well, an initiative has emerged to promote and foster the networking of Buddhist individuals and groups for whom not only the social dimension of Buddhism, but also its practical translation into the form of the works of charity, is a special desire. This work is done in consort with the *International Network of Engaged Buddhists* (INEB, founded in 1989). Furthermore, both the Sarvodaya movement and the INEB, in their work, call special attention to the inter-religious dimension of works of charity.

Hinduism

6. Along with the adoption of pre-Buddhist motifs, some of the religious foundations for Hindu works of charity are borrowed from Buddhism. As examples, let us cite *karuna,* in the sense of ethically connected acts of the diminishment of suffering; *dana*, as religiously motivated almsgiving; or *ahimsa,* the ideal of nonviolence. In addition, there is the tradition of *bhakti*—trustful, loving surrender to the divine gift of grace—the foundation of Hindu activity of love. Finally, such figures as Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, or Radhakrishnan and Gandhi, have posited demands for a reinforced engagement in the area of charity, at the focus of the 'reform Hinduism' that they represent. This Hinduism takes the ideals of social justice, and the tasks of the promotion of welfare, and integrates them into Hindu identity. Simultaneously, this same Hinduism turned against the colonial rulers, whose governing practices they saw as so obviously contradicting the Christian ideals of the colonialists themselves.

New Foundations

7. Many new religious foundations also place works of charity in the foreground. For Baha'i, as a religion sprung from the Islamic context, merci-

ful beneficence plays an emphatic, key role. The Baha'i vision is one of a new world order in the oneness of the human race. In entering the area of Shintô, it would be important, for instance, to cite Tenriko. In its works of charity, Tenriko brings to expression, in a testifying mode, the event of healing that it expects to emerge from the awaited realm of salvation. In the Christian context, in Africa and Latin America, again, → charismatic movements offer a multiplicity of small, but effective services of assistance. In rural areas, as well as in the slums of the large cities, they connect to traditional concepts. These are already signed by the context of the ethnic religions, and their charitable commitment is directed to areas oftentimes neglected in the interaction of traditional piety and missionary Christianity. In particular, these neglected areas include programs for widows and orphans, as well as simply the poor. In the ethnic religions, the center of gravity for works of charity may, more than in many other religious traditions, lie in charitable activity with regard to members of one's own group. Material wealth is a sign of religious power, and signifies salvation—only, however, when the community participates in it! But solidarity with the poor is engaged by the few, then, and, precisely in the case of greater catastrophes, transcends ethnic boundaries. Thus, many West African ethnic groups offered refuge to the nomads fleeing from the drought of the Sahel zone; the Tanzanians gave asylum to neighbors fleeing the genocide in Rwanda.

Autonomy of Basic Secular Moral Values?

8. With the offer of works of charity comes the problem of the relationship between merciful charity and social justice. Here, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, for example, show a closer proximity to egalitarian ideals than do religions such as Buddhism or Hinduism. Of course, this distinction can be evaluated as a mere difference in stage, and not as a fundamental difference, as is shown in the engagement of certain basic social groups of Buddhist or Hindu provenance. Further, in connection with the discussion of a 'world ethos' (→ Ethics/Morals), the question has arisen of the extent to which diaconic action and charitable organizations have need of a religious foundation. After all, in all religions, there are currents emerging from the authenticity and uniqueness of their specific religious ethics, or, at best, such currents observe criteria of action founded in religion for legitimacy. Conversely, one must ask whether the religions do not, after all, have to acknowledge the autonomy of foundational moral values. In that case, they would also have to recognize a secular ethos as the fundament of charitable action, such as comes to expression in the social → human rights.

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→ Contribution, Endowment/Foundation, Ethics/Morals, Humanism, Illness/Health, Poverty, Society

Klaus Hock

Child / Childhood I: Stage of Life

Concept

1. *Childhood* is that earliest time in a person's life during which she or he is looked upon as a 'child' in the social framework, that is, as not having equal rights with 'grownups.' On account of their restricted, as yet undeveloped capacities, they are excluded from many rights and duties of the adults in a society; full responsibility as members of a society, as well as for their behaviors, is not required of them. The boundaries of childhood have always been variously determined, in dependency on each society's culture and on the spirit of their times. For example, since the time of European industrialization childhood has been culturally specified as extending from the time a child begins to walk until the passing of her or his twentieth year. This is determined by the highly developed educational culture of today, which has shifted entry into the occupational life, and thereby dependence on elders, to an ever later moment in the young person's life. This in turn specifies the span of childhood as that period in which young persons are to learn what they can and must know as 'grown ups'—as up to standard, so to speak, and as fully responsible members of a society or social group. In many cultures, the term of childhood has always been measured according to when the child is capable of observing the roles and functions recognized as being those of adults. In nearly all of the cultures and religions of the world, the formal transition from childhood to adulthood is marked with special rituals (→ Child/Childhood II), in the framework of the onset of sexual maturity (→ Initiation; Puberty). The social group can be a nation, a tribal union, a religious community, or a family federation.

Childhood as Time of Rearing

2. As the time preceding full adult responsibility, childhood is typified by an initial total dependency and helplessness, and by a learning process, through imitation and exploration, that begins with birth. For any social group, this situation produces the need for a rearing (→ Socialization/Upbringing), through which the values, rules of conduct, and traditions of a group are to be transmitted to the child and practiced by him or her. The child thereby becomes warranty of the future of a social group: here it is



The story of the naughty, lovable god-baby Krishna is one of the commonplaces of Vishnu mythology. In today's India, however, the presentation of child divinities is not limited to Rama or Krishna: Shiva and Hanuman, too, appear as children in color pictures. The god in monkey form is one of the most popular gods in the Indian pantheon and ranks as the ideal, devoted, venerator (*bhakta*) of Rama, as well as the incarnation of Shiva. In the Indian national epic, the *Rāmāyana* (c. 300 BCE–300 CE), several episodes of Hanuman's childhood are recounted, and today have been taken from the powerfully emotional *bhakti* tradition and re-worked in 'soft focus.' (I. Keul)



The *crianças*, child spirits of the Afro-American Umbanda religion in Brazil, are helpful, but irresponsible and playful. Their venerable posture, emphasized by splendid capes and crowns, contrasts with the bundles of pacifiers they wear around their necks. Before the pair of statues burn two candles, as offerings. When the *crianças* are summoned, toward the end of this séance of the Umbanda ceremonial, the mediums possessed by them adopt the behavior of small children, creep about on the floor and tussle with one another delightedly. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

not a matter of merely securing the physical survival of a group, but of guaranteeing the maintenance of its knowledge and social identity, as well. Childhood therefore has a functional meaning for a society into which the child is inserted.

Religious Education

The time of highest impressionability in childhood is also the time of highest receptivity vis-à-vis religious material; and thus religious education has always been an important means of proclamation. Not by chance, the beginning of schooling has been historically powerful in the communication of religious (Christian) content, and this continues in mission schools

today. With *religious educational theory* as a part of theology, there arose a scientific branch that—analogous to *psychology of religion*—researched religious development during childhood and made recommendations for the transmission of the content of the faith. By way of complement, religious education and (in nations of Anglo-Saxon stamp) Sunday schools are regarded as an indispensable means of religious education. Owing to children's impressionability, the 'school' and confessional nature of religious education has come under increased criticism.

Conceptions of Childhood

3. a) *Childhood as a burden:* Over against the still widespread idealized view of childhood as the nursery of secure, sheltered development, in a framework 'suited for children,' stands the recognition that children have by no means always been loved and welcomed without hesitancy and for their own sake. Well into modern times, children were frequently reckoned a boon for a community only when they could perform at least small tasks. Accordingly, childhood was looked upon not as a precious time of development, but as a burdensome period of waiting for the child's full 'incorporability' into the framework of the social group—it was the road of helplessness and dependency, and it was to be traversed as speedily as possible. In societies with a strong hierarchy of classes, children were a double burden, if not all parts of the population might marry and rear their children to adulthood (for instance, in the case of slaves, serving girls and farm boys, monks and nuns), or if for economic reasons no, or not all, children could be supported. Early labor under the most difficult conditions, insufficient hygienic and medical situations, as well as physical and mental cruelty and neglect, went out of their way—and still do today, even in the modern industrial states—to make childhood a torment.

b) *Childhood as a time of security and shelter:* As a protected time and place of personal worth, dedicated to the child, for the purpose of 'carefree' child development, as is usually self-evident in Western countries today, childhood is a comparatively late development, one subsequent to the European enlightenment, and to the rise of an educated middle class in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Childhood since then, especially after the publication of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's novel *Émile, or, On Education* (1762), has for the first time been generally recognized as a *developmental phase*, a value in itself, and the object of various scientific disciplines, especially educational theory and psychology. Sigmund → Freud's idea of a proper infantile → sexuality, and → psychoanalysis, destroyed, around 1900, the hitherto prevailing supposition of the child as 'innocent,' which had far-reaching consequences for social behavior with children (ascription to children of their own personality from birth, attention to their own willing, with consequences vis-à-vis their sexual self-determination, and so on). 'Childhood' itself was subdivided into—somewhat contested—phases of development (e.g., nursling, 0–2 yrs.; small child, 2–6 yrs.; school child, 6–14 yrs.; and complemented with puberty, 14–18 yrs.; adolescence, 19–c. 25 yrs.). The concept of the 'oedipal phase,' as Freud developed it (→ Oedipus), became common currency. Further, in function of the notion of a development by phases, children (and, later, young persons) were ascribed a gradually mounting responsibility for their activity and position in the community, which also determined their ascription of rights and duties, and these grew with age.

c) *Childhood in harmony with nature:* Typically enough, it is precisely cultures once called 'primitive,' with a strong experience of their reference to nature (e.g., certain Indians of North America and South Sea peoples), who give children a greater scope. Here, children are often free of obligations until puberty, and to a certain extent grow up in their own spaces and with their own rules. Childhood, here, is a clearly delimited space of time, which permits liberties that later are no longer conceded.

Child/Childhood in a Religious Framework

4. Childhood begins with → birth (symbol of the origin of all life). At first, birth was not seen in any connection with the sexual act, being regarded instead as a mythical happening. The grounds for childlessness and abundance of children alike (fruitfulness or fertility) were closely tied up with religious conceptualizations. As the product of two opposite elements of emergence (male—female), the child eventually became a symbol of totality. In the framework of animistic conceptualizations (→ Animism), children were reckoned as a rebirth of the departed or as an incarnation of gods. By virtue of their proximity to the origin of life and their 'innocence' seen as springing therefrom, they counted at once as ideal sacrifices for the warding off of especially dreadful events and as vehicles of salvation.

The latter type is active in many religions today. *Birth and childhood myths*, which set actual everyday events in a mythically sublimated light through tales of wonder, are seen as testifying to and legitimating the exalted position of the herald (e.g., Horus, Apollo, Dionysus, Hercules, Mithra, Krishna, Rama, the → Buddha, → Jesus); the child becomes the 'hero,' the 'divine child.' In this new evaluation, the child is the bearer of divine or godlike powers and wisdom, and thus the object of deep veneration as *alive* (and not as a sacrifice). This is not necessarily transferred to the profane child of the everyday: In Christianity, newborns are far from being thought of as innocent—instead, they are seen as afflicted with original sin.

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→ *Child/Childhood II, Life Cycle, Socialization/Upbringing*

Matthias Pilger-Strohl

Child / Childhood II: Ritual

Rituals of Acceptance

1. In every culture, the child is the vessel of the future community; thus, the social order of a society is reflected in the manner in which the child is dealt with and reared. This begins with the very concept of *child*, whose content is different in different cultures. The biological beginning of the



At this possession ritual in Banjang, Cameroon, the participation of a (female) child is indispensable: The mask of Obasi Njom (god of medicine) so thoroughly exhausts itself that the possessed person sinks to the ground. Men with rifles provide symbolic protection for the mask. New power must now be transmitted to the god by his ritual wife, a duty which only a virgin can discharge. This 1975 scene shows the girl during the transferal of power to the god. In later years, now a young woman, she was deprived of her suitability for this task by pregnancy, so that Obasi Njom no longer appeared, until another girl was designated for the task by an oracle. (Benita von Behr)

person/child is → birth, which, previously—owing to the manifold dangers for mother and/or child—was surrounded with many religious usages. But a child is not only a biological being, she or he is also a *social being.* In this respect as well, certain rituals have often marked children's ultimate inclusion as members of society. Thus, with the Teutons, the Greeks, and other peoples, a child was recognized as a member of the clan only after the father had taken it in his arms from the midwife. Unless he did so, the child was exposed to die. This was the usual fate of girls, or handicapped children, in economically poor societies. In *Christianity*, the ritual that made a child a member of the community has been → baptism, except in the case of groups not recognizing infant baptism. Although baptism is properly the symbol for reception into a faith community, it has also been the symbol of reception into society in general at the same time, since church and society were formerly inseparable. In *Judaism* and *Islam*, → circumcision marks the ritual reception of a boy into the community. In Judaism, this occurs on about the tenth day after birth, in Islam between approximately the eighth and tenth year of life. For girls, in these cultures, there is no equivalent ritual of reception. The circumcision of girls, in Egypt or Somalia for example, must be judged differently: here it is a matter of the subjection or destruction of female sexuality by agents of a male-dominated religion and society. Although societies originally Christian, as well, were long under male control (and in some respects continue to be so today), they have not formed gender-specific childhood rituals of this type.

Exclusion from the Sacred

2. Children are as a rule excluded from sacred, → ritual actions until their initiation, and uninitiated girls often beyond. They receive access to the sacred through authorized rituals, which are usually preceded by a preparation of varying lengths, often concluding with an examination. These rituals symbolize the transition from the phase of ignorance (childhood) into that of knowledge (age of adulthood); thus they recall initiations into mystery cults.

Even where children serve as religious assistants (e.g., altar servers, temple dancers), they remain unconsecrated, and cannot celebrate the full rite themselves. Here the aspect of → purity and innocence stands in the foreground. In the original sense, such assistance could therefore be offered only by as yet uninitiated children, those not yet sexually mature, since in nearly all religions → sexuality has been considered unclean, and has had to be kept at a distance from sacred activity and areas.

End of Childhood

3. In many cultures, the end of childhood is also ritually observed. Thus, in *Hinduism*, a number of initiation rituals are celebrated, dependent, naturally, on one's membership in a particular → caste. In the three highest castes, childhood for boys ends with the *upanayana* ritual. Here a cord is run from the left shoulder to beneath the right arm. The age at which the ritual is celebrated is determined by caste: for Brahmans, in the eighth year, for Kshatriyas (warriors) in the twelfth, and for Vaishyas in the twelfth. In this case, just as in that of birth, the end of childhood is not determined only biologically (for example, with the onset of → puberty); rather this, again, is a matter of culture. Similarly, since girls and persons without caste have no 'caste responsibility,' the end of their childhood is not ritually observed: from a certain viewpoint, they remain children. In today's Western societies, there are no longer any general religious boundaries to childhood. Instead, childhood boundaries are set at the transitions from one stage of schooling to the next.

Literature

See Child/Childhood I; in addition: Middleton, John (ed.), From Child to Adult: Studies in the Anthropology of Education, New York 1970; Marcus, Ivan G., Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe, New Haven 1996; Müller, Claudia, Kindheit und Jugend in der griechischen Frühzeit. Eine Untersuchung zur pädagogischen Bedeutung von Riten und Kulten, Gießen 1988; Sommerville, C. John, The Rise and Fall of Childhood, Beverly Hills 1982.

→ *Birth, Family, Child/Childhood I, Initiation, Puberty, Ritual, Socialization/Upbringing*

Leo Tepper (sections 1, 3) / Matthias Pilger-Strohl (section 2)

China / Japan / Korea

1. *On the nature of the entry*: The religions of East Asia exercise a power of attraction resting primarily on the conception that East Asian religiosity is marked by profound religious knowledge, spirituality, and tolerance. This picture of a specifically East Asian religiosity is cultivated especially by persons from outside East Asia who seek, and then find, or think that they have found, in East Asian religions what they miss in their own religious environment. Those who cultivate this image are usually ignorant of the fact that it embodies a religiosity that is only that of educated East Asia, and even this only to the extent that it takes its point of departure in individual piety. What is generally imagined of East Asian piety outside



Temporary shrine in Hong Kong in honor of the 'Great Deity, King of the Seas,' and other divinities. In the south coastal regions of China, such shrines are the regular scene of rituals for the welfare and prosperity of fishing and sailing. (S. P. Bumbacher)



Employees of Nankai Railroad Co. gather for an ancestor commemoration in the Confucian tradition. Like many firms in Japan, Nankai maintains its own shrine, in this case on Mount Koya, near Kyôto, at which the 'ancestors' of the enterprise are recalled. (Benita von Behr)

East Asia ordinarily stands in opposition to usual East Asian religiosity. The latter is 'usual' because, first, its modalities define the sum-total of the religious life of all classes, and therefore, in competition with individual piety, define the religious life of the upper classes as well. It is also 'usual' in the sense that it focuses on worldly good fortune and worldly order, and thus, also and precisely, on material prosperity and political stability. In ordinary East Asian religiosity, in other words, the point is not to encounter a god and thereby to gain salvation. The divine therefore does not operate as an instance to which one would irrevocably deliver oneself.

Receiving Felicity

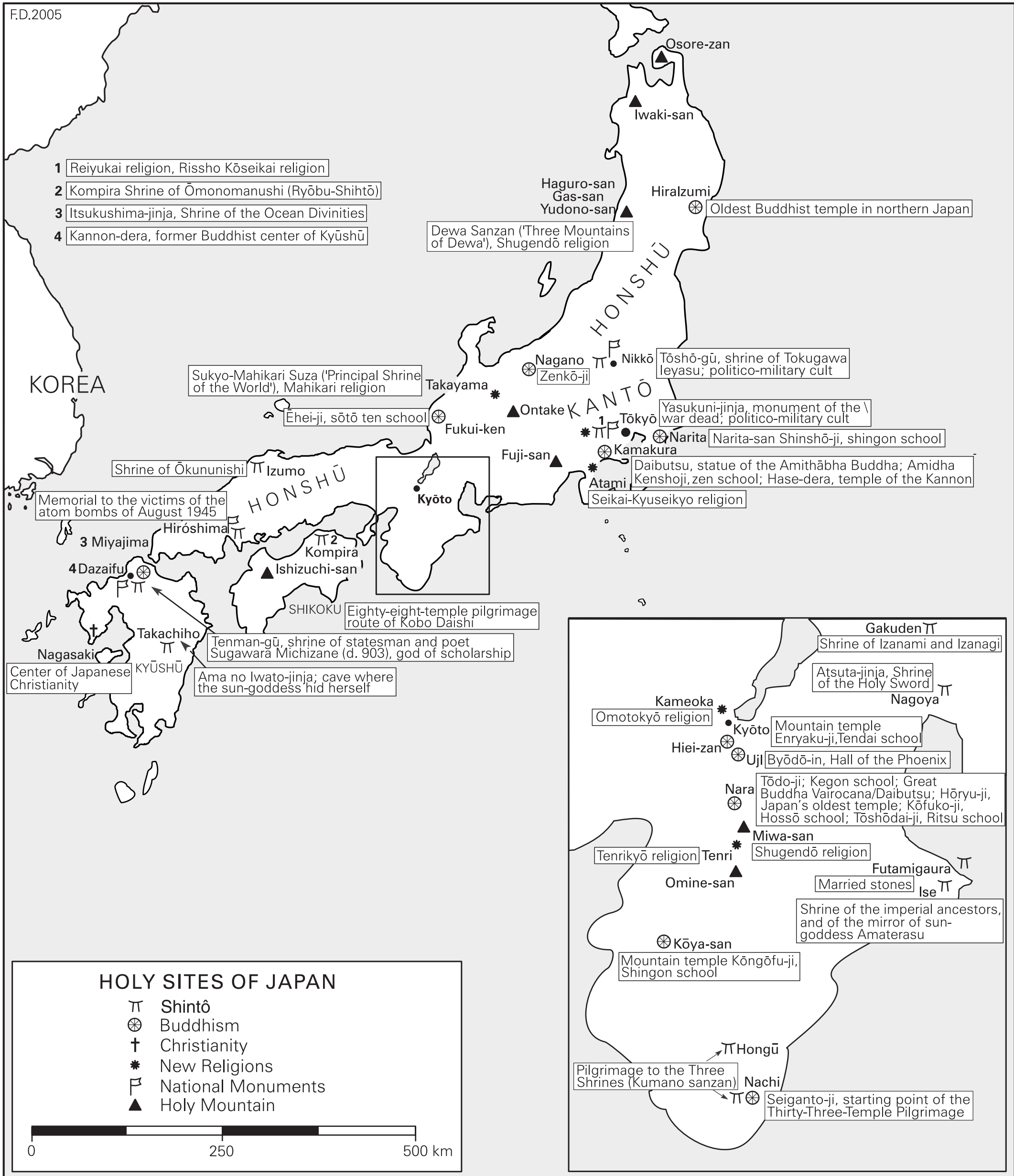
Rather, one can influence gods and spirits: one can understand and interpret them, and then entice and cajole them; indeed one must do so in order not to lose their favor. Religiosity in East Asia is therefore principally the human contribution to a cooperation with the gods, and not worship of, or submission to, a divine omnipotence. Thus, an understanding of East Asian religiosity depends decisively on worldly human striving shifting into the foreground.

Pragmatic Nature of Spirituality

A proper view of the religiosity of East Asia therefore falls first on pragmatics. Thus, it is largely excluded that the religions of East Asia be addressed at all as 'religions' and thereby as distinct social systems, in the sense of Niklas Luhmann, as the religions of the Judeo-Christian space can be principally regarded. The East Asian religions have never understood themselves as 'religions' in the sense just indicated, and this over the greater part of East Asian history of culture. This manner of peculiar or particular interpretation has arisen only in modern times, and thus far only in certain of the religions. If nevertheless one speaks here of 'East Asian religions,' as one does in the sense of the conventional division of



MONGOLIA
NEIMENGGU ZIZHIQU
LIAONING
Dunhuang
Cave-temple locations, with wall painting
Yungang
Hengshan
Peak of the North
Beijing
Mausoleum of Mao Zedong
Wutaishan
Sanctuary of bodhisattva Manjushri / Wen Shu
HEBEI
Huanghe
Lamaist monastery
Kumbum
NINGXIA
SHANXI
SHANDONG
Taishan
Qufu
Birthplace of Confucius, reestablished cult of Confucius
Peak of the East
QINGHAI
GANSU
Tomb of the first emperor, Qin Shi Huangdi, with army of clay figures
Longmen
Songgao
Peak of the Middle
Labrang
Lamaist monastery
Xi'an
Shaolin Monastery
Martial arts center (kung fu)
Maijishan
Huashan
Peak of the West
JIANGSU
SHAANXI
ANHUI
SICHUAN
HENAN
Maoshan
HUBEI
Shanghai
Sanctuary of Master of Heaven Zhang Daoling
Center of meditative *shangquing* ('Heaven of Supreme Purity') tradition, from c. 360 CE
Qingcheng shan
Changjian
Putuoshan
Sanctuary of bodhisattva Kshitigarha / Di Zang
Sanctuary of Guan Yin, Goddess of Mercy, adaptation of Indian male bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara
Yangze
Jiuhuashan
Emeishan
Sanctuary of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra / Pu Xian. Cave sanctuary of 'Yellow Emperor' Huangdi, mythical ancestor-lord of the Chinese
Wudangshan
Longhushan
ZHEJIANG
Two-thousand-year-old cult of the god 'True Warrior,' or 'Emperor of the North,' the protecting lord of the art of war
Center of still normative Heavenly Masters tradition, appearing c. second century CE, and going back to the first master Zhang Daoling, whose family still claims the office today
HUNAN
Hengshan
Peak of the South
GUIZHOU
JIANGXI
Temple of the 'Jade Emperor'
FUJIAN
Meizhou
Luzhou
YUNNAN
Cult of Mazu ('Grandmother') or Tianshang Shengmu ('Holy Mother in Heaven'), goddess of seafarers and fishers
GUANGXI
TAIWAN
Xijiang
GUANDONG
Hong-Kong
Center of the Western Christian mission; Bible translations and missionary formation
VIETNAM
LAOS
HOLY PLACES OF CHINA
Daoism (to some extent a former state religion)
Confucianism
Buddhism
Christianity
National memorials
Sacred mountain
Archaeological site
Popular religion
Cave temple
Provincial boundary
0
250
500km
THAILAND
F.D.2005


F.D.2005
Osore-zan
Iwaki-san
1 Reiyukai religion, Rissho Kōseikai religion
2 Kompira Shrine of Ōmonomanushi (Ryōbu-Shihtō)
3 Itsukushima-jinja, Shrine of the Ocean Divinities
4 Kannon-dera, former Buddhist center of Kyūshū
Haguro-san
Gas-san
Yudono-san
Hiralzumi
Oldest Buddhist temple in northern Japan
Dewa Sanzan ('Three Mountains of Dewa'), Shugendō religion
HONSHŪ
Nagano
Zenkō-ji
Nikkō
Tōshō-gū, shrine of Tokugawa Ieyasu; politico-military cult
KOREA
Sukyo-Mahikari Suza ('Principal Shrine of the World'), Mahikari religion
Takayama
Ontake
KANTŌ
Eihei-ji, sōtō ten school
Fukui-ken
Tōkyō
Yasukuni-jinja, monument of the war dead; politico-military cult
Narita
Narita-san Shinshō-ji, shingon school
Kamakura
Fuji-san
Shrine of Ōkununishi
Izumo
Atami
Daibutsu, statue of the Amithābha Buddha; Amidha Kenshoji, zen school; Hase-dera, temple of the Kannon
Seikai-Kyuseikyo religion
Memorial to the victims of the atom bombs of August 1945
HONSHŪ
Kyōto
Hiróshima
3 Miyajima
Kompira
4 Dazaifu
Ishizuchi-san
SHIKOKU
Eighty-eight-temple pilgrimage route of Kobo Daishi
Takachiho
Tenman-gū, shrine of statesman and poet Sugawara Michizane (d. 903), god of scholarship
Nagasaki
KYŪSHŪ
Center of Japanese Christianity
Ama no Iwato-jinja; cave where the sun-goddess hid herself
Gakuden
Shrine of Izanami and Izanagi
Atsuta-jinja, Shrine of the Holy Sword
Nagoya
Kameoka
Omotokyō religion
Kyōto
Mountain temple Enryaku-ji,Tendai school
Hiei-zan
Ujl
Byōdō-in, Hall of the Phoenix
Nara
Tōdo-ji; Kegon school; Great Buddha Vairocana/Daibutsu; Hōryu-ji, Japan's oldest temple; Kōfuko-ji, Hossō school; Tōshōdai-ji, Ritsu school
Miwa-san
Tenrikyō religion
Tenri
Shugendō religion
Futamigaura
Omine-san
Married stones
Ise
Shrine of the imperial ancestors, and of the mirror of sun-goddess Amaterasu
Kōya-san
Mountain temple Kōngōfu-ji, Shingon school
Hongū
Pilgrimage to the Three Shrines (Kumano sanzan)
Nachi
Seiganto-ji, starting point of the Thirty-Three-Temple Pilgrimage
HOLY SITES OF JAPAN
Shintô
Buddhism
Christianity
New Religions
National Monuments
Holy Mountain
0
250
500 km



HOLY SITES OF KOREA
Popular religion
National monuments
Buddhism
Mountain
New Religions
0
100
200 km
CHINA
Paektusan
Korea's highest mountain, symbol of (North) Korean identity
Myohyang sa
Buddhist temple
Son'angdang
Shamanist shrine
NORTH - KOREA
Pyongyang
Kim Ilsŏng Mausoleum
1638
Kŭmgangsan
Places of worship
Shamanist shrine
Tongmulsan
Ŏdaesan
Shamanist shrine
Kangnŭng
Great annual festival of local gods of protection
Seoul
Places of worship of all religions extending throughout Korea
Insel Kanghwa
Taejonggyo places of worship, altar of Tan'gun
T'aebaeksan
1573
Places of worship, in the tradition of Chŏng Kam nok
SOUTH - KOREA
Pusŏksa
Temple: parts from the Koryŏ time (918-1392)
Shamanist festival of a female local divinity
Ŭnsan
Kyeryongsan
Places of worship/ veneration; settlements
Center of Wŏn Buddhism
Iksan
Birthplace of the founder of Ch'ŏndogyo
Kyŏngju
Korea's oldest Buddhist temples, including Pulguksa and Sŏkkuram
Maitreya temple and Chungsan'gyo
Kŭmsansa
Kajŏngni
Folk-religion places of worship/veneration
1915
Chirisan
Haeinsa
Printing plates of the Buddhist canon in Chinese
Ch'ŏnbuldong
'Village of the Thousand Buddhas'; statues of Maitreya
JAPAN
Cheju
Living folk religion
F.D.2005

the various '-isms,' then this must occur in all cognizance of the restricted validity of such manner of discourse.

Conditions such as come to expression in what follows are not peculiarities that would be attributable exclusively to the religiosity of East Asia. Only rarely until now, however, has the pragmatic nature of East Asian religions been paid adequate attention. Instead, this pragmatism is thrust aside as 'improper'—as a flattening out, and want of depth, of religious experience. On the contrary, it must be made clear that the pragmatic character of the religions of East Asia is not only a determining mode from quantitative viewpoints, but also, so to speak, an autonomous phenomenon.

Historical Sketch

2. *Historical sketch:* Testimonials of religious phenomena and religious events of East Asia that make it possible to grasp of major connections are available from China from the end of the second millennium BCE, from Japan and Korea only from the end of the third century CE and in a continuous manner from the sixth century CE. In the religious history of East Asia, China has been a kind of turntable. Two religions, Confucianism and Daoism, have their origins in northern or central China, and from there have spread across the ethnic and linguistic frontiers of their original areas to southern China, on the one hand, and to Korea and Japan on the other. Two other religions, namely Buddhism and Christianity, have arrived in China from without.

The first reliable reports on Buddhism in China relate to the middle of the first century CE, and report no more than that members of the higher classes had come in contact with it. In the second half of the fourth century, Buddhist elements from China became known in Korea, whence it arrived in Japan in the sixth century. Christianity was known in China and Japan for the first time in the sixteenth century, and in Korea around the middle of the seventeenth, but gained a certain geographic extension in all three lands only from the nineteenth century onward. The spread of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism in the region of today's China was, among other things, a paraphenomenon of the fact that the political central control at first limited to northern China could at last be solidly established out beyond the boundaries of its nuclear area. These religions reached Korea and Japan as a more or less direct consequence of the fact that political organization in Korea, as in Japan, was coordinated more and more along the lines of the Chinese model. In all three countries, there were always—as there are today—religious conceptualizations and practices whose origins can be unambiguously identified neither temporally nor locally, inasmuch as these conceptualizations and practices have been handed down almost entirely without writing. Here they are all categorized as indigenous religions. Other religions than the ones that we have named have always remained relatively insignificant in East Asia.

As universal religions, Buddhism and Christianity have been propagated throughout East Asia, as is well known. This is not true of Confucianism and Daoism. With the exception of their transmission in circles of Chinese living abroad—in the case of Confucianism also among the foreign Koreans—they have always remained confined to East Asia. In a certain sense, indeed, Daoism must be accounted a purely Chinese phenomenon. After all, in Japan and Korea—not as a salvation proclamation and mantic doctrine, it is true, but nevertheless as an institutionalized religion—it has remained all but shapeless, which does not mean that it

has not left deep traces on other religions, especially on Buddhism and → shamanism. Only with qualifications is it possible to designate Confucianism as a 'religion' at all. To do so is justifiable only insofar as Confucianism has given impressive and enduring ritual shape to family ancestor commemoration and memorial (whose *ratio* and historical origin are fully independent of Confucianism). It has also advanced the concept of → 'ancestors,' and the form of the family ancestor memorial, beyond the circle of relatives. This made it possible to transfer the eminent position attaching to ancestors to any person whomsoever who would have been seen as placed above others. Thus the form of ritual ancestor remembrance became a traditional thought image of that particular hierarchical order of state and society without which East Asia would be decidedly different than it has always been.

Ancestors

3. *Regional and social integrations:* a) Cults and their sacred places in East Asia almost always exercise a power of attraction only within narrow topographical confines. This is obvious in cases of ancestor remembrance in the narrower sense, which is enjoined a priori upon households or local segments of hereditary groups. But spatial proximity also defines communal cults, which frequently are organized in no larger units than in villages or city quarters, sometimes even only in neighborhoods. More detailed investigations have shown that the catchment area of regional cults is identical, in extreme cases, with market communities of an older sort. But these restrictions also hold good in the case of cults and places of cult that are not primarily laid out to serve the needs of smaller communities—for example, the requirements of Buddhist temples. Naturally, there are also places of worship that draw the attention of broader regions—in the extreme case that of an entire country. To these belong temples that have been founded by eminent Buddhist masters, and that over time have repeatedly been the scene of the activity of important personalities, frequently salvation-proclaiming and thaumaturgical ones. At times, the birthplaces or locales of activity of respected statesmen and military men as well are ranked with places of worship. The birthplace of Kim Ilsŏng (Kim Il-Sung, 1912–1994), founder of the North Korean state, as also the places in which he is supposed to have performed particularly important deeds, belonged to this category even during his lifetime, and are more recent examples of transregionally significant places of remembrance and veneration. Finally, there are sacred mountains or other locations with a reputation for special powers.

Proximity of Worship Communities to Places of Worship

Places of Pilgrimage

Still, by far the greater part of religious life remains confined to narrower spaces. For the majority of the population, visits to important, transregional places of worship are pilgrimages, and many persons make them, if at all, once in a lifetime.

b) The relative narrowness of religious life in East Asia is reinforced by the fact that, alongside a tendency to spatial limitation, a leaning to social restriction is likewise at work. The state of knowledge and of scholarship has not yet reached the point that entire social classes could be made out as delimiting quantities of this kind, and described in terms of the effect of each on religion. But it is nonetheless possible to recognize social units as subjects of religion.

Social Limitation

Trade Associations

East Asian religious practices can be profession or business specific. They are often evidently so among fishers, artisans, and merchants. Then their

guilds and guild-like alliances ordinarily mark the social framework of the rituals.

Male Cults

Religion in East Asia can also be gender-specific. This attribute is strikingly verified in Korea. Participants in certain village cults are exclusively men, and the deities upon which these rituals focus are likewise always of masculine gender. This fact is no longer astonishing when one takes into account that the rituals are orientated to Confucian ancestor remembrance, and that the division of the sexes is one of the prerequisites on which the Confucian social ideal rests. Nor does it bewilder, then, to see that participants in other village rituals—namely, the ones usually termed shamanistic—are exclusively women. Buddhism furthermore, as one can see from the constitution of the clergy, is a female domain.

Female Cults

Family

The nuclear family is a not to be overlooked locus of religious socialization. The family, and, to a more limited extent, the other groups of relatives, were the central, if not indeed the only, reference points in the accomplishment of life, and thereby also the loci in which the earliest religious experiences, decisive in so many ways, were had. And this they have remained for the greater part of the population of East Asia. Not without cause, many persons participate in cults and rituals only insofar as such participation is bound up with family descent.

Illiteracy

4. *Illiteracy:* Regional and social connections and ties restrict religious experiences. Spatial mobility has always been at hand in the past—for example, in the form of flight from one's land, that is, as a reaction to material necessity—but it has always led most persons back to their familiar milieu or into other kinds of milieu bonding. Since it was ordinarily impossible to broaden one's religious experiences through familiarity with cults and religious traditions beyond the horizon of one's own heritage, such broadening would depend, with almost complete exclusivity, on the opportunity to acquire pertinent knowledge through the reading of religious texts. But this opportunity was itself almost completely excluded. Knowledge of reading and writing has been extremely rare over the course of the centuries. In East Asia, nearly the only written medium, and the only one for the spread of religion, was pre-modern written Chinese; and this circumstance obtained not only in China, but also in Korea, as well as to a considerable extent in Japan. But East Asia's pre-modern economy and society never granted more than a miniscule number of persons the years of leisure necessary to become proficient enough in written Chinese to have open access to the sources of religion. When persons had any contact at all with their religion in written form, it was at best by way of legend and story, or in simple compendia of rules for living, as for example in the form of calendars, geomantic manuals, or prayer books and ritual handbooks. The medium of writing could be extended to more than an insignificant number of the population only by Christianity, since the missionaries worked with colloquial translations of the Bible and other Christian religious writing from the very inception of their ministry. The success that Christianity has always had precisely in the circles of East Asia to whom education is important may well be attributed therefore, in decisive measure, to the mix of literacy and popular speech.

Illiteracy in religion precludes, or at least radically diminishes, the utility of doubts of faith. Indeed, illiteracy is an all but insuperable obstacle to faith becoming a category of religiosity at all. Since the religious experiences of others can be really judiciously meditated only in the presence of writing, the possibility is missing, under conditions of illiteracy, of working out one's own religious experiences and doubts against those of other persons, so to speak. Finally, since these conditions exclude individual spirituality, persons are inescapably referred to collective usage and tradition; in this framework, they then accord discipleship to religion as religious praxis, with a greater or lesser degree of interior participation.

5. *Religious pragmatics:* In the religious praxis of East Asia, as in that of any other region, there are also persons who do not unconditionally surrender to the omnipotence of the spirits and the gods. Rather, they find themselves in a concatenation of activities with the spirits and the gods that permits an interpretation of the actions of these beings and a consequent influence upon the same—to the extent that they manage to bring their influence to bear also, and precisely, on human, intra-worldly ends. Attempts to wield influence can take on crassly materialistic and opportunistic traits.

Task for a Deity

In 743 CE, the first attempts to cast a huge statue of the Vairocana Buddha, for the Todai Temple in Nara, met with failure. But oracles were available in which the deity Yahata/Hachiman, whose place of worship was in the North of the island of Kyūshū, and thus a great distance from the capital, had promised to assist with the cast. The region in which the divinity Hachiman was worshiped had been settled by immigrants from Korea, who had a reputation for excellence in smithery and casting, and who had clearly placed themselves under the protection of Hachiman. In 746, the casting finally succeeded, and the statue was dedicated in the same year. In 749, Hachiman expressed the desire to remove to the capital. Compliance followed early the next year, when the divinity, accompanied by a priestess, arrived in Nara to be greeted with an extravagant celebration and ceremony—graced by the presence of the Tennō family—in the Tōdai temple. Hachiman was given a shrine, raised to the most exalted princely order, and supplied with households of slaves. Hachiman's entry, which could very well have occurred at the instigation of the Korean immigrant residents of northern Kyūshū, marks the inception of the deity's long period of influence as one of the most important divinities of old Japan for affairs of state.

Rule and Religion

This example may stand for a pragmatics of government by a court, and at the same time marks one of the forms of state religion in East Asia. Concern for the honor of the ruling house, and ultimately for the preservation of its sovereignty, were the driving forces here—as, in the case of comparable measures, was concern for the health of a member of the ruling family, or concern for a bountiful harvest, a failure of which could itself have shaken political stability. The political elite of society made use of a store of cults—not the exclusive property of courtly and government circles—and bestowed privileges on them. This conferral of privileges found its expression in the fact that the cults so honored, and their places of worship, were assigned land and slaves, and the places of worship or their

personnel were exempted from tribute and service. In the course of time, this was the source of advantages to native cults as well as Buddhist, and in China, Daoist establishments.

But privileges were also withdrawn. The occasions for their withdrawal, if not indeed for worse, testify to their mode of active penetration of society in the service of the pragmatics at hand. One motive for the cashiering of cults and their centers was that their magical efficacy in terms of state requirements had debilitated or evanesced, so that now other cults promised to be more effective. The dwindling—although temporary—of Hachiman's effectiveness was apparent in the fact that an oracle pronounced by the deity in 769 had all but led to the overthrow of the throne. Of course, such danger could also come to naught and cease to threaten the established rule, and the latter's patronage of the Hachiman cult would not be vacated over the long term.

Privileges were also withdrawn when the material favoritism accompanying them threatened to impair the income of court and government, so that a privileged religion became a danger for the political and social elite. Conspicuous examples are the restrictions—indeed, in some places, even violent persecutions—that Buddhism had to endure in ninth-century China and early-fifteenth-century Korea. These persecutions would permanently impair Buddhism's effectiveness in both countries.

Ritual Policy

Religious pragmatics reached beyond the courtly and governmental circles of early times, to embrace the ritual policy of subordinate offices, as indeed it continues to do to an extent even at present. Over the last centuries of monarchical rule, and thus in times of Confucian supremacy and power, rituals were continually engaged in China and Korea for the warding off of epidemics through the appeasement of dissatisfied souls of the dead, and performed under both courtly and governmental auspices. Today as yesterday, and with even greater participation than in the first years after 1945, the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo is the scene of honor paid to the memory of the fallen of the war in the Pacific. The observance is held not only with the approval, but actually in the presence, of high political and other eminent personages. Such rituals are celebrated in Japan at provincial *gogoku jinja* (shrines for the defense of the country), in memory of the war dead of the province in question.

Cults of the last-named kind are explicitly eclectic, since they conjoin rituals that, under premises of the traditional divisions—the distinction of the East Asian religions into Buddhist, Daoist, Confucian, and native religions—would have seemed irreconcilable. Thus, the world and life view of Confucian administrators find their legitimization in the teachings of the sages of pre-imperial China, that is, in authoritative sources of a non-transcendent character. Accordingly, right living emerges in a mutual complementation of societal and political order meant to stand apart from a transcendental reference. This arrangement holds, by and large,

Authorities

for East Asian administrators of any order or rank. Contrary to possible expectations, this circle manifests a simultaneous fear of unappeased souls brought down to death by violence or without warning, and a fear of the 'hungry'—that is, ancestors deprived of memorial and therefore of the nourishment associated therewith. These dead are suspected of causing illnesses unless they are appeased. Thus, officials whose activities one would

suppose to be ruled by rationality, are entangled in conceptualizations that one would have ascribed only to the shamans.

Rituals from Different Religions

Eclecticism also prevails in private religiosity. For example, Korean shamanesses know a memorial recollection of their personal ancestors, a practice that is widely regarded as specifically Confucian. The behavior of ordinary persons is eclectic as well. Many families celebrate their marriages according to Confucian ritual, but conduct their funerals and mourning according to Buddhist usage, instead of ordering them in a logical unity. Multi-religiosity, then, is the rule, unless both members of the parental pair or all of the grandparents come from the same religious background. It also frequently occurs that persons will forsake one religion or cult in favor of another, after the daughter-in-law has not borne the desired son, or an urgent entreaty has not been answered.

Growth of Christian Churches

Religious pragmatics not only transcend the framework of the so-called traditional religions, but also make use of Christianity. In the last two to three decades, the advance of Christianity in Korea has been simply breathtaking. To a considerably lesser extent, the same has occurred in the People's Republic of China and other Chinese states. An element of religious opportunism is visible in this development. In the case of persons who join Christian churches, country folk often maintain the suspicion, indeed not without justification, that they do so only for the sake of the benevolence of their employers, in case the latter are Christians. Further grounds for the attractiveness of Christianity may possibly lie in the fact that Christianity is still a relatively new religion in East Asia. A switch to Christianity, incidentally, does not always or definitively exclude a participation in memorials of family ancestors, or even an occasional visit to a Buddhist temple. This manner of religious praxis is of course widely appraised as 'un-Christian,' at least in Protestant circles of East Asia; it is determined by family origin and bears witness to the traditional ranking of family before religion. This family extraction, as shown in the example, can collide with a given religion or a given conception of religion. Thus, circumstances of the type described also evince the finite importance of religious origin.

6. *Dynamics:* A situation of competition between religion as inherited praxis and as doctrine (as indeed religion appears in the example just cited) is no peculiarity of the religiosity of East Asia. It is to be emphasized, however, that a given extraction does not ineluctably entail permanence and immutability. The tendency to attachment to descent is repeatedly thwarted by religious pragmatics, which can then themselves establish—transitory—origin.

Tradition

Interpretations of Eastern religiosity, commonplace especially outside East Asia, emphasize permanence and immutability under the heading of → 'tradition.' On the contrary, the interplay between limitations (which are conditioned by religious descent) and religious pragmatics (under whose conditions religious extraction can never be more than a transitory matter) renders it urgently necessary to take one's point of departure in the mutable dynamics of that religiosity, even in terms of the religiosity of East Asia.

It is altogether justifiable to assume that, in future, such dynamics will characterize the religiosity of East Asia even more than in the past. After all, as religious and local attachments lose their significance, these dynamics may acquire more space, and moments of religious heritage could become increasingly short-lived. At the same time, religious dynamics would acquire a new quality, and this by way of the fact that religion as a religion of writing enjoys no richer outlook for its effectiveness than it has had in the past. True, in comparison with older times, the ability to read and write has spread so widely in East Asia that the region as such can no longer be characterized as extensively illiterate; at the same time, much religious writing has since entered the colloquial languages. As a result, the population has readier access to its written religious sources than it has had in times gone by. Nevertheless, along with this newly acquired literacy, the writing culture is losing its importance, on the same basis and to the same extent as it is in other industrial cultures. If, then, as one must suppose, permanency and attachment are to dwindle as well, then a striving for individual and strongly praxis-oriented experience and behavior will become a governing moment in the religious domain.

Multi-Religious Dynamics

Thus regarded, East Asia would not be found to lag at all behind the established religions in the older industrial societies, with their many anxious concerns. Were religious dynamics to unfold in the direction anticipated, the spirituality of East Asia would become a moment in a spirituality that meanwhile has seized a great part of the rest of the world. From this standpoint, East Asia would also provide a lesson in the meaning of pragmatics and illiteracy for religion.

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→ *Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, Kyôto, Mountains (Five Sacred), Shintô*

Dieter Eikemeier

China / Japan / Korea: Time Charts

I. *China*

1. *Time Chart*

10th/9th cent. BCE	Neolithization	In this space of time, in Northern as well as in Southern China, lifestyles based on hunting and gathering transition to agriculture and the establishment of semi-permanent settlements.
4th/3rd cent. BCE	Middle Neolithic	In both 'cultural complexes,' the Yangshao (Northern) and the Dapenkeng (Southern), village structures are found that a few years later were once more surrendered, since in consequence of poor fertilization (burning-off), the soil was quickly exhausted. Village and cemetery structures suggest a still egalitarian societal organization.
c. 1600–1045 BCE	Shang: First historically attested dynasty	First written testimonials (oracular inscriptions on bones) with information concerning the religion and life of the nobility. Clear-cut hierarchy, with aristocratic clans at the top. Ancestor and nature worship (mountain and river gods) by the rulers. Large 'royal tombs,' with remains of human sacrifices.

1045–221 BCE	Zhou Dynasty	Originally Western vassals of the Shang, the Zhou defeat the latter. Division of the area into a crown and many 'domains in which to live.' The sky (*tian*) now emerges as a religious instance: the 'mandate of heaven' (the sky) legitimates the Zhou rule.
551–479 BCE	Confucius	The attempt to reform a system suffering from powerful dissolving phenomena by training the sons (mostly of the elites) in rites and right lifestyle ('ethics').
481–211 BCE	"Age of the Battling States": wars for predominance	The power of the Zhou kings is still only nominal and ritual; some rulers, emerging from earlier regions of habitation, claim the title of king. Civil war.
4^{th}–3^{rd} cent. BCE	Bloom of the philosophical schools	As counselors of the rival rulers, we find, e.g., among the Confucians, Menzius (Meng Ke, c. 321–289), Xunzi c. 298–238, legist Han Fei (280?–233), along with Daoist Zangzi (Zhuang Zhou, c. 320. The anonymous *Daode jing* or *Laozi* is likewise from the fourth century.
221 BCE	Founding of the first empire: Qin Dynasty	Court preference for Daoist conceptualizations. Burning of the

		works of the other philosophical schools (exception: Yi jing). Anti-intellectualism. Cult of rulers, with monumental burial installations.
206 BCE–220 CE	Han Dynasty	Confucianism becomes the 'state religion,' with a gradual penetration by Buddhism along the trade streets. First Daoist religious tradition ("Master of the Sky").
221–589	Age of disintegration	After the end of the Han Dynasty, the Empire disintegrates, at first, into three parts, and from 311 onward, a multiplicity of smaller state units, with the North falling to foreign rule. The general uncertainty favors the expansion of Daoism and Buddhism.
265–420	Jin Dynasty	Discrediting of Confucianism by the fall of the Han Dynasty. Ge Hong (283–343) offers a 'theory' of immortality in his work, *Baopuzi*. Emergence of the two important Daoist directions in Southern China: the Mao-shan (from 360) and the Lingbao traditions (c. 390). Kumârajîva as most important translator of Buddhist sutras.
420–581	Division of China into Northern and Southern states	North: Daoism becomes the state religion under the

		Wei (386–534). South: Dao Hongjin collects and edits the original writings of the Mao-shan. Buddhism: Tiantai school.
618–907	Tang Dynasty	Great flourishing of both the economic and the cultural elements of China. Rise of Chan (Zen), Huayan, and Pure Land Buddhism. Introduction of the examination system for state officials. Great persecution of Buddhism in 845. Nestorians in China.
960–1279	Song Dynasty	Appearance of Neo-Confucianism, integrating Daoist and Buddhist elements. Flowering and dominance of Chan Buddhism. Taoist school of meditation and monasticism, the Quanzhen. Jews settle in Kaifeng.
1260–1367	Yuan Dynasty (Mongolian foreign rule)	Dominance (as it was favored by the Court) of tantric Buddhism (Lamaist Buddhism). Franciscan Mission.
1368–1644	Ming Dynasty	Jesuit Mission: Matteo Ricci. Printing of the Daoist canon (still extant today, over 1400 texts).
1644–1911	Qing Dynasty (Manchu foreign rule)	1850: outbreak of the partly Christian-inspired Taiping Rebellion, followed by control of a great

		part of Southern China with its center in Nanking (ended in 1864).
1949	Founding of the People's Republic of China	Mao Zedong founds the socialist government.
1966–1976	Cultural Revolution	Persecution of religious traditions across the board. Extensive destruction of temples and monasteries by the Red Guard. For fear of discovery, scholars burn their collections of old, e.g., Daoist, manuscripts.
after 1977	Policy of Modernization and relative religious tolerance	Religious traditions are tolerated once more, so long as they submit to state supervision.

2. *China: Festal Cycle*

a) *Schema*

Generally: Festivals are held on days determined by the lunar calendar. Since these are inconsistent with the Western solar year, they are to be read as 1.1 = first month, first day, etc., of the lunar year, etc. In the Yin-Yang cycle, the 1.1 means: birth of Yang; Yin at the high point; 3.3.: Yin waxing; 5.5.: Yang waxing; 6.6.: Yang at the high point; Birth of Yin; 9.9: Yang waning, Yin waxing (SuS = summer solstice; WiS = winter solstice.)

WiS 1.1. 15.11 3.3. 5.5. SuS 7.7. 15.7. 9.9. 15.10.

|-----------|---------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------|--------|----------|----------|

|Birth of Yang |Birth of Yin

b) *Explanations*

Twelfth and First Months

The dismissal of the old year and the welcome of the new denote the chief element of the festal cycle.

12.15 is the last *festival of the protective spirit of the earth (Tudi Gong)* in the old year. On this day, in factories, etc., is held the company dinner for employees. On the same occasion, any bonuses are distributed (omitted if business looks unprofitable for the coming year).

12.24 is the day of the *farewell to the God of the Hearth (Zaoshen)*, who has registered, in the kitchen, all of the articulations (chatter!) of the family members and now is to file a report with the sky. Hence, his paper likeness has honey smeared on its mouth, so that he can report only 'sweet' things. As the one responsible (Siming) for the lifespan of the family members, he will file a report that can lengthen or shorten the life of the dwellers of this house. Then the likeness is burned, so that his spirit can ascend to heaven. The other protective spirits accompany him. Inasmuch as these can now no longer 'interfere,' then, this is the best moment for weddings. On this day, the houses, and especially the house altars, are thoroughly cleaned.

On the eve of the New Year, the doors of the house are bolted, the newest outfits are donned, and the last meal of the year is celebrated, in the family circle, with special solemnity. The house altars host especially elegant sacrifices. New Year's Day begins with visits to the local temple, to relatives, and to friends. All work is omitted until the fourth day, when the gods and spirits return from their heavenly excursions.

The first full moon of the first month (1.15) marks the end of the New Year's celebrations. With the 'procession' of the kite dance, and the evening lantern festival, the rebirth of Yang and the universal presence of the Dao are celebrated.

Second Month

On 2.2 (as well as on 2.16), *Ritual for the Tudi Gong*. On the streets and family altars, sacrifices are presented, consisting of foodstuffs, incense sticks, and paper sacrificial money. Now the protective god of the community preserves the community from the dangers of the underworld, and bestows the blessings of the earth. The money is burned, the food is eaten at home after the ritual.

Third Month

On 3.3, one of the most important festivals of the year takes place, the *Qingming* ('pure and clear'). The graves of the deceased are cleansed, and sacrifices are offered to the ancestors. Lord of the Soil Houto receives a gift, that he may assure the strict division of the world of the dead from that of the living. This festival offers the opportunity for family picnics in the hilly surroundings of the cemeteries. These are centered on the youngest women, whom they especially honor. This is also the opportunity of these young women, under supervision, but without strict control, to mingle with youths from other families ('Bridal Show').

Fourth Month

4.8, *Birthday of the Buddha Shâkyamuni* (since the end of the third century CE). Washing of the statues of the Buddha, and processions with his image. Main interest: a festival of the communities of monks and nuns.

Fifth Month
5.5, *Day of the Strongest Sun (Duan Wu)*. Beginning of the hot season. That that season may be rainy, for which, traditionally, the dragons, i.e., kites, are responsible, the dragon festival is held at rivers and lakes (dragon/kite boat-race). Since this is also the season of extra sicknesses, apothecaries gather plants, and children have protective amulet signs painted on their foreheads against illnesses (caused primarily by poisonous animals). Unlike 3.3, this is a feast on which especially the boys are honored. Daoists hold a fasting ritual, intended to serve for the lengthening of one's life span.

Sixth Month
In Southern China, 6.6 is celebrated as the *summer solstice*. Bedding is aired in the open, and the house is cleaned, before the second rice-planting begins. On 6.16, the birthday of Guan Gong is celebrated, patron of merchants and athletic competitions.

Seventh Month
On 7.7, a kind of *feast of initiation* is held. According to the ancient myth, the Seven Spinning Sisters of the Pleiades descend to earth and bathe in the river. A shepherd boy becomes enamored of the seventh Sister. Wrathful, the Emperor of the Hunt decrees the eternal estrangement of the two, as a pair of stars in the sky. Only once a year, precisely on this day, they are permitted to meet. On this day, women may make men a proposal of marriage. Ordinarily, the Seventh Sister is offered a sacrifice, with the entreaty for a fruitful marriage.

Other than the Chinese New Year, 7.15 is the most important festival of the year. For one, the earth is blessed before the harvest, for a good harvest. For another, the *'Feast of All Souls'* is celebrated by Daoists as the day of the universal redemption of souls who have no one on earth to reverence them. This is *pudu,* the 'translation of all' souls in hell to the bank of redemption. Buddhists instead celebrate the solstice as *Yulan pen* (Sanskr., *Avalambana* or *Ullambhana*). Here too, fitting ritual and sacrifice are offered, so that the uncared for, wandering souls of the dead, or those detained in underground imprisonment, who have died a premature or unnatural death, or who have died abroad, may be transferred to the blissful meadows of the 'righteous' ancestors and thereby be redeemed.

Eighth Month
Performed by women, as a rule—although Daoist priests or Buddhist monks are indeed invited to take part, so that they may recite prayers or sutras—the family festival of 8.15 serves as a kind of *thanksgiving for the harvest*. Accordingly, freshly harvested delicacies are offered as gifts on the family altar, along with moon cake on the evening of the full moon of the harvest month.

On 8.28, the *Feast of Confucius* is celebrated. In villages on the main square, in larger cities in his Temple, his official rite is performed. Classical dance and music are included, along with processions of local officials bearing Confucius's memorial tablets to the altar of their patron.

Ninth Month
On 9.9, with Yin in the ascendancy, and Yang 'in the night,' one prepares oneself for immortality, climbing into the high mountains where, like the immortals themselves, one drinks the wine of deathlessness. Properly, this Feast is celebrated to the *honor of the Pole Star and the Great Bear* (who is thought of as ruler over life and death). Accordingly, a Daoist ritual to these deities, as well as to the God of Thunder, is performed. In its (frequently) secularized form, this day serves for picnics and kite-flying.

Tenth Month
Being mainly a Daoist festival, 10.15 is the feast of the principle of water, and thereby of the principle of life as such. At the locations, or in the temples, at which the Daoist Ritual of cosmic renewal takes place, this is the day on which the celebrations begin.

Eleventh Month
The important festival in this month is the *Feast of Winter*, at which the winter solstice is celebrated, since, from now on, the days grow longer, and more light appears.

Stephan Peter Bumbacher

II. *Japan*

1. *Time Chart*

Prehistoric Eras

c. 7000–250 BCE	Jômon Period	
c. 250 BCE–250 CE	Yayoi Period	Mixture of Northern Asian, Austro-Asian, Austronesian, and Melanesian cultural influences: use of copper, bronze, and iron, as well as planting of edible rice.

57 CE		The Kingdom of Nu (presumably on Kyūshū) sends to the imperial court of the Han Dynasty the first legation from Japan mentioned in the Chinese sources.
238 (respectively 239)		Chinese chronicle Wei Chih mentions the tributary legation of the country of Wa (presumably on Kyūshū), ruled by priestess or shaman Pimiko (Himiko).
Transition Era		
250–500	Kofun Period	
275–350		Establishment of the realm of Yamato (old Japan), with the ruler (*Tenno*), who joined in himself world love and religious power.
5^{th} cent.		The country of Yamoto rules other clan states on the Japanese islands.
Early history (500–1185)		
500–710	Asuka era	
538 (respectively 552)	Adoption of Buddhism	
593		Prince Shôtoko Taishi becomes regent; erection of the Shitennoji Temple in Naniwa (Ôsaka).
594	Buddhism becomes the state religion	

604		Proclamation of the seventeen-article constitution (*Kempô-jûshichi jô*)—not a constitution in today's sense, but a collection of norms of comportment.
607	Erection of the Hôryûji Temple at Nara	The oldest surviving Buddhist temple in Japan.
623	Proclamation of the Sôni-ryô	Presents a regulation of the activities of Buddhist monks and nuns.
7th cent.	Introduction of schools	In 625, Hui-kuan (in Jap., Ekan) propagates the Buddhist doctrine of the Sanron-shû (headquarters: Hôryûji Temple in Nara). In 657, priest Dôshô founds the Hossô School (headquarters: Hôryûji, Yakushiji, and Kôfukuji Temples in Nara). In 660, Chitsû and Chitatsu, pupils of Hiuen-tsang, introduce the Kusha School of Buddhism into Japan.In 673, Korean Dôzô presents the Buddhist teaching of Jôjitsu-shû (625). In 674, Chien-Chen (in Jap., Ganjin) introduces the Ritsu-shû (headquarters: Tôshôdaiji in Nara).

701		Promulgation of the Taihô Codices (*rit-suryô kyakushiki*), Japan's oldest collection of laws.
710–781	Nara era	
710		Founding of the first stable capital in Nara.
736–740	Kegon doctrine	Tao-hsüan (in Jap., Dôzen) first brings Mahayana Buddhism's Kegon teaching to Japan. In 740, Korean priest Shen-shiang (in Jap., Shinshô) establishes the Kegon sect (headquarters: Tôdai-ji in Nara).
741	Founding of the official government *Kokubunji* and *Kokubunniji* temples throughout the country, with the Tôdaiji Temple at Nara as their administrative center	
752		Consecration of the great statue of the Buddha, Daibutsu, in the Tôdaiji Temple in Nara
781–1185	Heian era	
784		Transfer of the capital to Nagaoka.

805/06	Introduction of more Buddhist schools	In 805, Saichô introduces the Buddhist Tendai School; beginning of Ryôbu Shintô. In 806, Kûkai introduces the Buddhist Shingon School.
927	Compilation of the *Engishiki*	Codification of the Shintô rituals and ceremonies
1123	Tendai priest Ryônin founds the national Buddhist sect Yûzûn-embutsu.	
1175	Hônen-shônin introduces the Jôdo-shû, the School of the 'Pure Land.'	Headquarters: Chion'in in Kyôto.
Middle Ages (1185–1573)		
1185–1333	Kamakura era Foundation of Zen Buddhist schools	
1191	Eisai founds the Rinzai School of Zen Buddhism.	Main temples: Kenninji, Nanzenji, Daitokuji, Myôshinji, and Tenryûji, all in Kyôto.
1192	Minamoto Yoritomo is named the first *shôgun*.	Founding of the Kamakura shôgunate.
1224	Shinran-shônin founds the Jôdo-shinshû, the 'True School of the Pure Land.'	Headquarters: Higashi- and Nishi-Honganji in Kyôto and Tokyo.
1227	Dôgen founds the second of the Zen schools, the Sôtô School.	Headquarters: Eiheiji in Echizen, and Sôjiji in Noto.

1238	The great statue of Amida Buddha is erected in Kamakura.	
1253	Nichiren founds the quasi-nationalistic Hokke-shû.	It is also known as Nichiren-shû, and has its headquarters at Kuonji, in Kai.
1255	Kakushin founds the Fuke School of Zen Buddhism.	
1257	Ippen-shônin founds the Ji-shû School.	Headquarters: Shôjôkôji in Fujisawa.
1336–1573	Ashigaka (Muromachi) era	
1338	Ashigaka Takauji founds the Ashigaka Shôgunate.	
1484	Yoshida Kanetomo founds Yoshida Shintô in Yamashiro and Kyôto.	
1549	Arrival of Jesuit Francis Xavier	Beginning of the Christianization of Japan.
1571	Oda Nobunaga destroys the Enryakuji Temple.	
Pre-Modern Japan (1568–1867)		
1568–1600	Azuchi Momoyana (Shokuhô) era	
1587	Expulsion of the Jesuits	Toyotomi Hideyoshi issues his prohibition of Christianity, and orders the expulsion of the Jesuits.

1597	Twenty-six Christians are killed in Nagasaki.	
1600–1867	Tokugawa (Edo) era	
1614	Edict against Christianity	Tokugawa Ieyasu, become Shogun in 1603, publishes his edict against Christianity. The Japanese Christians, including Takayama Ukon, are exiled to the Philippines.
1622–1640	Christianity is repressed after violent religio-political confrontations.	In 1622/23ff., aggravated persecution of Christians, including, in 1622, a prohibition of the erection of new churches. A distinct Japanese Christianity survives until the opening to the West in the nineteenth century.
1635		Founding of the Supervision Office of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyô*).
1637–1638		Christian uprising of Slhimabara
1638		Introduction of a countrywide system of membership of all households in the local Buddhist temples (*Danka seido*)
1639		Beginning of the closing of the country (*Sakoku*).

1640		Naming of the Commissars for Christian Affairs (*Kirishitan-bugyô*)
1641	Introduction of the *Ôbako-shû* teaching	Priest Yin-Yuan (in Jap., Ingen) brings the teaching of the Zen Buddhism of the Ôbaku-shû from China (headquarters: Mampukuji in Kyôto).
1665		Ordinances for the temples (*Jiin hatto*)
19th cent.	Founding of Shintô sects	In 1814, Kurozumi Munetada founds the Shintô sect of Kurozumikyô; In 1838, Nakayama Miki endows the Shintô sect of Tenrikyô; In 1859, Kawate Bunjirô founds the Shintô sect of Konkôkyô.
1859	Opening to the West	Beginning of the renewal of the Catholic and Protestant mission.
1861		Establishment of the Orthodox Church in Japan by Nikolai
1865		Bernard-Thadée Petitean discovers the Christian community at Nagasaki.
Modern Japan (since 1868)		
1868–1912	Meiji era: opening to the West and state Shintô	

1869	Division of Buddhism from Shintô (*Shimbutsu bunri*)	Reintroduction of the Shintô Offices (Jingi-kan); a state Shintô appears.
1871		Aggravation of the anti-Buddhist policy and secularization of Buddhist properties; elimination of the system of *Danka seido*
1873	Sanctions against Christians are lifted	The anti-Christianity decree is annulled. In 1875, Sunday is proclaimed a holiday.
1877		Founding of the office, incorporated into the Ministry of the Interior, of Shintô shrines and Buddhist temples.
1900		Deguchi Nao (Onisaburô) creates the Shintô sect of Ômotokyô.
1900		Introduction of the Shrine Offices (*Jinja-kyoku*) and Religion Offices (*Shûkyô-kyoku*), whose area of responsibility in questions of belief has been divided from that of the Ministry of the Interior.
1912–1926	Taishô era	
1913		Subjection of the Religion Offices to the Ministry of Education

1925		Kubo Kakutarô endows the Reiyûkai, attached to Nichiren Buddhism.
1926–1989	Showa era	
1929		Taniguchi Masaharu founds the Seichô no Ie.
1930		Makiguchi Tsunesaburô introduces the Sôka kyôiku gakkai.
1932		Prohibition of religious education in the schools
1939		The Law on Religious Organizations (*Shûkyô dantai hô*) comes into effect.
1941	Attack on Pearl Harbor	Japan's entry into the Second World War on the side of the Axis Powers ends with its complete military defeat at the hands of the United States, after the atom bomb attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
1945/46	Religious consequences of military defeat	The Law on Religious Organizations becomes a dead letter. Introduction of the Shintô Directives (*Shintô shirei*), and the Ordinance over Religious Legal Persons (*Shûkyô hôjin*) The Emperor surrenders his divinity in a public address. Founding of an

		umbrella organization of Shintô shrines (*Jinja honcho*).
1951		The Ordinance over Religious Legal Persons (*Shûkyô hôjin hôrei*) becomes the Law over Religious Legal Persons (*Shûkyô hôjin hô*).
1985		First official visit to the Yasukuni Shrine by Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhirô.
1989ff.	Heisei era	
1995 March	Poison-gas attack of Neo-Buddhist *Aum Shinri Kyo* organization in Tokyo	After the assault in the subway, in which thirteen persons die, the religious group is interdicted, and its spiritual leader Shoko Asahara arrested. The organization forms anew in 2000 under the name 'Aleph.'

2. Japan: Festal Cycle (Nenchû gyôji)

The yearly festivals celebrated in Japan are difficult to assign to a specific religion. The individual religious or originally religious feasts largely consist of ceremonies and rituals whose elements have come out of Shintô and Buddhism alike, and which have merged into one feast over the course of time. Owing to the mixture of Shintô with Buddhism practiced in Japan for centuries, a separation between the two religious aspects is scarcely possible any longer.

a) *Natsu-matsuri* (Summer festivals)
A common designation for the Shintô, Buddhist, and Daoist influenced festivities, solemnly celebrated for the protection of the harvest on different days throughout Japan. The most important festal ceremonies are

performed with the procession of the portable shrines, in Kyôto July 17-24 in the Yasaka Shrine (Gion matsuri), on August 4 in the Kitano Temmangu Shrine, and on September 15 in the Iwashimzu Hachimangu Shrine.

b) *O-bon matsuri* (Festival of the Dead)
Also called *bon matsuri,* or *bon-e. O-bon* originally presented Buddhist ceremonies of the cult of the ancestors or the dead, which ceremonies were mixed with autochthonous rituals in the course of time. The Feast of the Dead, among the most popular observances in Japan, was celebrated from the thirteenth to the fifteenth day of the seventh month (Jap., Fumizuki), and since the Meiji Restoration in 1868 it has been held, depending on local custom, on July 15 or August 15. The ceremonies, normally observed in the locality of one's original home (Furosato), begin with the lighting of the welcoming flame (Mukae-bi) at the door of the house, the placing of sacrificial gifts before the house altar, and the visiting of family graves. Two days later, the O-bon festival ends with the *Okuri-bi* ceremony (farewell fire for the accompaniment of the souls of the dead), and the *Shôrô nagashi* usage (placing lanterns on the river, to be carried away).

c) *Aki-matsuri* (Autumn Festivals)
Collective designation for festivities celebrated in late summer and in autumn, country-wide, in general as a harvest thanksgiving. Among these are:
—*Hachinohe sanja taisai* (Grand Festival of the Three Shrines) is observed August 1–3, in Hachinohe/Aomori.
—*Shubun no-hi* (autumnal equinox), on September 23.
—*Mega-no-kenka matsuri* (meeting of the portable shrines) is held on October 14–15 in Matsubara Hachimangû, in Hyôgo.
—*Kannami sai* (Festival of the New Rice) is celebrated October 15–17 in the two Ise shrines.
—*Kinrô kansha no hi* (thanksgiving for work) is held on November 23, and has its origin in the autumnal festival of Niinamesai.

d) *Tennô tanjôbi* (Birthday of Heisei Tennô) on December 23 is the birthday of the reigning Emperor (since 1990: Akihito).

e) *Fuyu no matsuri* (Winter festivals)
Shôgatsu (New Year) is the collective designation for a number of festal observances, that stand in connection with the dismissal of the old and the celebration of the new year. The Shôgatsu begins with the *Ômisoka* festival, on the last day of the old year, and accordingly, is closed with the Chinese lunar calendar only on February 3–4. Among these observances:

—*Ganjitsu* (New Year's Day), on January 1.
—*Hatsumôde* (Visit to the temple or shrine) is celebrated January 1–3. Seeking an especially important, nearby temple or shrine at the beginning of the year is currently practiced by over eighty percent of Japanese.
—*Setsubun* (seasonal change) on February 3–4.

f) *Kenkoko kinen no hi* (Day of the Founding of the Empire) is celebrated, according to the ancient chronicles (Kojiki and Nihongi) on February 11 (first day of the lunar calendar), the day of the Coronation of Jimmu Tennô (in 660 BCE), the first mythical Emperor of Japan.

g) *Haru matsuri* (Spring festivals)
—*Shunbun no hi* (spring equinox), on March 20.
—*Midori ni hi* (Day of Green), on April 29, is the birthday of the Shôwa Tennô, Hirohito, who died in 1989.
—*Kempôkinen no hi* (Constitution Day) is celebrated on May 3.
—*Kodomo no hi* (Childrens' Day)

Johann Nawrocki

III. *Korea*

1. *Time Chart*

Era 1: Religion in the ancient Korean principalities (late 4th cent. CE to beginning of 10th cent.)

528	Usual dates given for the introduction of Buddhism from China to Koguryŏ or Paekche; Buddhism privileged in Silla	The empires and principalities of China are the only models of progressive civilization in East Asia. Buddhism is the oldest form of trans-regional piety on the Korean peninsula. The peninsula gains access to the religious world of East and Central Asia.

513	Dispatch of a 'scripture scholar of the Five Classic Scriptures' from Paekche to Japan	The script of pre-imperial China, regarded as Confucian, is also known on the peninsula, and is transmitted to Japan.
530/1	Founding of the Vinaya (in Sino-Korean, Keryul, Yul) School in Paekche	The 'School of Monastic Discipline' is the first attested Buddhist 'school' or 'sect' on the Korean peninsula. By the end of the era, five schools appear based on writing (Ogyo, 'Five Teachings') and several meditation sects (Kusan, 'Nine Mountains,' so-called after the nine famous mountain monasteries). No Hīnayāna schools or tantric sects are among them. In addition, there are popular cults addressed to individual boddhisattvas such as Maitreya (Mirŭk) or Amitabha (Amit'a).
538 or 552	Gift of a statue of the Buddha, and other articles, to the Tennō in Japan by the King of Paekche	This gift is regarded as the trigger of the long expansion of Buddhism in Japan. By the first half of the seventh century, at least five priests from Koguryô in Japan begin activity, among them Hyeja as tutor of Crown Prince Shōtoku taishi (574–622).
682	Founding of a 'country' [nationwide] school (Kukhak) in Silla	The founding marks the beginning of formal education in

		Chinese orthography in Korea. In addition, many youth from Silla receive similar education in China, where Buddhist priests of Korean origin also polish their skills and knowledge.
717	Indications of Confucian culture in the 'country school'	
Era 2: Powerful development of Buddhism (Koryŏ Age, 918–1392)		
943	Founder of the dynasty recommends Buddhism as the basis of a good government.	In this era countless monasteries are built at government expense, and generously endowed with slaves and tax-exempt domains. Great portions of the general population escape the duty of contributions and service by entering monasteries, which also receive a stream of members from aristocratic circles, however. The Buddhist clergy engage in politics, at times even by military means. Along with the Five Teachings, which exist thanks to writing, there appear two schools that bring writing and the practice of meditation together: Ch'ŏnt'ae (in Chin., Tiantai) and Chogye (in Chin., Caoqi). By the end of the era, these have split into ten sects.

958; 992/3	Attempt to introduce an examination system on the Chinese model; founding of a first Confucian school of higher education	In order to counter the dominance of the aristocracy, an attempt is made to determine the selection of office-holders by competency, rather than by family provenance, and to pro-mote familiarity with the doctrines of ancient China as the norm of official competency. These undertakings attain no lasting success, although Ch'oe Ch'ung (984–1068), the 'Confucius of Korea,' lives in this period.
1st half of 11th cent. as well as 1237–1251	Printing of two Buddhist canons	Only the—more than 80,000—printing plates of the second attempt have remained, and they represent the greatest single undertaking in favor of the spread and maintenance of Buddhism that Korea has had. The larger part of the Japanese Taishō Canon rests on this printing.
13th/14th cent.	Erection of a Confucian temple; works of Paek Ijŏng	The erection of the temple, in the year 1307, means a continuing, and even growing interest in the teachings of old China in the area of social politics. So does the work of Paek Ijŏng (13th–14th cent.), the first Korean interpreter of the Neo-Confucianism, which received its normative

		contour from Zhu Xi (1130–1200). However, these have no lasting consequences for society and politics.
Era 3: Monopolistic claim of Neo-Confucianism (end of 14th to late 18th centuries)		
from 1390	Beginning of the revision of the entire cultic system: Fixing of rituals of the court, and government offices, according to Neo-Confucian foundations, proscription of Buddhist and Shamanistic cults or their transformation	The measures apply first and foremost to the domestic ancestor-rituals of the elite of Chosŏn times (1392–1910); and, in the first 100 years, are adopted even by this narrow circle only with hesitancy.
1402, 1405, 1406, 1423, 1424	Reduction in the number or Buddhist monasteries and their monks or nuns, as well as diminution of the extent of monastic lands	The measures are directed not primarily against Buddhist piety, but against the devastating power exercised by Buddhist monasteries over the economics and politics of Court and government. In 1424, the scholarly and meditation sects are forcibly joined, and the total number of monasteries falls to thirty-six. The measure reduces the scholarly Buddhism to the unimportance of its condition today.
1412	Adoption of Tan'gun and Kija in the cultic order	The Korean endowers of culture receive a place corresponding to that of the Emperor of China as 'Son of the Skies' (or 'of Heaven').

from 2nd half of 16th cent.	Increasing number of manuals for domestic and, later, communal rituals	Most of the handbooks are annotated or complemented versions, at times also translated into Korean, of the *Jiali* (home and family rites) of Zhu Xi (1130–1200), or of a text redacted by him for local rituals. The ritual of mourning, or of the ancestors, of the Neo-Confucian form reach out beyond the elite, to be performed in wider circles of society. Thus it becomes the bulwark of family ritual practice and kinship organization, and constitutes Confucianism in Korea even more authentically than does political organization.
Era 4: Christianity and other Neo-Korean piety (from late 18th century onward)		
1784–1800	Baptism of a member of a Korean legation to the Imperial court of Beijing; increase in the number of Christians to some 10,000	The baptism introduces a more or less continuous history of the expansion of Christianity in Korea. From 1794 onward, Christianity quickly gains in impetus through the works of a Chinese missionary priest.
1801–1866	Proscription of Christianity	Despite repeated violent persecutions, the Christian mission continues to be maintained secretly by Franciscan priests.

1861–1864	Proclamation of the 'Way of the Skies' (or 'of Heaven') (*ch'ŏndo*), by Ch'oe Cheu (1824–1864), founder of the 'Eastern Teaching' (Tonghak)	The 'Eastern Teaching' understands itself as a religious response both to a deplorable state of social affairs and to Christianity, which latter is seen as foundation of the supremacy of foreign power and their penetration of Korea.
1905	Founding of the 'School of the Way of the Skies' (Ch'ŏndogyo) as a religious community in the tradition of the Tonghak Movement	Ch'ŏndogyo is the first of Korea's 'new religions,' of which there have been some four hundred. Today these have become marginal, however, or have entirely disappeared.
1916	Founding of the 'School of the Buddha Circle' (Wŏnbulgyo) by Sot'aesan Pak Chungbin	For this religious community, the circle is the sensory image of perfected Buddhahood. Next to the Unification Church (see below), the School of the Buddha Circle is the largest among the still existing syncretist communities, in the tradition of the New Religions.
May 1, 1954	Founding of the → Unification Church by Sun Myung Moon (Mun Sŏnmyŏng)	Its complete original name may be translated as "Society of the Divine Spirit for the Unification of World Christianity." Its name may be currently translated "Family Association for World Unity and Peace." It is the only one among Korea's 'new religions' that has found exten-

		sion outside of the country, notably in highly industrialized societies.
July 8, 1995	Beginning of a Cult for Kim Ilsung (Kim Ilsŏng)	On the first anniversary of his death, Kim Ilsŏng's former dwelling and shop, a building from the 1970s, is dedicated—under the name Kinyŏm kungjŏng ('Memorial Palace')—as a mausoleum and memorial. At the same time, it is a place of a formal worship, initiated and performed under the auspices of the state. In character and appearance, it corresponds to the memorial palaces of Lenin, Ho Chih-min, and Mao-Tsedong.

Dieter Eikemeier

Christianity

Geographical Breadth and Organization

1. Together with → Judaism and → Islam, Christianity belongs to the scriptural religions (→ Monotheism), whose common origin is in the Near East. With a membership of almost one-third of the world population, it is the most widespread of individual religions. Its greatest dynamism within contemporary culture is in South, Central, and North America. There are Christian majorities in many lands of sub-Saharan Africa, on the western rim of the Pacific between Australia and the Philippines, and, in a shrinking active membership, in broad regions of Europe. On the Asian continent, including the region of its rise, Christianity finds itself constituted by small minorities at most.

In its expansion, Christianity was the forerunner of today's awareness of a worldwide network of humanity ('globalization'). Here it did not primarily follow the expansion of modernity; the historical connection is rather



Egyptian Christians of a Coptic Orthodox community have gathered in Cologne for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. In a community hall placed at their disposal by an Evangelical community, a picture-screen (iconostasis, here mobile), which belongs to the liturgical accoutrements of most → Orthodox churches, assures a correct liturgical framework even in the → diaspora. Orthodox churches typically have no pews: here the core organizational element of the Christianity of all confessions and denominations symbolically gathers at the icon screen, as a group of faithful and their priest create a community by way of the cultic act. (Hubert Mohr)

the other way around, and Christianity was mainly a European religion during only a small part of its history.

Structure

2. Christianity arose as a *movement of renewal* within Judaism. But it divided from the latter in disseminating its teaching apart from the Jewish people (→ Mission) and without continuing to observe the Jewish order of life and worship (*halakha*). Its early departure from a strict regime of life and living makes Christianity fundamentally flexible when it comes to its adoption by new cultures, and thereby its integration, more or less, into other ways of living – something only → Buddhism also out of the other major religions can manage. This factor is one of the two most important premises of the division of Christianity into various, mutually bounded, subgroups. The other is its framework as an organized → church, under the leadership of a hierarchy of priests, bishops, and a number of 'patriarchs' (highest office of leadership). This framework is partially determined by geographical division and the membership of various peoples, and partially by a diversity of doctrine. These two aspects are not clearly distinguishable, since the passage of Christianity into particular cultures and languages has repeatedly entailed apparent or actual differences in teaching.

In the lands of the *Eastern Mediterranean* and in the church regions to which those lands dispatched missionaries, *popular membership* has become the most important criterion of the organizational division of the churches, although here as well powerful dogmatic confrontations have occurred. The latter have occasioned the rise of a multiplicity of independent national churches, which designate themselves as → Orthodox Churches. The greatest expansion of an interconnected ecclesiastical organization across different cultures in the first millennium was that of Persian Christianity ('Apostolic Eastern Church'), with its mission to India, Central Asia, and China.

In *Western Europe*, Christianity was so closely bound up with Latin culture that an organizationally unified church could arise there too, embracing many peoples, and unified under the → papacy (the office of leadership of the Patriarch of Rome). This church calls itself the Catholic ('all-embracing') Church (→ Catholicism). Catholicism split into organizationally divided churches, along heavily marked lines of dogma or confession, beginning with the → Reformation and the rise of → Protestantism. On these grounds, starting in Europe, Western church membership has expressed itself in the concept of *confession*, in the sense of a profession of faith.

Despite its division into various church communities, Christianity maintains a consciousness of oneness in a *world Church*, (→ Ecumenical Movement). This was made concrete in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as Western European Christianity made contact with Central and Eastern Asian Christianity. However, as Christianity in the Near East was pushed more and more to the margins of society, and came to be practically extinguished in Central and Eastern Asia in the fifteenth century, the impression arose in Europe that Christianity had been reduced to a European religion. An effort to afford relief and to produce a world Church once more was one of the decisive motives of European colonialism in its inception. From this time onwards, the effort to adapt Christianity to foreign cultures, more than its spread within European cultures, frequently

became an underlying priority, and the European contradictions among the particular confessions were exported to other continents. In the churches thus founded, confessional boundaries are often felt today as an element of foreign, European culture. As a reaction, especially in *Africa*, independent churches are springing up that define themselves once more in terms of popular cultures, rather than under the concept of 'confessions.'

Doctrine

3. a) For its teaching, Christianity appeals to → Jesus, who appeared around the year 30 in Galilee as a Jewish preacher and miraculous healer, and after a short period of activity, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the festival of the Jewish Passover, was arrested, and executed by crucifixion at the hands of the Roman imperial power. His death was interpreted in terms of a contemporary Jewish model according to which the death of a just person can benefit others and cancel their sins. In

Resurrection

Christian conviction, Jesus rose from the dead, just as, at the end of the present world, all women and men will rise. As a point of departure from the Jewish concept of the *Messiah* (Gk., *Christós*, 'anointed one'), Jesus is interpreted as a figure who will play a decisive role at the final judgment upon all human beings. This is bound up with the conceptualization, originally produced in the confrontation with the Roman cult of the Emperor, that the risen Jesus is also presently at work in the world, and that therefore the one destroyed in terms of human measures is finally mightier than the political power that executed him and that persecuted his followers.

Doctrine of the Trinity

Between Christianity and Islam, the most important point of contention is whether Christian notions about Jesus are still reconcilable with monotheism. On the basis of the New Testament (→ Bible), Christianity teaches that Christ has proceeded from God, and that thus all of the power and glory ascribed to him, far from supplementing that of God, actually comes from it. With the means of expression adopted from Greek philosophy, there arose from these beginnings the teaching of the one God in three Persons (*doctrine of the Trinity*, 'triple-ness'), and of the one person of Jesus having both a divine and a human 'nature.'

From the awareness of being bound to a power that has been suppressed, and yet has been victorious, Christianity draws considerable social and political power of expression. This develops in two directions: movements have repeatedly arisen indicting injustice and demanding the liberation of the oppressed (→ Liberation Theology). On the other hand, Christianity itself has often aligned with political power to the point that political rulers have been stylized as participants in the presently active might of Jesus Christ himself.

Religion as Lived—Worship

b) In its aspect as a life experience, the religion of Christianity takes shape in Sunday celebrations, in festivals of annual and life cycles, and in the conduct of daily living.

→ *Sunday* is celebrated weekly as the day of Jesus' resurrection from the dead. Christian communities gather in the churches for divine service. A priest or minister leads the service. (In the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches, these leaders may only be men, while in many Protestant Churches they may be women.) Elements of divine services are songs, prayers, readings from the Bible, → sermons, and the → Lord's Supper. In addition, traditional elements of the Sunday observance by Christians are

the wearing of festal garments (frequently with a special emphasis in white or black as symbols of life, death, and resurrection), a festive meal, repose from work, and time spent together as a family.

Christian Feasts

The course of the → calendar year is determined in its content by *feasts* or festivals, which recall the events surrounding the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. But traditions and usages of the principal feasts are also supplemented by celebrations of the change of seasons: Christmas as the feast of winter and Easter as the feast of spring. A four weeks' preparation in December (Advent) leads to Christmas as the feast of the birth of Jesus, followed by the festival of the New Year and of Epiphany (Gr., 'apparition'), which in the West has been associated with the visit of the 'Three Holy Kings' to the infant Jesus. A seven weeks' time of fasting prepares for several successive feast days in March or April: *Holy Thursday* (commemoration of the institution of the Last Supper or Eucharist), *Good Friday* (commemoration of the death of Jesus), and *Easter* (celebration of Jesus's resurrection). Forty days after Easter, on a Thursday, the *Ascension* of the risen Jesus into heaven is celebrated, and ten days after that, on a Sunday, *Pentecost* (Gr., 'fiftieth'), the feast of the Holy Spirit. Other feasts of the course of the year are dependent on region and confession. For example, in the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, events from the life of → *Mary*, the mother of Jesus, and *Feasts of the Saints* (→ Veneration of the Saints), play an important role.

In the life cycle, → *Baptism* has developed into a first festival, to be celebrated shortly after birth. Originally, and simultaneously, it symbolizes reception into the Christian community of faith and is also performed when persons enter Christianity later on in life (→ Conversion). In cases of infant baptism, conscious acceptance of the Christian faith is later symbolized through *Confirmation* (sometimes connected with a first sharing in the Lord's Supper), which at the same time fulfills the function of a rite of passage to the age of 'youth.' *Marriage* or matrimony is celebrated in Christianity with a divine service or church wedding, at which the spouses promise each other lifelong fidelity. Accordingly, the official Christian churches do not recognize divorce; if divorce nevertheless takes place, there is no corresponding religious rite. *Dying* is accompanied, before death where possible, by ritual and humane attentions. Burial in a cemetery, presided over by a priest, is generally preceded by a divine service. In many churches, the memory of the dead is also observed at precise intervals after their death.

By way of its *ethics*, Christianity permeates daily life. The Christian image of the human being is that of someone incapable on his or her own of being able entirely to meet the demands of right living. Only in the events of salvation (→ Salvation) of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ is a person delivered from an exclusive self-centeredness. *Confession*—to which Christian denominations attach varying degrees of importance—helps, by offering the possibility of forgiveness of sins, to overcome the tension between the ideal and the real in one's life.

4. The most recent development of Christianity is frequently described as the *de-Christianization* of societies hitherto marked by Christianity. This applies principally to Europe only, however; in North America, the corresponding phenomenon is somewhat different. Against a global horizon, this means that Christianity's center of gravity is quickly shifting to the

cultures of the 'Third World'—that it is becoming more powerfully the religion of the oppressed once more. In a context of European development, it is disputed whether it is a matter of a religious collapse of Christianity, or rather of a process generated by Christianity and therefore still to be viewed as itself a form and type of Christianity (→ Secularization). Ever since the Reformation, Protestant Christianity has withdrawn much of its attention from the liturgical form, in the strict sense, of religion and turned to areas of everyday life and work. It is possible to interpret secularization as a prolongation of this movement, through which liturgical religion is losing its power to shape daily life. In several European countries, to be sure, the majority of the population still belongs to Christianity and participates in the traditional rites of the life cycle, but only a small minority attends Sunday divine services.

The meaning of Sunday is shifting—in common with the rest of everyday life and work—to becoming a day that is free of work, frequently prolonged into a 'weekend,' and framed as 'free time' for recreation and sports. It may be more decisive for the development of Christianity that European societies have not become irreligious through the partial retreat of official ecclesial Christianity from the area of the religious, but that the religious dimension of life is increasingly assuming form, alongside the churches, in the → New Age movement and in forms of spirituality borrowed from other religions, without thereby renouncing all elements of Western Christianity.

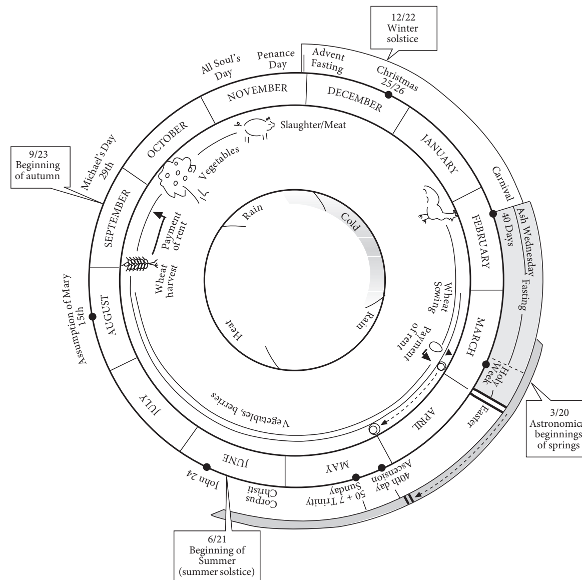
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→ *Africa II, Augustine, Catholicism, Central America, Christmas, Cross/Crucifixion, Europe I and II, Francis of Assisi, Gnosticism, Jerusalem, Jesuits, Luther, North America, Pilgrimage, Priest/Priestess, Protestantism, Rome, Salvation Army, Santiago de Compostela, Sin, South America*

Andreas Feldtkeller

Christianity: Festal Circle



The Christian year marks the European year even after the collapse of the lifestyle oriented to agriculture, and a reorientation to an industrial society not bound by seasons. In the Western Christianity of Middle and Northern Europe, the great interruption of the farming year is rather in winter, around Christmas on December 25—unlike the summer interruption around Mary's Assumption, on August 15, in Mediterranean Southern Europe. Christmas is indissolubly bound to the solar year, on December 25. But Easter varies with the moon, as the first Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal equinox, and thus varies over a spectrum of thirty-three days. The basic structure is based on the Jewish → calendar: seven-day weeks, the feast day beginning on the eve (vigil), and so forth, however precisely differing by a nuance. Typical structural elements are the 'octave' (from Lat., *dies octavus,* 'eighth day,' denoting a time span of eight days and thus the Sunday after the respective feast), and 'Quatember,' either the forty days' preparation for a feast by fasting, or forty post-festal days. In addition, there is the mythical structure, key for salvation history, of the life of Jesus, of that of John the Baptist, and (especially since the seventeenth-century Catholic Reform or 'Counter-Reformation') of that of Mary: John is born a half-year before Jesus, Jesus is conceived by the word of God (Mary's Annunciation, on March 25), nine months before his birth at Christmas. Mary 'falls asleep' (and is assumed into heaven) on the fifteenth of August in the Mediterranean region, whether Orthodox or Catholic ('Assumption of Mary'). Her birthday is December 8, or 9 in the East. The church calendar was fixed differently, and quite early, between Eastern and Western Christianity, and it is not often that their Easters coincide. Easter, as the key feast of the Resurrection of the executed Jesus and his transformation into the Christ of the Church, stamps the movable Easter cycle: the church year is structured in respect of that feast: forty days before, meat has been bid farewell (Carnival and Ash Wednesday), determining a frugal diet of vegetables in winter. In Lent, expenses can be spared with 'Easter' rabbits and eggs. Otherwise, Easter occurred at Saint Michael's or Saint Martin's, and thus after harvest. Forty days later comes the Feast of the Ascension. The octave day before Easter, Palm Sunday, introduces Holy Week, and the octave after is the celebration of First Communion for children (Catholic 'White Sunday'). Fifty days later, Pentecost (from the Greek *pentecoste,* fiftieth; here, seven times the sacred number of days in the week, plus one) is the other great day in the Jewish calendar itself, whose Christian octave day is Trinity Sunday. The Christian festival cycle was originally matched with liturgical colors as early as the Middle Ages, especially for the color of ritual vestments:

- Green was the normal color for all days of the year for which another color was not specified.
- Red is for the great Sundays—Palm Sunday, Pentecost—and the feasts of Apostles. It is also the liturgical color of a martyr's day.
- Violet, as a color of penitence, indicates fasting (and today is the emblematic color of Protestantism).
- White, as the color of joy, is for Easter and Christmas.
- Black, the color of mourning, is limited to Good Friday, the memorial of the Death of Jesus.

The inner structural logic, the biographical element, and the investiture of the festal terms of the competing religions, create ever-new occasions for religious festivals. However, the economic disturbance caused by the festal plethora calls for rational limitation, sometimes including a political decision for their abolition. Feast and work, religion and economics, refer to each other, each of the two in its respective world. Only those who afford it can even have their names spoken out on the festival. Civil holidays, today, attempt to place new accents, to some extent in the framework of a → civil religion, as, for example, with the commemoration of the Shoah on the anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz extermination camp on January 27 (1945) in Germany. This kind of anniversary is also exemplified in American Independence Day, on July 4 (1776), in Christian areas the days that we have mentioned commemorating Jesus's life and passion. They transform to annual repetition that which historically was unique.

Christianity: Time Chart

Era 1: Cultural transgressions of a proscribed religion (1st–3rd centuries)

around 30 CE	Jesus begins his public life	After a short period of activity, the Jewish preacher and healer is executed. After his death, a belief appears in his resurrection from the dead.
around 30–70	'Apostles'	The first generation of Jesus's disciples is in confrontation over whether Jesus's message is to be only intra-Judaic or to be spread to other peoples as well. Paul's epistolary literature appears (later a part of the New Testament).
1st cent. CE	Mission extension in the Mediterranean Area	Christian communities appear in Palestine, western Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, probably also in Egypt (Alexandria) and in eastern Syria (Edessa).
around 70–100	Separation from Judaism	Gospels (reports of Jesus's activity), a history of the apostles, and the Johannine apocalypse, the first important Christian literature, reflect the separation of Christian communities from Judaism and the conflict with the Roman Empire. In the Roman Empire, membership in Christianity becomes punishable by law.

around 110–180	Confrontation with Greek philosophy and Gnosis	Educated Christian authors ('apologetes') defend Christianity vis-à-vis Greek philosophy. The Church in the Roman Empire is organized under exclusion of teachings that promote a rejection of the world (*gnosis*; → Gnosticism). Confessional formulae, the leadership office of bishops, and the collection of New Testament literature give Christianity an identifiable structure.
2nd cent. CE	Christianity in Mesopotamia	The existence of the first Christian communities and groups is demonstrable in the region of the Persian Empire, in this case without exclusion of gnostic teachings.
around 225	Ecclesiastical organization in the Persian Empire	With the Parthian seizure of power, there are twenty dioceses, whose extension beyond Mesopotamia includes the central Persian territory and parts of the Arabian peninsula.
around 300	First mission in India	The Christian mission extends from the Persian Empire to northern India. According to legend, on the other hand, there were Christian communities in southern India as early as the first century.

Era 2: Changes in the field of interest of state power (4th and 5th cent.)		
298/303	State religion in Armenia	The conversion of ruler Tiridates and the upper class leads to the first Christianization of a country 'from the top.' However, this occurs in the area of influence of the Roman Empire, where Christianity is still regarded as anti-state.
303–311	Bloodiest Persecution in the history of the Roman Empire	After earlier episodes of a systematic persecution of the Christians (e.g. 250 CE), the attempt under Emperor Diocletian to annihilate Christianity definitively, and to impose a unitary imperial religion, fails.
312–324	'Constantinian Turn'	After the conversion of the Roman ruler, Christianity acquires equal status with other religions. In 325, the first council of bishops from the entire extent of Christianity gathers at Nicaea. It formulates a compulsory confession of belief (doctrine of the Trinity).
340	State religion in Ethiopia	For the first time, the Christianization of a country out of diplomatic interests occurs, here in an alliance with the Roman Empire against the Persian Empire. Subsequently

		there are similar cases.
360	Christianity in Central Asia	Merw, on the northeastern rim of the Persian Empire, becomes the center of an extension of Christianity along the Silk Route, in the direction of China.
380	State religion in the Roman Empire	After the state order has been plural with respect to religions for a generation, the Emperor Theodosius makes the Christian faith legally binding. The Council of Constantinople establishes four principal offices in the Imperial Church: the 'Patriarchates' of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople.
410	Church organization in the Persian Empire First mission in India	After a generation of persecutions, constant and fierce, Church and state in the Persian Empire strike an arrangement. India is declared a metropolitan seat of the Persian Church. Independence vis-à-vis the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Church is certified.
412–426/27	Augustine: *De Civitate Dei* (Lat., "The City of God")	Rome is plundered by the Visigoths. A reproach is raised that this defeat is a punishment for the abandonment of the ancient Roman imperial religion. Now

		the most influential teacher of the Western Church steps forward against a religious exaltation of the political area. This event has a history of worldwide effect for the relationship between Church and state in the West to the very present.
Era 3: Reinforced regional differentiation and expansion (5th–10th cent.)		
around 430	Christianity in Ireland	In Ireland, a particular form of West European Christianity arises, not tied to state power, and is primarily spread by itinerant monks.
5th cent.	Mission activity in Yemen	The Egyptian and the Persian Church vie for influence on the Arabian peninsula.
451	Council of Chalcedon	'Oriental' (i.e., Eastern) churches break off from the Byzantine and the Western church in matters of doctrine concerning the person of Jesus Christ.
498/99	Baptism of Frankish King Clovis	After the collapse of the Western Roman Empire (476), France becomes a new state entity in Western Europe, signed by Roman Christianity.
596	Beginning of the Christian mission in England	Gregory the Great, as first Roman pope, initiates missionary activity to proceed according to a plan.

		Here the vulnerability of Christian communities to persecution appears anew, unless they stand under the protection of a ruler.
635	Christianity in China	The missionary activity of the Persian Church reaches the Chinese capital Hsianfu. The year 638 sees the imperial Chinese authorization for the free expansion of Christianity.
from 635	Islamic conquests in Christianity's countries of origin	Within a few decades, Muslim Arabs overcome a large part of the Christian Mediterranean world, from Syria to Spain. Even the motherland of the Persian Church comes under Islamic rule. In the nuclear countries of the Islamic world religion, Christians at first retain their status, constituting, as they do, the majority of the population.
717–720	Juridical limitations on Christianity in the Islamic Empire	Caliph Omar II offers financial considerations for the conversion of Christianity to Islam, and limits the public activity of Christianity and other groups through a missionary prohibition.
776	Charlemagne compels subjected Saxons to accept baptism	For the first time in the history of Christianity, the principle that conversion may

		not be compelled is formulated. In 796, a regional bishops' conference once more proscribes compulsory baptism.
845	End of the mission in China	An imperial edict commands missionary monks and nuns to withdraw to a secular life. Thereupon their communities collapse.
around 866	Christianization of the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Croatians	The Byzantine Emperor's role of godfather for the baptism of Bulgarian Khan Boris becomes the model for the appearance in the mission to the Slavs of 'imperial families' of vassal princes bound by baptismal patronage.
988	'Baptism of Russia'	Prince Vladimir unifies the kingdom of Kiev under the Byzantine form of Christianity, and receives the royal crown from Byzantium.
Era 4: In quest of a worldwide church community (c. 1000–1500)		
from 1021	Treaty negotiations between the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic Fatimid Empire	E.g., the rebuilding of the demolished Church of the Tomb (at the place of Jesus's resurrection) is settled in Jerusalem. Here, for the first time, the Byzantine Empire can be involved in the protection of Christian interests in the Islamic world (and vice versa).

11th cent.	Persian mission in the Mongolian Empire	The Keraite Turks, in the area of the Baikal Sea, convert, with their prince, to Christianity, and begin to spread Christianity among the Mongols in the vicinity of the capital Karakorum. This is presumably the origin of the legend of the priestly King John in the Far East, which stirred such yearnings in the Christian West, for centuries, for the unity of worldwide Christianity.
1054	Separation of the Roman and Byzantine Churches	The Pope of Rome and the Patriarch of Constantinople excommunicate each other. The longing for church unity will not sleep, but the separation remains in force until 1965.
1095	Beginning of the Crusades	Two centuries of military intervention in the Middle East on the part of the West are unleashed by the Seljuk capture of Jerusalem. On this account, the Fatimid-Byzantine treaties (see 1021) are no longer effective for the protection of Christians in Jerusalem. In 1098, the Fatimids recapture Jerusalem from the Seljuks. This does not, however, prevent the Crusaders from occupying the city in 1099, in a bloody massacre.

11th and 12th cent.	Christianization of the Scandinavian countries	After initial transitory successes on the part of Bishop Anskar of Hamburg/Bremen (ninth century), missionaries from England manage a lasting Christianization of ruling houses and population in Scandinavia.
from 12th cent.	Efforts at union on the part of the Western Church	The successful union with the Maronite Church in Lebanon (1181) ushers in an age of efforts for church unity with various eastern churches. However, this occurs only as partial unions (separations from the respective eastern mother churches).
beginning of 13th cent.	Founding of the mendicant orders	Franciscans and Dominicans become important vehicles of a spread of Christianity by peaceful means.
1229	Division of Jerusalem by peace treaty	A lasting effect of the Crusades is that Christians and Muslims approach each other not only as military adversaries, but also as partners in pact. This finally makes it possible for Christians to make new attempts at spreading their belief independently of political power.
around 1250	Mongolian expansion westward	Europe's Christendom wavers between fear and hope of a

		convention with the Mongolian Empire against the Islamic world. Christian soldiers and diplomats are involved in the Mongolian world-conquest. In this period, two Franciscan monks visit the Mongolian capital of Karakorum.
end of 13th cent.	The Persian Church at its zenith	The Church numbers twenty metropolises, and extends across Persia, India, Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria.
from 1294	Franciscan mission in China	At the invitation of the Mongolian Great Khan, Franciscan monks begin to build Christian communities. Subsequently, an ecclesial unification is struck with the Christianity emerging from the Persian mission.
1368	Extirpation of Chinese Christianity	After the uprising of the Ming Dynasty against Mongolian rule, the new rulers turn against religions of non-Chinese origin.
1370–1405	Islamization of the Mongolian Empire under Timur Lenk	The Persian Church, spread across Asia, is destroyed. The land route to India and China is cut off from the West, and contact is lost with surviving Indian Christianity. This loss is a heavy blow to hopes on the part of the Western

		Church for a world Church by way of unions with the Persian church.
1415–1498	Efforts toward a sea route between Europe and India	Portuguese sailors ply the African coast; Vasco da Gama reaches India. A number of papal proclamations assign Portugal the right to found military bases and the duty to spread Christianity. Along with economic motives, the Pope is interested especially in the reestablishment of the connection with the Indian Church.
1431–1449	Reform Council of Basle	The Council is concerned with the reform of the Church, the limitation of the power of the Pope, and union with the Byzantine Church.
1453	Capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Empire	Demise of the Byzantine Empire. The one-time Byzantine Imperial Church, now the Greek Orthodox Church, is now a religious minority in the Islamic region of rule. Subsequently, its juridical position (like that of other churches and Judaism) is defined in the 'Millet System.'

Era 5: In the tension between (colonial) state compulsion and religious freedom (c. 1500–1900)

1493	‘Division of the world’ between Portugal and Spain	After the discovery of America, a papal pronouncement consigns to Spain westward of a line through the Atlantic, similar rights and duties for transoceanic regions, such as are already in force for Portugal. Factually, this is read as a division of the world, with the right to unrestricted conquest and occupation.
from 1501	Spanish state church in America	A papal decree assigns to the Spanish Church the organization of the Church in America. In 1524, Franciscan missionaries are first placed in the service of the Spanish Viceroy, for the purpose of Christianizing the population of Mexico after the destruction of the Aztec Empire and its religion.
1515–1564	Bartolomé de Las Casas battles for the rights of the Indo-American population	In 1539, the Dominican monk publishes his *Brief Account of the Devastation of the Lands of the West Indies.* He brings about the termination of the enslavement of the Indo-American population—whose verso, however, is that Africans begin to be enslaved and carried off to America.

from 1517	Reformation in Central and Northern Europe	The Reformation movement refuses to accept obedience to the Roman church administration in questions of doctrine, appealing to freedom of conscience. Effective protection against the persecution mounted by Emperor and Pope is afforded by he fact that a list of regional states and cities introduce it as the official church of its region of control. In 1536–1539, Denmark and Sweden join the Reformation.
1532	English national Church independent of Rome	The Church in England is withdrawn from the influence of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and submitted to the supremacy of the English Crown ('Anglicanism').
from 1534	Portuguese church organization in India	Goa becomes the center of the Catholic hierarchy for India, and the seat of the missionary orders.
1540	Founding of the *Society of Jesus*	The → Jesuits promptly become one of the leading Catholic missionary orders.
1549	Beginning of the Christian mission in Japan	Jesuit missionaries encounter various situations in the small principalities of Japan. Many local rulers join Christianity, and at times even persecute other

		religions in favor of Christianity.
1555	Peace of Augsburg: *Cuius regio, eius religio*	The principle is established for the German Empire that the respective lord of the land may freely choose the confession, and the population must follow him. The de facto application of this principle is found in other areas of Europe.
1572	'Saint Bartholomew's Night'	A massacre of 30,000 Protestant Christians ('Huguenots') in Catholic France leads to the politicization of the Protestant population, and to a number of religiously motivated civil wars. Alternating phases of tolerance and conflict end in 1685 with the prohibition of French Protestantism.
1597	Christian persecution in Japan	Accused of political intrigue, twenty-six Christians are executed. Japanese Christianity sees its strongest growth in the following years, attaining the number of some 300,000 believers.
1599	Synod of Udayam-perur	The old Indian church, product of the Persian mission, is forced into communion with the Roman Catholic colonial church (partially canceled by a revolt in 1653).

from 1601	Jesuit presence in China	Matteo Ricci works as a scholar at the Imperial Court, and receives permission to construct a church. His *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (1604) seeks to demonstrate the agreement of Confucianism and Christianity.
1606–1656	Roberto de Nobili works among the Tamils	The Jesuit missionary practices a Christianity adapted to the Indian rites and the caste system, and himself observes strict Brahmin prescripts of purity.
1609	'Jesuit state' in Paraguay	Jesuits receive permission to construct with the Indians a Christian commonwealth that is tantamount to a state. It is out of the reach of white colonists, and in its flowering includes 200,000 persons. In 1767, this community is dissolved by violence, accused of having sought to have independence from Spain.
1606/20	'Pilgrim Fathers'	Representatives of a deviant direction of Protestantism ('Puritans') withdraw from the Anglican state church's pressure to conformity, by immigrating first to the Netherlands, then to 'New England' on the North American

		coast. Subsequently many very different groups settle in New England, in search of the free practice of their religion. This leads to the central position and value of religious freedom in the American Declaration of Independence in 1776.
1614	Expulsion of Christianity from Japan	Most Jesuit missioners leave the country. The few who remain begin to build an underground church, one exposed to murderous persecutions. What was left of the underground church still exists, with the readmission of Christianity in the nineteenth century.
1618–1648	Thirty Years' War in Europe	The war begins as a confrontation between Catholic and Protestant territorial states. It leads to the depopulation and misery of broad regions, especially in Central Europe.
1657	Ordination of the first native Catholic bishop in India	This is the seed of the structure, extensively operative until today, of a church hierarchy coming preponderantly from the Brahmin class, while the great majority of Christians belong to the lower castes, or are casteless.

1645–1704	Rites controversy vis-à-vis Chinese Christianity	A discussion begins, initiated by competing missionary orders, over the possibility of reconciling Chinese ancestor-veneration with Christianity. It ends with a papal condemnation of the liberal Jesuit practice. In the contrary direction, the Emperor of China admits only missioners who oppose the Pope in this question. This leads to the demise of the Catholic Church in China, which had crested, around 1700, with 300,000 members.
from 1680	Anti-slavery movement in England	Christians of different confessions side with the abolition of slavery in the English regions of North America. Only in 1807, that is, after the independence of the United States, do they secure a prohibition of slavery in the British Empire.
from 1687	Catholic underground Church in Dutch Sri Lanka	Missionary monks from India evade the proscription of the Catholic Church, decreed by Dutch colonial authorities. By accommodation of the phenomenon of itinerant monks to the minds of the population through Buddhism, they manage the construction of a church of varied

		membership, which is therefore distinct from the Dutch colonial church.
18th cent.	Missionary activity of Pietism	In 1706, in collaboration with the Danish Crown and German Pietism, two missionaries initiate the spread of Protestant Christianity in Tranquebar, in India. A short while later, the Unity Brethren (founded 1722), with their center in Herrnhut, become the most important vehicle of a worldwide Pietist mission, e.g., in South Africa (beginning in 1737).
from 1792	Resettlement of freed slaves from America to Sierra Leone	As a project of the Christian antislavery movement, the first British colony in Africa emerges from England.
1810–1825	Latin American national churches	As they become independent of Spain and Portugal, the Latin American states adopt the system of state control over the Catholic Churches practiced by the erstwhile colonial powers. Thus, state independence is not accompanied by the progress of a free development of Latin American Christianity.
1st half of 19th cent.	Founding of Protestant missionary societies	A multiplicity of missionary societies is founded, in England,

		North America, and Protestant continental Europe. These gather their means extensively from private initiative, and their goal is to spread Christianity worldwide. The foci of the work lie in Africa, India, and Southeast Asia, partly in connection with European colonial rule, and partly independently of it (and at first with no desire that it be otherwise).
1839/56	Reforms in the Ottoman Empire	Under pressure from European states, the juridical status of Christianity is improved in the Ottoman Empire, and proscriptions of a public exercise of religion are softened.
Era 6: Quest for new forms of worldwide community (20th cent.)		
from c. 1890	African independent Churches	Movements in African Christianity withdraw from the European-led missionary churches, or arise independently of them as individual churches, partly with strong elements of African culture.
1910	First *World Mission Conference* in Edinburgh	Still prisoner of the thought structures of European expansion, an embryonic cell appears in the organization of the ecumenical movement. After the collapse of

		the colonial empires, this movement is able to develop, and subsequent conferences, in Jerusalem in 1928, and in Tambaram (India) in 1938, concern themselves with the challenge mounted against worldwide Christianity by other religions, as well as by national movements.
middle of 20th cent.	Independence of the churches that had emerged from the European Protestant mission	In close connection with the termination of colonial rule, the Protestant churches in Africa and Asia become independent in organization vis-à-vis the missionary societies that have founded them, and that, until now, have led them. Now it is possible to regulate interchurch relations anew, in partnerships and worldwide amalgamations.
1948	Founding of the *Ecumenical Council of Churches*	The Council gathers in Amsterdam for its first plenary assembly. At first it is a worldwide union of mostly Protestant churches, but, in 1961, the most important Orthodox Churches join. At the same time, the unification with the Organization of the World Mission Conference (see 1910) takes place.

1962–1965	Second Vatican Council	At the initiative of Pope John XXIII (1958–1963), the Council concerns itself with the adaptation of the Roman Catholic Church to conditions of the modern world. Now the extra-European regional churches can be taken into more consideration, and the Church can adopt an openness vis-à-vis other Christian confessions and other religions. One result is the lifting of the mutual excommunication of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches.
from 1968	→ Liberation Theology	Emerging from Latin America, theological movements even in Asia and Africa concern themselves with a new formulation of the Christian proclamation as a liberating message in contexts of oppression. Especially in Latin America, the tool of Marxist analysis of society is thereby brought into use. For organizational structure, the model of 'base church communities' is developed.

Andreas Feldtkeller

Christmas

1. Utz Jeggle has called Christmas the 'Feast of Feasts.'[1] And indeed, both intensively and extensively, throughout Europe and America, Christmas became the most popular feast of the twentieth century—precisely at the time, then, of a rapidly accelerating de-churching, if not de-Christianizing, of Europe in any case. The all but completely de-Christianized celebration of Christmas has shown itself to be so successful that, meanwhile, the churches, in whose self-concept Christmas ranks far behind Good Friday or Easter, have profited by its popularity: never are the Christian houses of God so full of (un)believers as at Christmas. It would not be a bad definition of the European (un)believer to say: someone baptized and confirmed (or having gone to First Communion), married in a church if convenient, almost certainly to be buried from a church (→ Life Cycle), and almost annually dropping in on a Christmas service.

Family Festival

2. The Feast of the 'Holy Family,' as expressly provided in the Roman Catholic Church calendar, was celebrated on the first Sunday after Christmas. Since around 1800, first in Germany, Christmas moved to the status of principal feast of the *small* family, middle-class in ownership and education. According to Schleiermacher's basic *Die Weihnachtsfeier* ("The Christmas Celebration"), its subject is *each* family, especially each mother and each child. They receive gifts, under the 'Christmas tree' (*Tannenbaum*—"Christ" is absent from the name); since the middle of the nineteenth century are visited by Santa Claus (no longer by the 'Holy Christ,' but now at best by the 'Christ Child'). European and North American winter as such, of course, is represented by snow, night, a star-bright sky, and evergreens, the gifts that arrive—especially for the children, of artwork or with fairytale figures—and a sumptuous family meal. All these features set the stage for a commercially staged Christmas mood, which far overspills Christian culture (although anticipated by a marathon of many weeks, through streets and stores filled with 'Christmas' decorations).

Political Festival

3. Christmas had always had a political side. In the New Testament legends, and massively since the 'Constantinian turn' of the fourth century, Christ's birthday in the Western Roman Empire was fixed on the Feast of the Rebirth of the ancient Roman Sun God, and had an important role to play in the framework of the new, Christian imperial religion. The originally Jewish Messiah and the Roman Caesar Augustus were so powerfully fused with each other, that in the Middle Ages, the German Roman Emperor discharged the office of deacon at Christmas Matins. As such—wearing the Imperial Crown, and with drawn imperial sword in his hand, with the inscription, *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat* (Lat., 'Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ rules [as Emperor]')—he solemnly intoned the Christmas gospel according to Luke, which begins, "In those days a decree went out from Emperor Augustus . . ." (Luke 2:1).

Festival of Western Consumerism

5. The political origin of the medieval Veneration of the *Three Wise Men* is still at work in the very popular practice of 'caroling,' that is, the political remolding of the Christmas festal cycle altogether. The feast of Christmas



A Christmas celebration in a First World War trench, somewhere on the western front. German soldiers have decorated a Christmas tree and lighted its candles. They are singing to the accompaniment of an accordion, and a comrade 'conducts.' For one moment, the "utopia of a safe and healed world" (I. Kellermann) becomes reality: The trench becomes a snug haven, 'home' for a men's community on the front, Christmas at a 'folk festival' laden with memories of the heart. Weapons wait for a moment, to be taken up once more after the Christmas truce is ended. (Hubert Mohr)

and its cultural—not religious, however—emblem, the Christmas tree, *globally* underlie a political coordination rarely so clearly and aggressively expressed as by the Libyan head of state, who, a few years ago, decreed: "We [Muslims] have no interest in the Christmas tree, and are free of the liquor, drunkenness, and prostitution that typify Christian festivals." The fundamentalist colonel is not only laboring under a misunderstanding, when he regards the Christmas tree as the 'emblem of Christianity':[2] Khaddafi's religiously based opposition is to the commercial and cultural hegemony that relies on a political hegemony. For Khaddafi, the Christmas tree is the emblem of the American way of life. It stands for the general consumerism of Western capitalism. Considering the close alliance between them and the shaping of the Christian festival, Khaddafi's declaration may be 'up to date' for the present even from a religious viewpoint. Only Christmas no longer belongs to the Christian festal calendar in the Western industrial states, but is the principal feast of a (post-) bourgeios religion joining politics, family, and consumption: their 'big day.'[3]

1. Faber/Gajek 1997, 277.
2. Gurner, Peter, "Ghaddafis Philippika gegen den Weihnachtsbaum," in: Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 April 1992, 3.
3. Faber/Gajek 1997, 277.



Christmas under an African sun: in Burkina Faso, some ten percent of the population are Christians. The picture illustrates their custom that, during the time before Christmas, the children of the village erect small clay buildings, called *crèches*. These usually stand in the vicinity of the churches. They are built and painted with great care, and are compared with each other when finished. The walls are painted with Christmas greetings, Christian symbols, and pictures of the Holy Family, which is represented (self-evidently to the minds of the children, it would seem) as white. Here a young architect from the capital, Ouagadougou, the *propriétaire* (owner) of the crèche, taking pride in his work, poses for the camera. For the three most beautiful crèches, Burkina Faso awards an annual prize, which is accepted by the construction workers before moving television cameras. Conferral of the prize takes place in April—a few weeks before the rainy season, which frequently leaves no more than a pile of clay of the prestigious little objects. (Benita von Behr, after H. Tarnowski)

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→ *Christianity, Economics, Exchange/Gift, Family, Feasts and Celebrations, Government/Rule/Politics/State*

Richard Faber

Church

Concept

1. The word *church* is derived from the Greek (from *kýrios,* 'Lord,' and *kyrikón*, 'house of the Lord'), and denotes, on the one hand, a sacred (Christian) building (→ Architecture [sacred]), and on the other the community of believers (usually with reference to Christianity), and this either in the sociological sense of a religious organizational form or in the sense of 'true community of God,' the meaning maintained in Christian theology. In Latin texts, and in the Romanic languages, the synonym *ekklesía* is used (Gk., 'assembly,' 'gathering'; whence Span., *iglesia*; Ital., *chiesa*), which in the Septuagint also means 'people' or 'community.' *Ekklesía* was also the name other groups used for themselves (such as in → Gnosticism and → Manichaeism). Later, 'church' is used almost exclusively with reference to Christian communities, although the concept is occasionally applied to other religions (for example, Daoism). At present, this exclusive application is called into question and disputed, for example in the case of the Church of → Scientology.

Church as Organization

2. The earliest phase of Christianity is distinguished by the dominant presence of wandering charismatics, who, like the Cynic philosophers, led an ascetical life and moved from place to place. They lived on what the village dwellers gave them voluntarily, and thus constituted a principally rural movement, with small farmers their disciples and followers. Very soon, however, the rural movement became an urban one: the mission of Peter and Paul, especially in large cities like Corinth, encountered a middle class in whose milieu the radicalism of wanderers had spilled over into a 'patriarchalism of love' (according to Ernst Troeltsch, a developmental form leading to the establishment of churches).

In sociological terms, a church is an institutionally constructed *religious form of organization*, comprising both professional → specialists (clergy) and laity, within which a → hierarchy has been formed that, normatively and with sanctions, acquires influence on belief and value systems, interprets reality, constitutes meaning, and institutes ritual. The Catholic Church, furthermore, governs the Vatican, a politically sovereign ecclesiastical state with its own currency. In most Western countries, Church and state are separated (→ Secularization), although not always with a great deal of consistency: thus, in England, the Queen is the head of the Anglican Church.

Reception into the great Christian Churches is consequent upon → Baptism, which presupposes no special qualifications. G. Kehrer assesses this as a characteristic of church in contradistinction from sects, which latter know no lay membership in this sense. Still, various Churches have also sustained differentiations along whose lines some elements ultimately understand only the clergy as properly being the 'Church.'

Hierarchy as Potential for Conflict

3. Nevertheless, for the Christian community, compounded as it is of diverse social classes, the principle of integration has always been regarded as valid: "In Christ, all are equal." This norm, however, has frequently been reduced to pure theory. True, the Catholic Church has attempted, since the eighteenth century, and later, decisively, in the Second Vatican Council

(1962–1965), and in 1983 with the *Codex Juris Canonici* ("Code of Canon Law"), to afford the laity a place, as well as a meaning, within the Church. → Baptism now suffices for a function in the Church: entry into the clergy is not a requirement for participation. When all is said and done, however, the lay members of the Catholic Church remain subordinate to the clergy, and their right to 'have a say' in the Church is very limited, leading, in recent years, to repeated protests on their part. In addition, there is the hierarchy's extreme hesitation when it comes to the integration of women, such as in the question of their admittance to the priesthood.

Today's Situation

4. a) As the twenty-first century gets underway, the great Christian Churches have new, hitherto unknown problems to confront, especially in that a complex, mass society is leading to further internal differentiation of church organization. Already in the nineteenth century there existed church associations and alliances; the twentieth added press and radio work, the erection of social institutions, and the holding of seminars (by Evangelical and Catholic Academies). Especially since Vatican II, relations among Christian confessions have advanced to the point of mutual recognition and even cooperative ministry, a development that can be described under the caption → 'Ecumenical Movement.' Ecumenical services, for example, are no longer a rarity, nor are 'mixed marriages' (marriages between partners of different confessions), or baptismal sponsorship by a godparent not of the confession of the person receiving the sacrament.

Relation to Other Religions

b) Certain problems in a relationship with other religions are more difficult: the Catholic Church still professes the formula, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* ("Outside the Church [there is] no salvation")—with shifting interpretations, it is true: Jesuit Leonard Feeney's exclusivist interpretation was rejected as early as 1949 by Pius XII (1939–1958), who, with a view to non-Christians, insisted that the desire to belong to the Church was sufficient as a means of salvation, and that anyone striving for God has this wish. Vatican II takes its own point of departure in a universal salvific will of God, which embraces non-Christians as well, but understands the expression *extra ecclesiam* as a warning to Christians: only those who know the Church to be necessary for salvation also come under its stricture. Still, according to the International Commission of Theologians in 1996, the Church is still the 'universal sacrament of salvation,' and any inter-religious dialogue is useful as a preparation of one's interlocutor for the Gospel.

Church as Juridical Person

5. Since the concept 'church' is not legally protected, there are occasional confrontations between groups that explicitly lay claim to the concept and the confessional Christian Churches, which understand themselves, exclusively, as churches. This tension recently became current once more in the dispute over the → Scientology movement, which its proponents call the Church of Scientology, while from the Christian side it is regarded as a 'sect,' mental technique, or philosophy, the right to the concept being denied. Others speak of a 'psychic business,' emphasizing its strong economic characteristics. According to Scientology itself, it has had the designation of 'church' since 1954, three years after its first unification. The decision about the 'church' status of a community has significant implications on possible tax reductions in several Western countries.

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→ *Catholicism, Christianity, Group, Salvation Army, Hierarchy, Papacy, Protestantism, Sect, Televangelism*

Agnes Imhof

Circumcision

Definition and Distribution

1. The term 'circumcision' (Lat., *circumcisio*, a 'cutting around') denotes a certain surgical operation on the genitalia of boys and girls or men and women. With boys and men, several categories are to be distinguished: circumcision in the proper sense, which consists in the partial or total excision of the foreskin; amputation of the penis; castration; emasculation.

Male Circumcision

In Judaism and Islam, male circumcision is a rite of → initiation steeped in religious tradition. Here, boys are introduced from childhood into the condition of manhood, by the removal of a part of their foreskin. It is generally paired with the child's separation from his mother, in the sense that, henceforward the youth is reared essentially by his father and other male relatives. Arabic juristic parlance denotes male circumcision with the word *khitan*, or else with *tahara*, whose meaning is close to that of 'purity.' The circumcision of boys is also practiced in secular societies, but here usually for medical reasons. While in the United States and Canada male newborns are routinely circumcised, in other Western nations the procedure is performed almost exclusively for medical reasons (such as constriction of the foreskin; Lat., *Phimose*).

Female Circumcision

Female circumcision represents an especially delicate problem. Customarily practiced mainly in sub-Saharan and West African countries, it has relatively recently become a problem of political or economic migration, increasingly confronting gynecologists and urologists, as well as sex and family counseling establishments, in Western countries. In France and England, the circumcision of women and girls has long been regarded as a problem. It is estimated that between 2,000 and 3,000 girls are secretly circumcised annually in Great Britain alone. Female circumcision is called *clitoridectomy* or *infibulation*; in France, a linguistic distinction is also generally made between *circoncision masculine* and *circoncision féminine.* Here Arabic juristic parlance uses the concepts *khafd* or *khifad.* Internationally, female circumcision is today generally called 'female genital mutilation.' At least two forms are distinguished: (1) amputation of the clitoris, or excision of the clitoris and labia minora: practiced principally in Egypt; (2) the radical form of infibulation, or 'Pharaonic circumcision,' in which all of the female genitalia are removed, and the wound sutured except for a small opening remaining for urination and menstruation. Infibulation is practiced especially in the Sudan and in Somalia. Female circumcision is regularly integrated into a ritual of initiation, intended to introduce the



sexually mature girl into the world of adult women, without regard for any physical or psychic consequences for the girl. In religious law, she is now thought of as having received her sexual 'purity' (Arab., *tahara*).

2. Circumcision is observed as early as the third century BCE on the evidence of Egyptian mummies, and was very widespread in the ancient East. The Philistines, according to the Bible, constituted an exception. For the Hebrews, this ritual differentiated them from the 'gentiles' or 'pagans,' as the 'sign of the covenant with God.' Christianity distinguished itself from Judaism by, among other things, abolishing the ritual of circumcision, in order thus to open to the 'pagans.'

3. a) Neither male nor female circumcision is mentioned in the Qur'an. Nevertheless, sura 2:124 is interpreted as legitimizing the circumcision of the male, since one of God's commandments to Abraham is regarded as having been that of circumcision. As Abraham is regarded as an example, a Muslim, according to sura 16:123, must follow him. The allusion to the tradition of Abraham reflects the Muslim principle that all norms revealed to the prophets before Muhammad are to be followed unless they are expressly invalidated. Thus, the Hebrew Bible becomes a source of law for Islam. There is no valid law text for female circumcision except on shaky grounds. Generally, in order to legitimize female circumcision, unsupported traditions are attributed to the Prophet Muhammad. In her analysis of twentieth-century Arabic legal decisions, Birgit Krawietz has shown that the Islamic juridical principle of corporeal integrity (Arab., *hurma*) is *not* observed in the circumcision of women. Female circumcision, therefore, according to Islamic legal principles, represents a breach of Islamic law as well. As a rule, female circumcision in Islamic countries originates in pre-Islamic customs and usages.

Although the procedure is not mentioned in the Qur'an, for many Muslims the circumcision of their male issue is the occasion of an important festival. The age of circumcision varies greatly by region: it can be performed as early as the day after birth, or not until the age of twenty. One tradition stipulates the seventh day after birth. The majority of Muslims are circumcised at seven or eight years of age, however, as is this small boy in Turkey, who, after the intervention of his male relative, proudly displays the foreskin that the latter has removed. The ritual is celebrated with great pomp, and, in compensation for the painful operation, the circumcised youth is 'spoiled' by those near to him, and receives rich gifts. (Benita von Behr)

Criticism of Circumcision

Numerous Muslim physicians of a modernistic and emancipating bent, such as Egyptian female physician Nawal as-Saadawi, have spoken out publicly against female circumcision. But male circumcision has also increasingly come under critical consideration on the part of Muslims, as in the artistic discussion of circumcision at the hands of Algerian French playwright Fatima Gallaire ("La Fête Virile" ["The Virile Festival"]; 1991), or its treatment in the Tunisian film "Halfaouine" (1992) by Farid Boughedir.

Judaism

b) In Judaism, religious law appeals to the Hebrew Bible. Male circumcision is considered a sign of the covenant struck by God with human beings (concretely, with Abraham; Gen 17:9-14). Only two other biblical loci allude to this covenant: Exod 12:44, and Lev 12:3. In Ethiopia, female circumcision is also practiced by Jews, the Falasha, and is presumably a pre-Judaic custom that survived the arrival of Judaism.

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→ *Body, Initiation, Islam, Judaism, Life Cycle, Puberty, Ritual, Sexuality*

Assia Maria Harwazinski

Civil Religion

Determination of the Concept

1. *Civil religion* denotes a system of linguistic formulae (metaphors, citations, slogans), symbols, rituals, and myths, in representative public life and in politics, that defines the meaning and demarcation of a society vis-à-vis the state, legitimates its goals, works by bestowing meaning and promoting community, familiarizes the population with the values and basic attitudes it embodies, and mobilizes strength and energy for the realization of these goals. The language of the formulae, symbolic actions, and → collective representations avails itself of such already existent religious motifs, forms of expression, and systems of belief as can be accepted by the greatest number of members of society as possible, and seeks to create a comprehensive political culture and generally bonding system of values. Civil religion is part of a society's political culture and public discourse, without reverting to institutionalized religion. Motives in support of civil religion thus emerge from concrete organized spirituality and enter 'civil space,' in celebrations at monuments and memorial parks, in political rallies and addresses, on the occasion of civil festivals and burials, and in the political cult of the dead.

Civil Religion

The concept of *civil religion* was introduced, in 1967, by U.S. sociologist Robert N. Bellah, in the sense of a 'religion of/for the citizen.' Bellah had

analyzed the inaugural addresses of important U.S.-American presidents and had established that religion and God played a key role, without reference to a particular religion. The point of departure of his investigations is the conceptualization that rituals and symbols are important and informative for the functioning of societies. Key elements of the U.S.-American civil religion are taken from the Hebrew Bible: the ideas of the Exodus, the Land of Promise, the chosen people, the covenant with God, and the New Jerusalem. The history of the United States—so runs the consensus of civil religion—is the product of divine providence: the presidents of the United States can be understood in this context as 'prophets,' the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as 'sacred texts' of a civil religion. In festivals like Thanksgiving and Memorial Day, individual citizens and families are ritually integrated into civil religion.

The latter offers, from its side, the integrative design for a *(national) citizen's religion* as a system of basic political attitudes and moral values, of societal patterns for classification and perception—which, together, condition the lifestyle of a loyal and self-controlled, patriotic citizen.

Civil religion must be conceptually distinguished from

(a) *state religion*, where what is at hand is the legally fixed (by concordat, for example) close cooperation between the state and a religion;

(b) *bourgeois or civilians' religion*, where what is at hand are forms of privatistic, apolitical religion, in which a clear distribution of responsibilities is posited between the religious domain and public/political life. Yet civil religion also claims to lay an obligation on persons who belong to no specific religion, and 'functions' without religious institutions as a quasi-neutral instance;

c) *political religion*, which attempts to extend civil-religion projects to a totalitarian ideology, or even to a 'religion defined by the state,' and to replace existing religious communities and traditions—one recalls the state ritual and liturgical composite erected by → National Socialism.

2. The discourse of civil religion is conceivable only in the context of → modernity, the 'separation of church and state' (→ Secularization), and the demand for → freedom of religion. Important roots of the concept lie in the French → Enlightenment. In a letter to Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau responded to the question of the legitimization of the secular state as early as 1756, if the latter is to be altogether separated from religion, with the postulate of a *religion civile* ('civil religion'). For Rousseau, this construct is preponderantly this-worldly: a moral code, a kind of 'citizen's creed'; it includes belief in a powerful and 'rational' godhead, but its heart is the 'sanctity of the social contract and the law.' Rousseau's design was adopted in the French → Revolution, and liturgically translated in, for example, Robespierre's *Culte de la Raison* ("Cult of Reason").

3. *Civil Religion in South Africa*: One of the most interesting new models of civil religion is found in South Africa. In the time of → apartheid, Boer civil religion availed itself of motifs of the Hebrew Bible (exodus, chosen people), and of the belief that the foundation of the separation of the → races—that foundation being the difference in races—is in accordance with the will of God. In 'the new South Africa,' with the symbol of the 'rainbow people,' a very conscious attempt has been made to frame a symbolism that would obligate and integrate all. Both in its profane meaning (a 'people of many colors'), and in Hebrew Bible imagery (the symbol of the covenant between God and humanity—cf. Gen 9:12-16), the rainbow sends a reconciling and integrating message—obviously understood and received as such by great numbers of the population.



In his analysis of President Kennedy's inaugural address, Robert N. Bellah concludes that in the U.S.-American Civil religion, the unconditional, ultimate sovereignty is tacitly—and frequently even expressly—ascribed to God. This, according to Bellah, is the meaning of "In God we trust." This inscription is found on the one-dollar bill, for example, whose verso is pictured here. A further function of civil religion—integration—is elucidated in the inscription, "E pluribus unum" (Lat., "One from many," originally referring to the thirteen original states of the United States), to be found in the aura above the bald eagle ("American eagle") and the thirteen pillars of the United States coat of arms. With the eagle on the right and the pyramid on the left, the obverse and verso of the (double-sided!) Great Seal of the United States of 1782 are pictured on this bank note. The symbolism of the verso of the seal (design by William Barton, 1748–1831) is especially instructive for an intimation of the complexity of the U.S.-American civil religion. The latter finds its sustenance not only in a generalized Christianity, but in ancient pagan sources, as well: it is to the great exemplar of republican Rome, bound up with the Virgilian theology of law, that the American Founding Fathers felt indebted. "Annuit coeptis" (Lat., "He [God] has endorsed the beginnings") stands over the eye

4. As shown in the example of South Africa, civil religion is always the outcome of a political process, and can be 'founded' anew or changed. The question remains open whether civil religion, in tandem with the integration of diverse population groups beyond one's 'own' population, by way of the installation of a transnational or international symbolism, helps to overcome national boundaries.

Bellah himself saw the danger of the political abuse of civil religion, against the background of the foreign policy of the United States in the Vietnam War. Since then, comparable scenarios of the legitimization of foreign policy by civil religion have developed repeatedly, as in the 'War on Terrorism' after the 9/11 attacks. When soldiers die abroad for 'human rights and freedom,' civil religion will function as a solution to the problem raised by the obvious contingency of their dead. Fallen soldiers can be vindicated on the basis of civil religion, on the one hand; and on the other, it will be possible to sacralize battle even more by appealing to the grand theme of sacrifice.[1] Civil religion's legitimization of 'imperialistic adventures'[2] or of a military imposition of interests of a policy of power and economics, is just as possible under the banner of 'human rights and freedom' as it is under the mottos 'People and Fatherland' or 'God with Us.'

1. Bellah 1967, 34.
2. Ibid.

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→ *Democracy, Fundamentalism, Millenarianism/Chiliasm, North America, Human Rights, Monument/Memorial Places, Political Religion, Values*

Claudia Haydt

of the Trinity (the citation adopts Jupiter's response to Virgil's plea in the *Aeneid*, 9:625), and below, even more incisively, the theologico-historical prophecy of the new inception of the Golden Age under the consulate of C. Asinius Pollio (41 BCE), from Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue* (later adopted as referring to Augustus, and then to Christ), the "Novus ordo s[a]eclorum"—"new order of the world age" (cf. Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4, v. 5). Side by side with these pre-Christian elements of an ancient messianism and Roman state-utopia, another thread of tradition is present, in the symbolic representations of the eye and the pyramid: in the eighteenth century, neither symbol is still taken as primarily Christian, but is seen as emerging from the esoteric Enlightenment, as incarnating the Illuminati orders and the Freemasons; thus, they are to be ascribed to schemata for a religious humanism. (Claudia Haydt and Hubert Mohr)

Clothing

Anthropological and Religious Aspects

1. According to the biblical myth, Adam and Eve, through personal sin, destroyed the harmony with God and nature that had prevailed in Paradise. The supervening shame at their transgression—not having followed God's word—and the nakedness of which they had become aware, they covered using fig leaves. Thereby they set themselves off as physically and spiritually distinct persons from each other, as well as with respect to God. The account of the Fall (Gen 3) underscores, among other things, the need to clothe and disguise the body, to adorn it, and to lend it expression vis-à-vis the environment in the form of a second skin. Unlike beasts, human beings—'naked apes' (Desmond Morris)—have received no natural blanket in the form of a pelt or feathers, and thus are defenseless against climatic conditions like warmth or cold. Therefore, they ordinarily need a 'second hide'—clothing—whose function, however, far surpasses that of protection from the conditions of the environment. It furnishes the opportunity of artificially changing one's outward appearance; it stirs creativity and fancy. Textiles, shoes, jewelry, → tattooing, body painting, headdress, and artificial scarring are coupled in their form, quality, and coloring to religious, as well as to cultural and social circumstances. Such circumstances are connected with specific conceptualizations of hygiene (→ Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming) and a code of conduct. Clothing therefore, along with language, skin color, and culture, is an essential stamp and indication for the establishment of individual and group-specific personal identity.

Functions of Religious Clothing

2. a) *Judaism—sacred clothing as acknowledgment and ratification of religious traditions:* Sacred vesture can have the function of a commemoration or representation of a event in religious history. Male Jews daily recall the covenant struck with God by wearing a prayer shawl—Hebr., *tallit*, whose corners have fringes (*tzitzith*)—during their hours of prayer, at home and in synagogue. These prayers serve as a constant admonition in the face of moral seduction, and are to direct one's thoughts to the will of God. The *tallit* separates the believer from his secular environment. This withdrawal is supported by prayer capsules and laces (*teffilin*), which are worn on the left wrist and the forehead. The capsules contain small pieces of paper with texts from the Hebrew Bible (Deut 6:4-9, 11, 13-21; Exod 13:1-16), with which one daily joins again 'the covenant with God.' In addition, a head covering (*qippa*) is used at prayer as a sign of humility.

b) *Christianity—clothing as a medium of ritual communication:* Christian sacred dress marks stages of life, the distinction between laity and religious specialists, and is a medium of ritual communication between believers



In some religions, priests or other 'functionaries of worship' emphatically distinguish themselves from the other members of their religious community and from society in all circumstances, even in their outward appearance. The daily garb of Western Christian pastors and priests, however, differs very little if at all from that of the laity. By contrast, Catholic priests wear special clothing for the performance of the sacred rites, conceived after the model current in the courtly society of late antiquity: not 'Celtic' hosiery, but 'Roman' (and therefore not, as appears to a modern eye, women's), a tunic as an ankle-length undergarment (a cassock or *talar*), here an *alb.* Over the latter, they wear the knee-length *tunicella* or *dalmatic*, whose embroidery renders it a *vestment.* On the left arm, they wear the *maniple*, originally a kind of handkerchief pocket. Sub-deacons have received only the first of the major orders. In the center, in black clothing, one observes a priest in his choir robe and tie. The bishop is not in vestments, but in his official cloak: the red color of his cassock, and his *cingulum*, mark his rank in the hierarchy. The Brotherhood of Saint Peter, of Wigratzbad, rejects the reforms of the Second Vatican Council, and thus retains 'old-fashioned' garb and insignia of office. (Christoph Auffarth)

and God. In ritual acts, dress can denote personal and status-conditioned changes in one's life course. On festivals such as baptism, marriage, the investiture of priests, and funerals, festal and funeral dress represents a transition to the next stage of life and symbolizes a change of status. Sacred dress is required in the performance of ritual or sacerdotal acts. Thus, a *Catholic priest* assumes the place of Christ by way of liturgical dress in the celebration of the Eucharist. His clothing is a medium of the exclusion of his secular individuality, for the purpose of rendering the Holy visible for believers. Certain features, such as ritual purity, are bound up with clothing. In addition, liturgical clothing is intended to present to the eyes the glory of God, in the splendid folds of the great vestments. The colors of the raiment, for one thing, represent the succession of ecclesiastical feasts, and for another, they indicate the hierarchy of the Catholic clergy: dark red is the bishop's color, cardinals wear scarlet, and the pope white.

The Protestant minister's gown, on the other hand, represents the Reformation break with a Catholic understanding of the faith. Its demonstrative approximation to everyday dress is a symbol of community with the laity, in the rejection of an accessorial dress, which would denote and represent a distinction of rank between the community and the clergy. The minister's gown, in its simplicity, serves less to glorify God or show hierarchical division, than it does to indicate the proclamation of the word of God.

c) *Islam—clothing as identification:* In the Qur'an, no prescriptions are found concerning dress for prayer and divine service, except one: in religious acts, clothing is to be correct and clean. Furthermore, there are instructions for pilgrimages (→ Mecca), on which men are to wear two white, unhemmed linen cloths, one around the hips and one around the shoulders, and in addition sandals or shoes that leave the ankles free. Donning clothing for the pilgrimage is to elevate the pilgrim into a state of consecration, as it were, and, by the doffing of indications of social differences, reinforce a sense of community. The typical Islamic headdress for men is the turban, which Muhammad is traditionally held to have worn. To be sure, based on regional and national distinctions of believers,

the colors and multiplicity of form, as well as the size, of the Turban, are multifarious, so that no clear specification is to be observed denoting one's social, political, and religious position and membership. Descendants of the family of the Prophet Muhammad are nevertheless recognizable by their green turbans, as green was Muhammad's color. For woman, no specific headdress is prescribed, although it is written in the Qur'an (24:31) that they are to cover their nakedness in order to protect their sense of modesty (→ Hair; Veil). This declaration on the part of Muhammad, however, is to be appraised in the context of his positions with respect to woman, the house, marriage, child rearing, and slaves in general, and defines no theology of dress.

3. Clothing in ritual acts is not reserved to religious specialists. The faithful clothe or adorn sacred statues or images, to reverence them or to render visible the supernatural powers ascribed to the saints. This act satisfies believers' need for a 'human' interlocutor. In Hindu religions, the clothing of gods and saints is taken further, often being accompanied by daily food offerings.

4. The apparel of religious women and men is a sign of the division between the sacred and secular worlds. Here, clothing usually shows the tradition of a discipleship. For instance, the simple dress of Christian monks indicates a direct discipleship and following of Christ, and the Islamic mystic Sufis are recognizable by their woolen garments. Likewise, in the Hindu religions and in Buddhism, there are certain prescriptions for the dress of respective orders of monks or nuns, which are tied to religious traditions and their corresponding images of the appearance of their founders. Here belongs the known phenomenon that religions preserve the prescriptions for dress—themselves fashion—of earlier times: thus, an element of today's Catholic garb for Mass, the stole, is based on late Roman and early Byzantine secular insignia of office; the proportioned, harmonious costume of anthroposophy retains the veil of Isadora Duncan's expressive dance of around 1900. The dress and symbols of a religion, then, are understandable only in terms of their historical context, which can offer clarifications pertaining to the mechanism of a religious bestowal of identity. The Sikh religion offers a good example. This religion, formed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, appeared as a community response, in spiritual comradeship, to repression and expulsion. Sikhs are recognizable by five distinctive marks: long hair and beard, a turban, a small wooden comb for tending the hair, an iron armband as a symbol of brotherhood, a dagger or sword for self defense, and breeches for better mobility.

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→ *Hair, Mask, Nudity, Tattoo, Veil*

Annemarie Gronover

Collective Representations

Collectives as Produced Community

1. *Collectives*—insofar as this concept is not used to designate all groups, communities, crowds, unions, and gatherings of individuals—denotes 'produced communities' whose bond need not be presented in a real assembly or physical co-presence. They may come to manifestation only indirectly, through symbols, institutions, representations, and through the processes of power and government linked with them.

The concept of *representation* is usually applied in the meaning of 'presentation,' 'display,' 'portrayal,' 'image,' or 'substitution.' Generally, representation signifies first of all "that something temporally or spatially removed, not present, absent (and this may be a person, a plurality of persons, or a symbol), that has represented, in the representative (likewise not necessarily a person [. . .]) is presented or rendered present."[1]

The purpose of representation therefore is to render visible a collective and its ordering. What must come into being is a matter, interests, an idea, a fiction, a willing, or a belief, through one or more persons as a part of the represented whole—or else through signs. The process of representation may take place in acts of concrete persons or groups (substitute, delegate, and so on), and/or in signs. Insofar as the functioning representative comes forward not only for a concrete temporally and spatially bounded act—as, for example, an attorney appointed for her client comes forward in a juridical procedure—the representative may even be a symbol of content that is not part of the immediate act. This is the case when, for instance, simultaneously with his or her appearance, the representative indicates the existence of a collective, idea, attitude, or belief. Thus, the spokesperson of a religious minority who speaks publicly in favor of the social or cultural demands of those represented by him or her, not only directly points to a social or cultural situation, but also indirectly to *his or her own* concrete collective whose spokesperson she or he is, as well as to the existence and operation of the larger surrounding collective. The representative then indicates, by way of his or her direct act(s) and concrete person, something whose symbol this spokesperson is—something that through the latter, and the latter's act or acts, takes form in a vicinity and becomes perceptible.

With the processes of *symbolization* and *representation*, bonds between individuals are addressed, as well as connections of spiritual, psychic, and social meanings, for without such bonds and connections it is not possible to engender collectives. The collective whole in its quantitative and qualitative dimension cannot be the direct object of perception and experience, but is that object only in the transmitted forms of symbolization and representation. Collectives, which we designate with the symbols *people*, *nation*, *state*, *race*, *ethnic group*, or *church*, establish their reality through social links and through symbols, institutions, representatives, and, in given instances, through the determinations of law. Thus, not only are the parts bound to a whole, but also the real and the imaginary, the material and the ideal, the found and the engendered, are conjoined. By means of identification with representatives, symbols, and institutions, feelings of belonging can materialize for the individuals in question, which feelings allow the collective to appear as identical in a 'feeling of we.' With the represented designations and symbolized determinations, demarcations of

the collectives are taken in hand that mark the 'other' not only from *within*, but also from *without*, and thus these become the source and foundation of hostile caricatures.

Symbolizing and Representation

2. When we consider the generation of the collective and its adjusted and adapted existence—along with its ordering and stabilizing, with its spiritual or psychic, social, political orderings, and religious relations—*symbolizing* and *representation* must be placed front and center. For this priority, it is helpful to determine more exactly what ought to be understood, on the one hand, under the concept of a representative and the process of representation, as well as, on the other hand, under the concept of symbolizing or symbol. Such determinations are recommendable not only on grounds of the general conceptual disorder in this regard, but also in respect of the question of whether, and in what sense, collective representation is possible at all. Thus, for example, in the public debates over representative democracy, the people or nation are usually regarded as a given fact, antecedent to representation. Not infrequently, we even encounter the tendency to personalize 'a people,' equipped with consciousness and a will, and thus susceptible of representation. But this represents not a factual reality, but a fiction whose function it is to shape reality, that takes form in, for example, the symbols, 'popular spirit,' 'national character,' 'national being,' 'people's will,' or the currently favorite and widely propagated 'collective identity.'

Representatives

a) The concept of *representative* is to be applied here in a restricted sense. It is to be applied only to persons who, through their thinking, feeling, speech, and activity, actually do present or represent the 'whole' that is at issue, and are acknowledged, in a self-binding mode, as doing so by the represented and presented. According to Eric Voegelin, the representative is the product of a societal process of articulation, in the wake of which the acts of this person are ascribed to the society in question with effect: the obligatoriness of the acting representative is produced by the understanding on the part of the members of the society that his or her actions are acts of the society. To this end, the representative must be 'representative' in the existential sense—that is, must be regarded as the embodiment of this society's key social ideas and of its psycho-social pattern of integration.[2] If the acknowledgment materializes in formal procedures, in organized collectives, for example by vote in a democratically organized society, such as the papal election by the College of Cardinals, or a synodal vote in Evangelical land churches, one can speak of *formal or official representatives. Unofficial representatives*, then, are such as are acknowledged as representative of the collective without formal procedures, through identification by their real or conceptualized signs and characteristics. Here we might well name artists, athletes, stars, saints (→ Joan of Arc as national saint of France), prophets, or heroes, who appear as objects for a collective identification. For the relationship between representative and represented collective, what Pierre Bourdieu has marked as *original circle of representation* is generally verifiable: "Since the representative exists, since he represents (which is a symbolic act), then there exists the represented, symbolized group, which, in a countermove against its own representatives, thrusts him into existence as representative of a group."[3]

b) The collective, then, is not a given state of affairs, existing independently of the symbolic actions and symbols, and independently susceptible of representation. The 'symbolic forms' (Cassirer) are—to speak metaphorically—the spiritual eyeglasses that we can use as a help for setting the objective and the nonobjective in order, so that we may again regard them in their symbolic representations. Against this background, the following can be said: the representation of collectives must be understood as *symbolical representation*; it bears on a construction composed by symbolizing. Processes of symbolizing logically precede their representations. The represented reality of the collective is a symbolical reality—which does not mean that it is only deceit and appearance; rather it means that it emerges from human awareness, with its fictitious and real participation, communication, acts, and power processes. With French philosopher and psychoanalyst Cornelius Castoriadis, we may say, by way of complementarity, that society's faculty of imagination must bind itself with reality wherever it occurs, and with its symbols.[4]

Symbolizing Processes

The symbols and representatives produced are then in that measure a component of social reality, as the individuals therein are capable of recognizing themselves once more, and thereby find their feeling, thinking, and willing expressed. The invisible bond of a collective is rendered visible only in symbols, institutions, and representatives when the symbolic process erects the unity of the collective and, in addition, labels meanings with respect to certain values, conceptualizations, manners of behavior, traits, formulations of wishes, fears, and ideals. Then these latter again function as re-cognition marks for individuals. With the statements made therein—regarding history, customs, practices of worship, preferences, key notions, social myths, character traits—perceptible offers of identification will be created. These will make it possible to inject a teleological and material order into the symbolically represented reality of the collective, or else will condition the processes of exclusion and boundary formation.[5]

Myths Concerning Collectivity/ies

When this instituted facticity of the symbolically represented reality of the collective is no longer understood as a product of human consciousness and action, but is rather objectified in narratives (historiography, myths, legends, vitae of the saints) as an independent, objective reality—as power and substance—the result is the formation of stereotypes and collective myths, which can also lead to the sacralization of the collective. The symbols of order that are produced—as, for example, people, nation, state, ethnic group, or race—can then be transfigured and glorified mythically, and can appear as collective beings, hence as sensing, thinking, and acting subjects. Where a collective appears as a collective subject, equipped with united consciousness, agency, or volition, then what we see is not a factual reality, but a reified symbolization of the collective. Myths, fictions, and fantasies can thus become a key part of collective reality, without any consciousness of this process on the part of the symbolizer.

3. The question of communalities and differences arises from the multiple forms in which the symbolization and representations of collectives appear.

Functions

a) Thus, one can inquire into, for example, the *functions* of the observed collective representations. In a functionally oriented perspective, the



On the six hundredth anniversary of the Kosovo battle on June 28, 1989, more than a million Serbs gathered there, in Kosovo, near Pristina. Standing before the church, they contributed the customary offering of the Orthodox, a candle. Although the Turks massacred the Serbs in this battle, Serbs still celebrate the day as a day of national rejoicing. According to tradition, before the battle the Virgin Mary asked their leader whether he chose the earthly or the heavenly life. His death is accounted a decision in favor of the Orthodox religion, thanks to which the Serbs were able to preserve their national identity. Thus their utter defeat became the triumph of the nation. (Christoph Auffarth)

symbolic representations of the modern nation can then appear as the necessary functional fulfillment of a historical necessity for the development of modernity. The symbol 'nation,' then, as K. W. Deutsch points out, represents the political organization of an 'all-purpose communication network' that presents modernity with a common language and culture, and new skills in historical development.[6] With Durkheim, one can emphasize the meaning-bestowing *function of integration*. This function is attained through the summing up of the symbolical representations in a 'collective ideal,' which ultimately constitutes the 'soul of religion.' With a view to the democratic constitution of a nation, one might well, with E. Fraenkel, lay stress on the "lawfully authorized exercise of the functions of government."[7]

In a perspective focused only on functions, of course, one might run the risk of permitting the reality lying at the root of any functions—and thereby engendering functional tensions and needs—appear as a primary, unquestionable reality. Functions always relate to an already ordered reality. As collectives and their orderings must constantly be constituted, they are never a primary reality. In general it can be said that symbolic representations are not to be reduced to the fulfilling of functions, even though they surely fulfill such functions. Besides being the expression of functional imperatives, they are also the expression of potential processes that permit the given collective order to overstep—and thereby to change—in an imaginary manner the tyranny of functionality. The operation of the image-store overshoots its function—which is not only an invitation to freedom, but also a stage setting for dysfunctionality with respect to the order being represented.[8]

Meaning Content and Target Ideas

b) Now we may inquire into the aim of these 'symbolizings' as processes—into what *meaning content* they bring to bear on life in the collective, or what psychic, social, and religious experiences are brought to expression along with them. Besides having unity, meaning, and coherence as their goal, the symbolic representations of a collective can aim at ideas and concepts of a goal (→ Utopia), to be realized by and through the collective. We may cite, for instance, the ideas of 'liberty, equality, fraternity' that fired the French nation of the time of the Revolution and that became, in speech and picture (for example, the tricolor), the symbol of political modernity. Collective symbols can also work toward attributions of characteristics, as, for example, in the symbol of the 'German oak,' seen as a symbol of national 'solidity,' 'strength,' 'perseverance,' and 'endurance.' In symbolical representatives of the Germans, as Goethe, Schiller, or Luther, the 'genius' of the German culture and nation as a 'people of poets and thinkers' is seen as coming to expression.

The above-cited ideas and characteristics, and others, such as 'strength,' 'superiority,' 'perfection,' or 'progress,' indicate a tension between any experienced condition and the ideas of a goal that are being symbolized. Or again, individuals can experience this tension. These considerations likewise hold for the key negative concepts, as 'chaos,' 'destruction,' 'weakness,' 'decomposition,' or 'deficiencies,' which indicate life-threatening factors in the collective, or dangers for the continued existence of the collective order. In the symbolical orders of the collective, such tensions can be 'laid out' and brought into a compensating form. The individual may well feel small, unimportant, rejected, faceless, and weak. Through an identifying participation in the collectively compensating order, that individual can 'experience' the feeling of being great, important, sought after, famous, and powerful. To be sure, what is experienced here is not a simple, given reality, but participation in a fantasy-charged, 'symbolically representational' reality, which, as an expression, always points to another reality represented in it.

Scientific Models of Explanation

4. To achieve a scientific explanation, various approaches can be taken, by way of which we should hope to explain the fundamental pattern of experience, and the procedures and processes that condition collective representations.

—Ernst Cassirer has not introduced specific experiences into his clarification of symbolic forms, but has placed in view the spiritual modalities and functions with which 'I,' 'world,' and the objects of the world will be brought into an order. Cassirer calls them 'sources of light,' 'conditions of seeing,' as also the 'sources of all shaping.'[9]

—In a *psychoanalytic* approach, as established by → Freud, symbols indicate the experiences of the libido. What is at stake here is the representation of the somatic elements (drive and drive entelechy) in the psyche, which representation Freud designated, in various contexts, 'psychic *Repräsentanz*,' 'drive *Repräsentanz*,' and 'conceptualization *Repräsentanz*.' For the formation of the collective, these experiences become constitutive by way of an identification of the libido with leadership personalities and ideas.[10] The experienced tension in the libido shifts to collective objects of fulfillment and then returns to the individual as an identification ideal.

—In *sociological perspectives*, by contrast, it is rather *social experiences* that are taken as the basis. Thus, Émile Durkheim explains the 'collective

ideal' from the social integration process, through which the individual first becomes capable of grasping the ideal, and which allows society to engender a morals and a religion.[11] George H. Mead has stressed that the system of general social means emerges from symbolic interaction. Pierre Bourdieu has divided society into different social areas and spaces, which produce different representations. These representations are the result of social relationships of strength and power processes, and are interiorized through a social 'habitus' of the individual.

Inasmuch as the approaches adduced here each set their sights on different areas, these areas must be symbolized as categories of human experience. The 'human being,' the 'individual,' the 'psyche,' the 'spirit,' and 'consciousness,' then, are not pure, essential expressions any more than are 'collective,' 'society,' 'community,' 'state,' or 'world,' 'cosmos,' 'God,' 'gods,' or 'the Holy,' but are symbols for distinguishable areas of human experience.

Collective Symbolism of 'Nation' and 'People': Fiction of the Political Body

5. In a historical perspective, for the modern symbols of the collective, 'people' and 'nation,' for example, one can demonstrate a religio-politically inspired pattern which came to stamp western history. It is the fiction of the *political body.* With the modern notions of 'sovereign nation' or 'people,' as it became a key historical idea in the American and the French revolutions, the problem of collective representation steps front and center. The political collective, with the symbols 'nation' and 'people,' is regarded as becoming the source of legitimate government, namely, of modern → democracy. Furthermore, membership in and demarcation of the *démos* (Gk., 'state people,' in the sense of the totality of the politically capacitated citizens) had to be defined. This dilemma for the constituting of the modern 'sovereign nation' quickly led to repeatedly adopted dependency on substantialized criteria of membership, such as origin, culture, language, territoriality, and history. Such features became 'national' symbols: the nation or people could thereby appear not only as a political union of living individuals, but also as a represented union of the dead (past/origin), the living (present/condition), and those not yet born (future/goal).

There was already a pattern for this model in European history that bears the stamp of Christianity: the doctrine of the Church as '(Mystical) Body of Christ' (Lat., *corpus Christi mysticum*). This teaching, dogmatized in the thirteenth century, and building on Paul (Rom 12:4), was understood as including all past, present, and future believers in a 'Mystical Body,' whose head is Jesus Christ, while the head of Christ is God. This teaching, as Ernst Kantorowicz has shown, was transferred to the medieval kingdom. The immortal, collective, political body was understood not only as represented in the concrete, natural body of the king, but also as having him as its head. The purpose of the modern cardinal ideas of a sovereign nation or of the people was not primarily the beheading of the natural body of the king—as was carried out in the case of Louis XVI—but the beheading of the sacred political body. This seemed to be the prerequisite for the concept of a head and members as identical in the political body of the nation. Each individual became head and member in a collective (national) body, which could speak only through its representatives, which for their part must certify that they are not only the head, but, at the same time, members of the whole. Head and members, the natural body of the many, and the political body, were to be identified in terms of the modern fiction of the *corpus mysticum* of the nation or people. The frequent application of biological metaphors in

Natural and Political Body

symbolic representations of the people, nation, or → race, has a solid root in this construction. Now any speaking head must present itself as a member of the collective mystical body at the same time, which can materialize only symbolically and representatively. This constraint, again, has the result that the representative must become the credible expression of the extensively acknowledged collective representations. Here was something on which the discourse upon a *national* or *popular consciousness*, a *national character*, a *popular spirit*, or a *collective identity* was able to build. But an imaginary collective body has no consciousness of its own, because it has no life of its own. Accordingly, there is no actual national or popular consciousness, but only a consciousness of nation, people, and ethnic group.

Dominant Patterns

6. Collective representations must not only be produced, but also accepted by the participants of a collective. Not homogeneity, but dominant pattern defines the reality of symbolic representations. Besides the currency of linguistic representations—as demonstrated also, and especially, in their entry into 'self-evident' use in everyday speech (for example, the application of the collective singular for peoples, nations, or formulas like 'In the name of the people')—the content of consciousness in non-linguistic forms of representation are also at issue.

→ Clothing, too, and flags, hymns, art works, memorials and memorial parks (→ Monument/Memorial Places), buildings, personified allegories (Marianne in the French Revolution, Michel and Germania in the German National Movement), public celebrations and rituals, all stamp and extend the forms of collective representations.

The social extension of the contents of representations is all the more effective as different perspectives combine and supplement one another. The rhetoric of the 'sovereign (mystical) popular body,' as first created in the French Revolution, was provided with underpinnings in various approaches. An especially—and terrifyingly—effective one was the guillotine. It promised not only the equality of the members (a distinction in forms of execution according to social condition was abolished), but also a continuous 'recuperation' and 'renewal' of the body of the people. Like a scalpel, the guillotine was supposed to excise the 'pernicious' parts of the collective body. "Having annihilated the mystical body of the king, the guillotine produces the fictitious, colossal, and healthy body of the people again."[12]

Also in the objects of examination available to perception by the senses, both the existence of the represented is confirmed and characteristics and aspects are revealed. In German history, for example, the planting of a tree of liberty was supposed to point to the burgeoning life of liberty in the collective, as the German oak became a sign of duration and perseverance. The Hermann Monument recalled the myth of the 'birth of the nation of the war [of liberation]' and simultaneously suggested a story of the destiny of the German nation from antiquity to modernity.

Cult of Heroes

The idea of the immortality of the nation could be personified in the veneration of national → heroes and materialized in edifices, as with the Panthéon in Paris (a church transformed into the abode of the immortal heroes of the nation) or the Walhalla (resting place of the fallen heroes of Teutonic mythology) near Regensburg.

7. Collective representations are necessary dynamic patterns of orientation, which must not be plugged up in dank traditionalism in resistance

to reasonable correctives. The penalty for doing so will be ideological petrification, in which they will lead the public concert and discord into blind alleys. Through the repeatedly objectified belief in which the collective comes forth as if it were a subject of activity endowed with consciousness, this collective survival—or, rather, supra-life—can advance to the status of a 'sacred reality' that would stand above the constant train of individual realities and condition them. This 'reality' not only becomes an object of worldly and pious wishes; on the contrary, as historical experience has shown, it can become one that that will seem to justify nearly any sacrifice—of oneself or of others—and any crime. Thus, the fiction of the vital political body, too, has contributed to the appearance that force, persecution, and annihilation were necessary for the 'self-preservation of the life of the collective,' at the cost of actual, concrete lives.

1. Rausch 1968, viii.
2. See Voegelin 1952.
3. Bourdieu, in: Ebbighausen, Rolf/Neckel, Sighard (eds.), Anatomie des politischen Skandals, Frankfurt/M. 1989, 36-37.
4. See Castoriadis 1987.
5. See Berghoff 1997, 69ff.
6. See Deutsch 1972, 204ff.
7. See Durkheim 1995; Fraenkel, Ernst, "Die repräsentative und die plebiszitäre Komponente im demokratischenVerfassungsstaat," in Rausch 1968, 330.
8. See Castoriadis 1987.
9. Cassirer 1994, 1:26-27; cf. Cassirer 1979.
10. Freud 1967, 7-82.
11. See Durkheim 1995.
12. Arasse, Daniel, The Guillotine and the Terror, London 1989.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Blood, Body, Civil Religion, Conflict/Violence, Democracy, Fantasy, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Hero/Heroism, Immortality, Masses, Monarchy/Royalty, Myth/Mythology, Origin, Political Religion, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Race/Racism, Society, Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Tradition, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Peter Berghoff



Probably no other 'possession cult' exasperated representatives of the colonial powers (also Muslims, and, after independence, African rulers) as much as did the Hauka cult of West Africa. Here men and women took on extremely expressive roles and presented vivid caricatures of members of government. A colonial ambient was produced, with scraps of material to stand for the Union Jack. The Hauka assembly opened with a public confession. After their admission of guilt, the culprits had to offer an animal sacrifice (chicken or wether). The wildest horror was provoked at the close of the ceremony by an extreme breach of taboo, the consumption of a dog. This was also interpreted as a sacrificial meal; but what it actually symbolized was the dissolution of all bounds. A round-table conference decided the preparation of the dog—raw or cooked. The dress of the actors (e.g., European trousers and shirt) reinforced their transformation into a *hauka*, a person possessed by whites. In the Slow March, Captain Maliya, pictured here, mimics the parade step of the British Army. The Corporal of the Guard wears the red sash of the Commandant. French documentary cinematographer Jean Rouch has recorded the Hauka ritual in his "Les Mâitres Fous" ("The Crazy Bosses"), filmed in 1954, at first arousing extremely controversial reactions. (C. Polzer)

Colonialism I: Economic and Political

When Columbus discovered the American continent in October 1492, Latin America had to embark on a trail of sorrow that is not yet over. In 1521, with unexampled cruelty, Hernan Cortes annihilated the Aztec Empire, the city of Tenochtitlan was razed to the ground, and the population was practically exterminated. Priests and missionaries supplied the *coup de grâce* by assuring the devastation of all works of art and all libraries, thereby forever depriving humanity of a rich and multiform culture (→ Mission).

Only twelve years later, the Spanish adventurer Pizarro overcame the Empire of the Incas, exploiting it unmercifully. Some two-thirds of all of the precious metals then possessed by Spain came from there. In 1991, Peruvian scientists calculated the value of the gold of which Spain had robbed Peru at some 600 million dollars, including interest. In 1992, the West indemnified Peru for the amount of twenty million dollars.

In the → Central America of 1519, there lived a total of some twenty-five million persons. By 1600 the number had descended to one million. Between 1519 and 1600, by today's estimates, eighty-five percent of the Indian population was killed in consequence of the Conquista and the colonization. This led to the colonists' importation, as early as 1510, of slaves from West Africa to Spanish America. By 1870, some 1.5 million slaves had been kidnapped and brought there. These statistics provide a glimmer of the enormous proportions of human misery that reached across continents in colonial times.

The foreign debt of the former colonial lands is the consequence and continued effect of their oppression, still visible today. The extent of this debt in comparison with colonial exploitation is small (see above). By 1991, it had grown to some 1,300 billion dollars, with the result that, between 1983 and 1991, a net capital income of approximately 250 billion

dollars, mostly in the form of interest payments, flowed to the industrial nations from the poorest countries of the world. This means that these countries pay back more than they receive from the wealthy countries in new credits and assistance for development. In other words, the poorest pay for the development and growth of the wealthy. The colonial system could not have survived better, more covertly, or more insidiously.

Here, however, it becomes altogether questionable whether colonialism actually brought an advantage to the perpetrators. The greatest colonial powers of modernity—Spain and Portugal—scarcely count among the wealthiest nations of the world today. On the contrary, the countries riding the crest of prosperity—Germany, Japan, the United States, Switzerland, and so on—never possessed colonies, or did so only briefly. After the loss of its colonies in the Treaty of Versailles, the economy of the German Empire effortlessly overtook the colonial powers England and France. Historian of economics Paul Bairoch ascertains a negative correlation: the more the colonies possessed, the weaker the economy.[1]

The Roots of Colonialism

The question of colonialism's roots remains. Consciousness of being a Spaniard, a German, or a European dislodges consciousness of being human, "and precisely this difference becomes the operative moment in a colonial situation."[2] With the concept of a culture not generally human, but ethnic, territorial, and linguistically unified, the imperialism of colonial times has produced a nationalistic construct that divides human reality into hierarchically ordered cultures—which are then settled pseudo-Darwinistically on respective rungs of a scheme of progress, conceptualized this time as universal (→ Evolutionism). The simultaneity of all human cultures is either not acknowledged or ignored. A prerequisite for a genuine postcolonial world will be that the element of the national and the ethnic be cut down to size. After all, 'the others' are persons, too, and they are our contemporaries.

1. Bairoch, Paul, in: Krämer/Trenkler (eds.), Lexikon der populären Irrtümer, Frankfurt/M. 1996.
2. Horn 1998.

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See also Colonialism II

→ *Colonialism II, Mission*

Gerhard Schlatter

Colonialism II: Anthropological

1. Missionaries were often the forerunners of colonialism. Colonial encounters occurred not only with non-Christian cultures in Asia, Africa, and America, but also between Western colonialism and indigenous Christianity—as on the western coast of southern India, with the Thomasine Christians as the Portuguese arrived in 1498, or again in the Ethiopia of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as Portuguese Catholicism likewise met indigenous Christian variants. Frequently an appropriation of the land was followed by a demand for plantations and the recruiting of day laborers (e.g., in New Guinea and Melanesia). The latter were expected to meet their contracts precisely, or else there would be sanctions. In the *area of religion*, a joint advance of colonial administration and Western mission societies often entailed the prohibition of dances and festivals, and the destruction of sacred objects. Any contact with the Christian faith on the part of the colonized, however, was usually limited.

2. The reaction to forced Westernization and Christianization brought about by the colonial powers was wide-ranging.

Nativism

a) Over against the white colonial lords stood the native → ancestors, who represented the traditional system. These figures reminded the colonials of the freedom of their past. With its return, the troubles of this new age would disintegrate. The natives looked forward to a reversal of social positions and a subsequent bestowal by the ancestors of goods in abundance.

Cargo Cult

b) The deterioration or destruction of old social orders through colonial subjugation often occasioned the appearance of new, bizarre ideals, which were expressed also with the help of religious movements. The *cargo cult* (→ South Sea/Australia), for example, had its causes in social unrest. It encouraged a quest for a restoration of political and economic balance with the Europeans. However, it also contained a moral component, expressed in the natives' insistence that the whites robbed the local population of their marine cargo and used it for themselves.

Possession Cults

c) The religious phenomena known as *possession cults* had also been at hand in pre-colonial times; but under colonialism, they had a new importance: the political dimension had been added. In the cults of the Shona in Zimbabwe, for example, Europeans were caricatured most ironically. Varunga, the spirit of the dead Europeans, held the Shona to cleanliness. Central to the cult were white clothing, cutlery, and the everlasting washing of one's hands. Here, mimicry itself "was a caricature of that other imitation, to which Europe compelled the whole continent, and against which political awareness aroused support."[1] It was living in two worlds, which produced for many a double identity: many could participate in a possession cult (see illustration) by going to church.

Millenarianism

d) The *Mahdi* movement brought Sudan a brief period of independence. Its leader was Sheik Muhammad Ahmed, who, in 1881, declared himself *El-Mahdi*, the 'Rightly Led One.' His goals were the elimination of injustice,

the revival of Islam, reduction of the bridal price, and, in view of the day of the Last Judgment, the conversion of all human beings to Islam. His was a *millenarianist movement*, which succeeded in establishing reforms (e.g., prohibition of alcohol, reduction in the bridal price, prohibition of pre-Islamic ceremonies). In 1883, the Mahdists overcame the Anglo-Egyptian Expeditionary Force, and in 1885 succeeded in gaining control of Khartoum. Only in 1898 did the Anglo-Egyptians at last regain control of Sudan.

Post-Colonialism

3. While missionary activity demonstrated little success in the early colonial phase, there was greater growth in the churches after the First World War. The defeat of the resistance of the old elites, material need, and the value of education, to which a growing importance was attributed as a means to social improvement, may have played a significant role. In many regions of Africa, for example, mission schools were the only educational institutions. In the course of this process, independent and very diverse ecclesial conformations developed at an accelerating pace, which led to an Africanization of the mission churches. By the 1980s, there were some eight hundred independent churches in Soweto alone. In the post-colonial phase as well, the churches remained especially attractive for the marginalized. A church base offered a chance for social improvement.

1. Kramer 1987, 128.

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→ *Africa II, Colonialism I, Mission, South Sea/Australia*

Claudia Polzer

Commune

The 'Face-to-Face Society'

1. The commune (Lat., *communis*, 'common'), as a conformation of human community, is neither simple nor primordial. It is better understood as a complex process of 'communization' (*Vergemeinschaftung*, Max Weber), in which individuals learn to connect heterogeneous feelings and ideas, and to insert themselves into a community of solidarity. A commune is a → group, readily grasped as a unit, whose members are in underlying agreement in their values, interests, and inclinations, and who seek to experience, in the common life, security, confirmation, and kindness. For this they are prepared to expend a great percentage of their time, energy, and economic resources for the realization of communitarian goals. They direct their lives in function of the needs and requirements of the group. The result is the appearance of a face-to-face society, in which each knows, but also oversees, the others. The permanence of the group is a common end, which all members value more highly than they do certain individual goals, and which they regard themselves as warranted in pursuing.

Commune and Society

2. The commune was at first defined from the idea of community (*communitas*), as a counter-pattern to → society (F. Tönnies). Tönnies distinguishes community (*Gemeinschaft*), in which the will of all is in basic agreement, from society (*Gesellschaft*), which rests on a stricter individuality of interests. Until the Middle Ages, Tönnies holds, the community determined life, while, in modernity, society has gained increasing dominance. This romanticizing, evolutionistic conception was set by anthropologist Victor Turner (1969) over against an oscillation model of *communitas* and structure (→ Ritual). All through the history of humanity, Turner holds, situations of crisis and transition have repeatedly resulted in the appearance of *communitas*—the latter understood as an anti-structure that breaks out of a structure. *Communitas* suspends conventional, institutionalized norms and ideations, and erects, in a circumscribed group, for a short time the model of 'spontaneous' human life in common. According to Turner, 'structural' outsiders find themselves together in such a community, and, voluntarily and in common, live values such as equality, peace, and harmony, in counter-pattern to established society. In the course of its development, however, the *communitas* is institutionalized and itself becomes part of the structure, the 'establishment.' An example would be the Franciscan poverty movement. It had formed in the thirteenth century, around → Francis of Assisi, as a 'spontaneous' *communitas*, following the biblical poverty of Jesus and his disciples. With the creation of rules, the order became a 'normative' *communitas*, and, by way of papal sanction, a constitutive part of the existing structure, the Catholic Church. The Franciscan Spirituals, however, remained 'spontaneous' *communitas* and were persecuted and destroyed.

Models

3. On the other hand, the commune can certainly form a *molding principle of relations* within society (Schibel 1985). In the medieval village community, as in Benedictine monasteries and in the North American 'community,' communes were locally bounded societies, whose members organized important areas of their associations in life and work as



In the commune *Rajneeshpuram* ('The Holy City of the King of the Full Moon'), Bhagwan-pupils (*sannyasins*) work in the field. In the 260-sq-km area of Big Muddy Ranch in the highlands of Central Oregon, the *sannyasins* built a large spiritual commune, which until 1985 was the center of the → Osho Movement. Despite difficult conditions of soil and climate, over the course of two years the members managed to render the extensively neglected ranch arable once more, and turn the commune into an economically self-sufficient farm. Along with fields for fruit, vegetables, and grain, raised on principles of dynamic biology, there were 3,000 chickens, 450 cattle, and 90 beehives. Work was done without remuneration, regularly seven days a week and twelve to fourteen hours a day. Within the commune there was no monetary exchange. The 'residents' received clothing, board, shelter, and health care in exchange for a membership fee, often a considerable amount, and the surrender of private ownership. All activities were regulated in common, from housework and meal preparation to the rearing of the children, who were accommodated in a special living area. The commune replaced the family; life centered on work, to which was attributed a power of transformation. (Benita von Behr)

equals. They took advantage of a weak central power in spaces lacking a great deal of 'government,' but did not oppose societal relations of power. Only after this mold of commune has been demolished and absorbed by the ambitions of a central state, does it become the familiar 'intentional' community: the model of the good society in a readily visualized group. Under pressure from without, a praxis heretofore lived only unconsciously becomes conscious of itself as oppositional, and thereby becomes a constitutive element of the commune. The ideas on which the sketch of this model stands are conscious, and common to all of the members of the commune. They usually come out of the mythical notion of a 'better past' ('original Christianity,' 'original Communism'), and are frequently nurtured by egalitarian ideals (community of goods, comradeship). This was the case with the Hutterites and Amish, who emerged from the Baptist movement of the sixteenth century (→ Baptists), and who still form endogamous communities in the United States. In the quest to actualize their backward-looking → utopias, communes often invent something new. Thus, the Christian Pietist community that emerged from the artisan community of the 'Bohemian Brethren,' in 1722 in Herrnhut/Oberlausitz, developed its own educational system and spread all over the world. Besides these, however, there were also communes whose utopias were future-oriented, and which understood their communities as germ cells of a new society. An example was the communistic experiment of Robert Owen, who in 1824 tried to build an independent organism, with a community of goods, in New Harmony, New York. Today, the Israeli kibbutzim can be understood as such communes.

The Charismatic Leader

4. The members of an intentional community nearly always place themselves under a *charismatic leader*, who, as founder of the commune, frequently seems to present the pure, perfect embodiment of its ideas. This leader must be imbued with the 'truth' of these underlying ideals and feel impelled to bring them to others. In the middle of the nineteenth century in the United States, the perfectionist commune of Oneida, New York followed this pattern, as did Christian Science in Lynn, Massachusetts in 1879. However, the embodiment of truth and perfection in the leader can suddenly change to → fanaticism, and then be expressed in violence and psycho-terror, within the commune or on the outside (e.g. *Aum Shinrikyo* in Japan). When the incarnation of the idea does not come to be dissociated from the person of the leader, the commune crumbles with his or her disappearance, as happened in Oneida. *Christian Science*, on the other hand, institutionalized their idea in 1892 and became a hierarchically structured organization (→ Church).

Communes Today

5. Communes exist today in the recesses of society, where they shape their lived existence in alternation between ideal aims and practical activity for life, along with model sketches of this life. For these special ways of living that deviate from the societal norm the commune needs a higher justification—a religious or ideological underlay. These latter supply the criterion for a distinction between religious and political communes. If a commune is to flourish, a certain outside pressure is important (e.g., through persecution or defamation), as well as inner norms (group pressure) and prohibitions as identity-shaping aspects. To the canon of slanders belong sexual

excesses, filth, and intoxication (→ Anti-Cult Movements). These were reproaches lodged with the California hippies of the 1960s, just as they were with the apocalyptic commune in Waco, Texas, in 1993. Since communes can be integrated into existing economies only conditionally—after all, they usually present a conflicting model—authority regularly reacts with mistrust and attempts to absorb or destroy them.

Life connections as organized in hierarchically structured mega-institutions today deprive persons of the possibility of exercising a practical management over their own lives. Alternative living models and common practical interaction in a commune can give the individual's life a sense, a meaning. An example would be the → New Age Commune in Findhorn, in Scotland. Refugees from civilization have come here since 1962 to shape an esoterically based model for a new age.

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→ *Anarchism, Group, Monasticism, Society, Utopia, Zionism*

Nils Grübel

Communication

Religion as Communication

1. From a communications theory perspective, religions are considered complex, structured, processes of communication, which separate themselves from other forms of communication through the development of specific 'communication interconnections' in space and time (→ Feasts and Celebrations; Sunday/Sabbath), particular conformations, and specific themes (→ Metaphysics; Heaven/Sky, Hell), and repeatedly by the acceptance of divine communication-participants. As they are communication processes that span broad times, spaces, and social elements, religions build themselves out of a reticulation of individual, outstanding, communications episodes—that is, out of pre-structured *communications events*, such as divine services, individual rituals, and religious gatherings, which regularly call for the personal presence of those participating. What is appraised as specifically religious communication in a society's store of themes is of course also dependent on the degree of social differentiation in that society, as well as on historical cultural imprints. At the same time, that content is constantly disputed.

Social Phenomenon

2. a) As a social phenomenon, communication consists in the synthesis of three components: (a) *information*, (b) the *transmittal* of this information, and (c) an *understanding* of this transmittal and its information. Each of these components is dependent on the cultural context of a society, and is therefore perceived collectively.

- Most generally, *information* is a meaningful 'selection' of elements found ranged along a horizon of various possibilities. This selection is first of all an actualization of meaning ('formation of meaning'). Only in a second step is information 'materialized'—connected with linguistic or non-linguistic signs or codifications.
- *Transmittal*, as a second element, is itself a selection. One can transmit the information, or omit to do so, and must at the same time select a relationship and a medium of transmittal, through which the corresponding information can be transmitted. Only this act of transmittal is directly visible for an observer of the communication. A characteristic of many religious transmittals is that they are ascribed at once to a human vis-à-vis, and to one understood as divine (→ Prophet; Channeling).
- *Understanding*, as a third moment in communication, presupposes that the transmittal of the information can be distinguished, so that the treatment of the transmittal can be filtered out of a current of perceptions (→ Perception). The difference between transmittal and information is generated by the fact that the transmittal is taken as a 'sign' of something lying outside itself (→ Symbol/Sign/Gesture). Here no exact duplicate is produced, of either the transmittal or the information, in the act of understanding; instead, information is transferred *from* an individual horizon of meaning *to* another individual horizon of meaning, without anyone's being able to guarantee the similarity of the criteria of selection. If, on the basis of understanding, an expression of 'consequence' is produced—that is, if another transmittal occurs—then the process of communication continues.

Types of Media

b) The concept of the medium is of elementary importance for an understanding of communication. Here three aspects are to be distinguished.

- First, it is improbable that the selection of meaning in the transmittal—in other words, the information—is understood as a moment in the communication. *Media of communication*—systems of signs—such as speech or speech 'images' ('cultural codes,' U. Eco) respond to this.
- Furthermore, it is important to notice that a transmittal reaches the addressee even without the latter's immediate presence. The development of specific *means of propagation*, such as books, radio, and television, is of importance in such instances.
- In many cases, however, communication not only is to be understood, but is also to be received as determinative of a relation. This imperative is the signal for so-called *symbolically generalized media of communication*, such as, for example, 'faith,' to enter in, along with symbiotic mechanisms such as 'ritual,' which bind communication back upon the organic and corporeal sphere (N. Luhmann).

All three types of media influence the possible content of communication, each in itself and in combination, inasmuch as they restrict the information that can be transmitted to a given addressee in a given medium.

Forms of Religious Communication

3. Religious communication systems are characterized by the simultaneous engagement of several media of communication. In clear contrast with everyday communication, in the case of (especially nonverbal) religious communication, the selection of the information and the transmittal is usually no longer ascribed to an individual person; rather, these are ascribed to a → tradition, a collective, or a complex process of transmission.

Religious communication is often characterized by asymmetries. Thus, the human being communicates with a god experienced as powerful, while a religious → specialist (priest, minister, shaman, and so on) endorses the communication with and for the divine being in question.

Form Binding

In comparison with everyday communication, complex religious communication, even in modern societies, demonstrates a high measure of '*form binding*.' This applies especially to the core area of cultic communication, and less to the more social components of religion. Form binding occurs first of all, *objectively and materially*, through themes (like → transcendence or → God) presented by the classic texts of religion, and on the other hand, by those growing out of the societal position of religion. A *temporal* aspect of the form binding of religious communication is its imbedding in a time structure of its own. Here we find the periodical repetitions of the central communication events (Sunday service, → Christmas) and their time framing, as well as their bounding (→ Calendar; Time). In a *social* respect, manifold limitations characterize the public assemblies, for example in confession or meditation, or, in the case of preaching, in one-sided, asymmetrical communication and its binding to specialists. The primary scaffolding of form binding is the pre-formation of the itinerary of the communication, by means of liturgies. Form-bound communications (like a Mass or Islamic Friday prayer) have the advantage of high expectations on the part of participants. They make it possible to 'ease into' the event, as well as to experience a disappointment-free ending of the same. Unlike social conversation, participants seldom surrender religious communication processes to the randomness of individual contributions. This withdrawal of contingency and randomness, which is one of the aims of form binding, permits a raising of the level of the intimacy of the themes, and can also, beyond a mere understanding, foster the reception of the communication. On the other side, it works against a reflection *upon* the religious communication in progress and can to that extent become problematic, when that communication is abused in an exercise of authority. In dynamic religious traditions, surely, form bindings underlie a permanent, more or less rapid, and therefore more or less perceptible, cultural change. Thus, they are rebuilt and broadened into new molds, corresponding to new situations (liturgical reforms, services with babies, services with or for animals, divorce rituals). But neither do religious traditions that encourage spontaneous expression, such as charismatic movements, escape a high measure of form binding in their communication.

Verbal Forms of Communication

a) In many religions, preaching is a prominent form of religious communication, usually inserted into a liturgical framework (→ Sermon). Reflexively, it has a passage of a canonical text as its subject, and at the same time takes this text as a current transmittal to the listener, a transmittal rendered real by means of the sermon. Not least of all, through the development and application of rhetorical means, the sermon seeks to generate specific experiences with the listeners. Through the stark asymmetry of its transmittals, the sermon is especially directed toward making a similar horizon of meaning available to its listeners. In the understanding of Christianity, it is ultimately God who speaks through the sermon. The preacher, a human being, is therefore, in a certain sense, not only a transmitter, but also a medium through which the divine reality transmits itself.

Prayer

Prayer, whether that of the community or that of an individual, is a form of communication in which the transmittal from the believing human being is intended to be received, in the form of direct address, by the deity or another religious power, and in which an 'understanding' on the part of the deity is assumed by the subjects of the transmittal (→ Prayer/Curse). The very fact that the transmittal is made in a linguistic form presupposes the conceptualization of a personal correspondent that 'hears' the human speech and enjoys the capacity and opportunity to react to it. In order to experience the 'response,' the believer is dependent upon signs that are capable of being interpreted, or else applies the techniques of oracle in an effort to cancel the asymmetry of the communication. A person turning to God with a request, a grievance, gratitude, or praise usually appropriates speech configurations already at hand, such as traditional prayers. Only in more strongly individualized molds of piety does individually and spontaneously modulated prayer dominate.

Dogmatic and Canonical Texts

Even rudimentary forms of theology are at the point where a religious transmittal is at one and the same time proposed with existential earnestness and directed toward comprehensibility. So-called *dogmatic and canonical texts* of religious worlds of communication, however, go beyond these altogether elementary figures or structures.

Regarded in terms of communication theory, *canonical texts*, such as the → Bible or the → Qur'an, have twin faces. On one side they are documents—deposits, so to speak, of past religious communication. As such, they can become—by way of theological exegesis, for example—*reflexively* the subject of new transmittals and of communications proceeding from these. This occurs in conversation or discussion *concerning* these texts, within the religious community, in the broader culture, or even in reflexive theological scholarship (→ Text/Textual Criticism). On the other hand, for religious communities living today, the canonical texts are current *proffers of transmittal*, conveyed in the propagation medium of scripture, on the part of the authors of the texts, or indeed, on that of the divinities speaking through them.

Dogmatic texts are developed self-descriptions of religious communication processes, each of them 'orthodox' and 'heterodox' in varying proportions (D. F. Schleiermacher); that is, they both describe current religious speech and step beyond it by simultaneously correcting it, inasmuch as they indicate directions for its development. Unlike scholarly or philosophical approaches to religion, they themselves bear, inescapably and directly, on the pretension to truth of religious reality. For the establishment and defense of dogmatic cognitions, religious communities have at various times developed a broad spectrum of the regulation of religious communication. This spectrum reaches from supervision of the education of religious specialists, to the juridical effect of a confession, to proceedings of exclusion (excommunication, ecclesiastical ban), to the extermination of enemies (→ Inquisition; Fatwa). Religious apologetics, as a special form of theology, mount an argumentative defense of the proper rationality of the religious communication in question, and of its understanding of reality, against the criticism of other, nonreligious systems of knowledge with their own rationalities and conceptualizations of reality.

Nonverbal Forms of Communication

b) Religions appeal precisely to complex, nonlinguistic or presentative-symbolic, condensed, and polyvalent means of communication. These features pertain particularly to music, architecture, and sculpture, along with gesture and the human body in ritual.

Music and Song

As compared with speech, information can be communicated in the medium of → *music* only with far greater ambiguity. Religious → singing—usually heard in community—as formed communication, not only joins the medium of speech to music, but at the same time makes all of those singing not only participants, but understanding recipients of transmittals. Further, music is capable of generating its own space of experience, and this space not only stimulates intense feelings, but also leads the persons assembled to a relative harmony of feelings among themselves. Thus, singing done in common often forms a scaffolding for comprehensive phenomena of religious communication. In singing, the linguistic transmittal also adds a quality of experience that reinforces the evidential quality of what is sung. Accordingly, in some religions (Islam, Judaism, parts of Christianity), even the religious confessions are sung. As the example of Protestantism evinces, religious song and religious instrumental music can develop with very great vitality even where sculpture and the performing arts recede into the background.

Dance

In religious → *dance*, music is connected with the medium of communication that is one's own body or that of another. This combination makes it possible to transmit intense experiences. The intention to create a strong arousal of the sense and affect (ecstasy) through religious dance is an extremely controversial matter in the religions, and, accordingly, variously encouraged and cultivated.

Architecture

In all religions that construct their own structures for worship, the → architecture of these buildings is a medium of communication that contains a complex symbolism. The system of religious transmittals to the faithful and to the cultural milieu extends to the structural complex, the space that is bounded and created, and the architectonic details. This significance pertains to the arrangement, character, and dimensions of simple altars, as well as to the disposition, size, and shape of the pillars of Greek temples. Hindu temples in the mold of Stupas, for example, are signs of a sacred mountain on which the gods assemble. Both the Crystal Cathedral of television preacher Robert Schuller, in Anaheim, California (→ Televangelism), and the plain wooden churches of New England, are 'speaking' components of the religious transmittals of these churches: the Crystal Cathedral, built all of glass, transmits, in an age of glassy skyscrapers, not only self-concept and splendor, but also transparency, while wooden churches are rather signs of an ascetical piety.

Plastic Arts

Influential religious molds of transmittal include *works of plastic art*, as statues, steles, or materialized primary symbols of religion. Catholic tradition's characteristic crucifixes and representations of Mary not only find a place in central spaces of worship like churches, but focus popular piety in the everyday world as well. Within Protestantism, it is true, the reformed tradition (Calvin) is opposed to plastic representation, as well as to images, but

the crosses to be found even in this form of Christianity are components of nonverbal religious communication (→ Cross/Crucifixion). An element of Buddhist religious communication is the statue of the Buddha, along with gesture and mimicry as important aspects of the form of transmittal (→ Buddha; Hinduism).

Pictures

The communicative nature of *pictorial representations* in Christian religious art in church buildings is evinced in the name *biblia pauperum* (Lat., "Bible of the Poor"; → Bible). Frescos and paintings were the 'Bible' of the illiterate laity. In Western churches, special visual forms of transmittal were the glass windows of the churches and the → icons in Orthodox churches of the East. Several of the religions of the Mediterranean basin, of course, are usually without images, such as Judaism and Islam. The target of a religious criticism of the image (→ Image/Iconoclasm) is a systematic confusion of (a) the image's mediation and character of transmittal with (b) the object itself.

Odor

In the context of religious acts, fragrances, such as that of incense or perfumes, are olfactory media of communication. On the one hand, they are very polyvalent; but on the other, they have the advantage of being altogether impossible to ignore. One of the purposes of olfactory communication is the unambiguous circumscription of one's own reality space (→ Perception).

Rituals

→ Rituals are highly patterned communications, in which the interconnection of the transmittals is so extensively fixed that they are repeatable, and with which linguistic media are complemented by a variety of nonlinguistic ones. Meaningful or unusual objects (bread and wine, → Lord's Supper), behaviors, and, not least of all, the human → body (→ Baptism; Circumcision; Nudity), become vehicles of religious transmittal, means of religious communication. By these means, rituals engender a space of intense perception, in which all becomes transmittal at once—that is, fraught with meaning ('total communication'). The incorporation of the persons present as media of religious transmittal does not require their faith, but only their presence and an acceptance of the execution of the action. However, they can occasion (bodily) experiences that are difficult to ignore, and can be moving and intense. The powerful form of this communication deprives the latter of its spontaneity, but at the same time delivers it from the danger of the openness and arbitrariness of the communication process. Ritual is a form by which, reacting to and together with religious power, religious communities communicate to themselves.

Reticulations of Processes of Religious Communication

4. Religious communication shapes specifically pre-structured communication phenomena, and does so apart from everyday communication. Masses, divine services in churches or synagogues, prayer times in mosques, central acts of worship, gather human beings into extensively ritualized acts of communication supported by interaction and mutual physical presence. Contrary to broadly extended interpretations of the phenomenon of → televangelism, any actually identity-marking and enduring turn to a religion requires direct communication and therefore a minimal degree of ritually

structured situations of interaction that address the senses (É. Durkheim). Although even religious communication in the guise of piety permeates, multifariously and constantly, the everyday world of the faithful, these pre-structured communication phenomena can be regarded as paradigms of religious communication and of multimediality. Granted, in many religions there are also religious traditions that work consciously against such a dense multimediality and against too great a distance of these realities from the everyday. The Reformed tradition in Protestantism, for example, which cultivates such a sober space and shape for the divine service and accords such clear privilege to the medium of speech, may stand as an example.

Multimediality

a) Religious communication phenomena have been multimedial for thousands of years, inasmuch as they offer simultaneous or serial communications in a multiplicity of media of communication. For instance, they connect the acoustical linguistic transmittals of sermon or prayer, in song, with music. In many instances, olfactory elements, such as incense, or even the 'odor of sacrifice,' along with strongly visual sense impressions (pictures, statues, films), and elementary impressions of the cultic space. Motor expressions (dance, the act of kneeling, breathing, procession, pilgrimage, circumcision) are invoked, as are tactile sensations (ingestion of water, wine, or bread, imposition of hands at blessings, the sign of the cross). Natural material means of communication, such as sacrificial animals and harvest offerings—but also abstract material means (→ Money)—supplement linguistic media. In a combination that stimulates experience and fascinates the perception, the media of communication are mutually reinforcing. From the perspective of the criticism of religion, this phenomenon can be regarded as belonging to suggestion technique.

Simultaneity

b) Phenomena of religious communication combine in their transmittals, simultaneously or serially, *several processes* of communication. In the sermon of a Christian divine service, for example, a communication with the preacher takes place; in this communication, a communication with an authoritative text (e.g., from the Bible) occurs; in both of these together, ultimately a communication with God occurs; and to this communication, prayers—transmittals to God in the mode of direct response—react. At the same time, the faithful communicate with one another in song and social modes, and in song, meditation, and confession of faith, they pursue formats of self-address. According to the conceptualization of Jews and Christians, 'in' these communications a self-transmittal of God occurs (→ Revelation): the human transmittals become ascribed not only to a human vis-à-vis, but also to a divine one, although this is withdrawn from direct observation.

Convergence of Spaces and Times

c) The phenomena of religious communication unite communication in the small group (parish, family) with the communication of spatially and/or chronologically distant major units (e.g., with Muslim prayer, or the Jewish Sabbath celebration). They transcend the physically present community to reach the universal faith community and beyond it God or the deities, as well as, in many religions, spirits and the dead.

Network of Public Instances

Phenomena of religious communication engender and stabilize instances of the public sphere (→ Publicity). Small social public phenomena are first of all connected with the public sphere before the religious power, and can, at the same time, simultaneously merge with more comprehensive regional, national, or universal instances. The manner of communication whose dominance is across the length and breadth of society fashions and molds the (total) horizon of the 'public' sphere. In the functionally differentiated societies of modernity, this is not (only) religious communication, but the mass communication of the media system—which has itself however adopted forms of religious communication, as in the case of → television and the motion picture (→ Film) (G. Thomas).

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→ Architecture (sacred), Canon/Canonization, Dance, Emblem, Image/Iconoclasm, Liturgy/Dramaturgy, Mantra, Media, Miracles, Music, Perception, Prayer/Curse, Prophecy, Sermon, Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Translation

Günter Thomas

Composite Beings

Supernatural beings in composite form, whose outward appearance—in varying proportion—is partly animal and partly human, are a hardy component of the iconography of a great number of religions. Although gods are extensively encountered in human form ('anthropomorphism'), deviations from the norm are suited to certain purposes. A multiplication of bodily parts (heads, arms), a merging of the sexes ('androgyny'), or a combination of animal and human forms, has been a preferred stylistic

means of designating the special, superhuman and supernatural capabilities of the divinities.

In Western history, however, composite supernatural beings have discharged only a secondary role in the shaping of apprehensions of God. But they have attained an altogether extraordinary prominence in the iconographical development of the notions of angels and demons. In contemporary culture, their representations in human form but with birdlike wings have important functions in purely secular and in neo-religious contexts; they can be understood as purely aesthetic clichés or as helpful spirits. By contrast, demons regularly enter the scene as horrid, fearful, menacing monsters, their bodies composed of grotesque exaggerations and distortions (devils with goat horns and cloven hoofs) of animal and human components. They have now even found entry into new worlds, as adversaries in computer games, whom the virtual → hero must encounter at the most sundry *levels*.

→ *Angel, Demon/Demonology, God/Gods/the Sacred, Myth/Mythology, Sphinx*

Gregor Ahn

Confession (Sacramental Act)

Acknowledging Oneself

1. As a result of the loss of significance of the large churches, the meaning of 'confession' has only marginally to do with a public or private religious act involving the acknowledgement of → guilt and → sin. On the other hand, the public 'confessions' on talk shows, especially of sexual misdeeds on the part of celebrities, or analogous acknowledgments on the part of politicians, enjoy high public notice. Historically, with the development of the various forms of confession as spaces of religiously defined *self-thematizing*,[1] the Christian churches in Europe have created important institutions of self-reflection: these have decisively contributed to the constitution of modern consciousness as individuality capable of being 'mirrored.' Through participation in confession, the *penitent* (Lat., *poenitens*, the 'regretting' one) acknowledged the power of the Church and its norms. (Since the Reformation, the tendency has been to replace these with → 'conscience'—which, it is true, threatened to elude ecclesiastical control, a problem that subsequently found various solutions in pastoral practice and church law.) Functionally, in the various cultural and societal modes of confession, this is a matter of admitting faults to God, to the accepted powers, or to the community, and of relieving them (for example, by works of penance), restoring cultic → purity, punishing or neutralizing transgressions of commandments, avoiding them in accordance with modifications of conscience, or, for instance, shaming persons who have violated a → taboo.

Christian Praxis

2. In the *rite* of the ancient Church, the collective confession both of sins and of faith belonged together (the Latin *confessio* means both). This practice is current once again in the Evangelical Churches, as part of the preparation for the Lord's Supper. Grave guilt could be remitted once after its public admission and a large-scale requital, and the sinner could now



For a public carrying a Puritanical stamp, American President Bill Clinton represented too free a dissociation of private morality and official duty, requiring that he answer for his sexual affairs. In September 1998, before a number of clergy at the annual White House prayer breakfast, under growing public and political pressure, Clinton finally admitted not having shown 'sufficient remorse.' Despite that, however, he failed to block the detailed legal and media-driven accusation and condemnation of his 'sins.'

be acquitted and 'reincorporated.' Emphasizing their individual gifts of the grace of the Holy Spirit, charismatics repeatedly sought to elude the regularizing or endorsing control of the Church; for this they were condemned up to and into the twentieth century (→ Charismatic Movement). More practicable forms of penance developed from → monasticism. Private confession, received from the Irish mission, combined acknowledgment and absolution according to scales of payment, and in the ninth century was raised to the status of a sacrament. In 1215, the Fourth Council of the Lateran enjoined yearly confession and attendance at divine service. For Luther, one's entire life consisted of penance, and only faith in the grace of forgiveness justified the sinner. The Reformation had Catholic abuses before its eyes, especially commerce in absolution from sins. These indeed threatened the interiorized examination of conscience, which had been urged normatively in Augustine's *Confessions* (fourth) and by Abelard's doctrine on sin (twelfth century) (→ Biography/Autobiography). The general confession of the Counter-Reformation, with its demand for one's biography of sins, as well as the confession of devotion (without absolution), consequently seemed to be a retreat and compromise.

Other Religions

3. Many religions recognize forms of guilt and their expiation. Monotheistic religions condemn as sin, first and foremost, a falling away from God; Judaism and Islam do not offer confession as a way of obtaining forgiveness. Conceptions of cultic purity condition the caste system in Hinduism. The Buddhist Pali canon contains a 'confessional mirror' (*Pātimokkha*) for monks and nuns; in Hinayana Buddhism its words are regarded as those of the Buddha. In tribal religions, violation of taboos is reckoned a transgression that calls for punishment. Very frequently, communities and official entities feel threatened by sexual misbehavior.

Social Control of Conformity

4. Therapeutic counsels and psychological tests in newspapers and magazines, among other vehicles, are forms of *social control of conformity* today. Television shows relate to the sacramental pattern of sorrow, acknowledgment, and (will to) satisfaction. Advertising reflects, with effect, popular norms and the dangers of their transgression, often as an admission that one has missed the right product, the right lifestyle. Historically, a Christian fear of sin was effective in the Stalinist sham trials in Moscow (1936–1938). With their 'voluntary' manifestations of conscience, and their public rituals of accusation and acknowledgment, they resembled the medieval Inquisition.[2] Freud's → psychoanalysis at first applied traditional ideas of purification from 'sin material' (catharsis), but through its adoption of the 'unconscious' it came in conflict with Catholic penitential praxis: now what had once been inadmissible, uncomfortable, or morally false became secular and banal,[3] to the point of actually being preferred. But in a rampant market of offers for counseling, the centuries-old influence of church control over behavior abides.

1. Hahn/Kapp 1987, 17.
2. Riegel, in ibid., 178.
3. Castel, in ibid., 146.

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→ *Conscience, Guilt, Oral Tradition, Penance/Penitent, Sin*

Klaus Otto

Conflict / Violence

1. Conflict is usually seen as something negative. The general understanding is that, through conflict, persons' cohabitation is disturbed. Meanwhile, conflicts are no longer seen merely negatively, but are gradually being understood as a potentially productive thing. One of the contributing factors here is research into peace and conflict. Previously, 'conflict' was primarily understood in the sense of international conflict, the conflict of interests between different states. Conflicts were often defined as a preliminary form of war. Meanwhile, political, social, economic, and even religious confrontations have come to be designated as conflicts. At issue here, then, are usually an actual or construed collision of interests. In his sociological theory of conflict, Ralf Dahrendorf has labeled conflicts of internal policy a motor for better social solutions: "In conflict lies the creative core of all society and the chance for freedom—but at the same time the challenges of a rational mastery of social matters." The Dahrendorf theory of conflict was criticized to the effect that it bracketed structural causes of conflicts, and neglected the importance of 'pulling discord up by the roots.' With

conflicts, however, the main question is whether or not structural causes play a role. Conflicts often have directly to do with violence or force. In that case, they are frequently a means of conflictive confrontation and the cause of conflicts.

What is Violence?

2. The most convenient and simplest means of confrontation and conflict solution, because it is always materially available, is physical force. Such direct (or personal) force is at hand when persons exert direct compulsion upon other persons. Some forms of direct violence are bodily injury, murder, scourging, robbery, and violence against children. Most probably, violence will exist so long as there are human beings. The compelling supposition, then, is that violence is a basic anthropological constant, which can be channeled and 'diverted,' but which will never entirely disappear (Konrad Lorenz and others). While not completely contradicting this, more recent psychological propositions are constructed on the premise that violence in today's societies is actually the result of social learning processes. Every growing child experiences violence as an omnipresent means of altercation and often enough experiences how violence is 'rewarded.' The question, however, is whether physical assault is the only mode of assault.

Personal and Structural Violence

a) Dom Helder Camara (→ Liberation Theology), former Archbishop of Recife and Olinda in Brazil, defines violence as follows. When someone comes and speaks of violence, we ought always carefully to ask, "What is the violence of which you speak? Is it the violence of the oppressed or of the oppressor?" Surely, the violence of the oppressor is often less visible than that of the oppressed. However, in whatever measure it creates or maintains an inhuman situation, a situation of poverty, the violence of the oppressor brings death no less than does the bloodiest war.

For Dom Helder Camara, social injustice is the 'mother violence.' This is a basic understanding of violence, that, granted, is typical of the theology of liberation, but that has never found but scant echo in the official Catholic Church. By contrast with direct, 'personal' violence, social injustice can be designated *structural violence.* Indirect, structural violence is at hand, then, when in a political system, a society, or a religious community men and women are exposed to conditions of poverty, disease, illiteracy, hunger, exploitation of their ability to work, or psychic compulsions. As Dom Helder Camara has defined it, structural violence can also be described as social injustice. The intermediate forms of violence, those between structural and direct violence, are recognizable when repression is exerted against individual persons or particular political or religious groups, and when on this account a climate of fear and intimidation arises (Lat., *terror*). Direct violence presupposes a subject—one or several persons—exercising an activity of physical aggression. Structural violence is built into the social system. Direct violence is perceptible by the senses and bears on body and life directly, while structural violence is (up to a point) a subjective experience. The saying, "You can't feel your chains if you don't move," expresses the fact that not every person will have the same perception of the consequences of structural violence.

Direct and indirect violence, however, prevent persons from living in self-determination. Johann Galtung has defined the absence of personal,



In South Korea, demonstrations have regularly been accompanied by raw force on both sides. In 1997, at the ceremony to usher in the New Year, student anti-government protests erupted: here, a Buddhist monk deals such a violent blow to a police shield that his stick splinters. But it is only a sign: the monk's energetic endorsement of the demonstrators provides moral support, but it does not disturb the phalanx of police. And despite the superior force of the latter, the monk remains 'unmolested'—after all, the public, in the form of the photographers, is looking on. The picture also contradicts the widespread bias that Buddhism is (always) peaceful. (Christoph Auffarth)

direct violence as 'negative peace.' There is 'positive peace,' according to Galtung, only when personal, direct *and* indirect, structural violence is absent. Fine as this definition is, it is scarcely fit for everyday use, as the complete absence of structural violence remains an illusion.

Dahrendorf's theory of conflict, sketched above, was criticized to the effect that it bracketed structural causes of conflict. More recent theories of violence and conflict instead bring the cultural causes of conflicts into the foreground and inquire into relations of power. Thus, a distinction is made between nonequivalent and adequate resolution of conflict. *Adequate* resolution of conflict is at hand when the various parties dispose of similar means of seeing their interests prevail. *Nonequivalent* resolution of conflict means that, on the one hand, the adversaries in the conflict dispose of distinguishable means, and on the other, that distinguishable concepts of the conflictive situation are entertained. The conflictive formations just described could also be denominated *horizontal* or *vertical* conflicts. Adequate, or horizontal, conflictive formations can well be presented in terms of the relationship between two equally powerful parties, such as the Evangelical and the Catholic Church in Europe. On the other hand, the relationship between Christian churches and indigenous religions is a clear example of a vertical or nonequivalent conflict (→ Mission).

b) When, on 8 November 1968, Beate Klarsfeld boxed the ears of then Federal Chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger for his Nazi past, it was clear to all: 'This is violence.' To be sure, this 'act of violence' was not physical violence in the sense described; thus, the prevailing of needs or interests according to the principle of 'might makes right,' in direct physical confrontation, were not present. This was symbolic violence with physical means of expression. By her action, Klarsfeld sought to erect a political sign. It was not a matter of personal confrontation between Klarsfeld and Kiesinger, then. Klarsfeld sought to call attention to a past that had not been clarified and that had not been expiated (→ Shoah; Anti-Semitism). Symbolic violence plays an important role in religions especially, in their auto-aggressive variant: → martyrs sacrifice themselves for their faith.

State Monopoly on Violence

3. Anyone exercising power or rule usually employs both direct and indirect violence in order to do so. State violence is defined by the exercise, on the part of the state, of violence over and for a determinate territory and over a population living there. The state-based organization of societies is therefore a fully accepted act of structural violence. Then the state has a monopoly—supported, accepted, or endured by the population and social institutions—over an application of violence that is perceived or labeled as legitimate. Concretely, this 'state monopoly on violence' is practiced through groups of persons who are competent in the exercise of direct force within the state (police) or without (military). Since Max → Weber, the factual presence of an institutionalized and monopolized violence, which is regarded as legitimate, is accepted as the pivotal identifying trait, as it were, of a state. In justification of the state monopoly on violence, it is alleged that this is the way in which one paralyzes independent direct violence, like lynch law, or the attempt to prevail on the part of the physically stronger. As a general rule, the state monopoly on violence prevails where religious communities are concerned as well. Of course, these can at times bring the 'power of the state' into play for their own ends. This influence is how → witches were always sentenced and burned—by secular judges and executioners, as → Jesus himself was handed over to the Romans as the 'secular arm' of justice (→ Cross/Crucifixion).

First of all, it is the state that claims the power to define what 'violence' is. Other instances influence the definition process, however: media, religious communities, religious or secular milieus. As for the reception of violence, these instances may operate with, alongside, or against the state and its means of power.

Counter-Violence / Nonviolence?

4. Discussions of violence in history circle repeatedly around the point whether it is legitimate for others besides the state to use force. In opposition movements, the question of 'counter-violence,' violence against the state, is repeatedly discussed. Thus, for example, the World Council of Churches claimed that the struggle against → apartheid in South Africa, which included violence in the classical sense, was to be classified as 'just rebellion' and 'necessary resistance' not as 'terrorism.'

Marx himself saw violence as very much akin to class struggle. In order to remove those who wield violence, revolutionary force was necessary. A 'dictatorship of the proletariat' was needed and must be exercised by the (strictly hierarchically organized) working class party. This revolutionary violence and

exercise of violence by the party elite, however, very quickly hardened—especially in the Soviet Union—into a new repressive system of violence. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Baptist minister from Atlanta, countered with his famous sermon, "I Have a Dream," on August 28, 1963: "Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force." The elementary concept of nonviolence at the basis of King's speech generated a high morale in various nonviolent opposition groups. 'Nonviolence' in the full sense, however, is simply impossible: Structural violence, as we have said, is practiced in every pattern of human cohabitation. The question remains, whether societal changes are attainable by 'nonviolent' means (→ Peace; Gandhi).

5. The entire above-described palette of violence is to be found in the area of *religions*. Violence, in direct and indirect form, is practiced in religion across the board (→ Martyrs; Flagellants; Asceticism). The various religions relate very differently to violence, depending on their (religious) foundations. The praxis of those who adhere to these religions can, again, be very diverse.

The *Qur'an* has been so expounded that violence was a legitimate means of spreading the authority of Islam. In sura 2:190ff., for example, we read that the 'fight for God's will,' as a special 'exertion' (→ Jihad), can render the application of violence a duty. But this interpretation was not always maintained in the history of Islam. Instead of being interpreted as an application of violence, *jihad* was sometimes expounded as a readiness for suffering, and a 'spirituality of special endeavor.'

In *Hinduism*, a culture has been formed of the renunciation of force. Listed there, as salutary manners of relation, along with 'non-delusion,' 'self-restraint,' 'asceticism,' and 'acquisition of knowledge,' is the renunciation of violence (Sanskrit, *ahimsa*, 'non-violence'). Jainism (→ Hinduism) goes furthest here: the commandment of *ahimsa* holds not only regarding human beings and animals, but with respect to all elements (→ India, ill.). Mahatma → Gandhi was strongly marked by Jainism in his stance of active nonviolence.

But a religion-based application of force, as well, is an important element of Hinduism. Ever and again, in the epic *Mahabharata* (fourth century BCE–fourth century CE)—in recitation, religious → drama, → television series, and comics—the tradition of the warrior ethic is brought before the eyes of believers. Since Krishna commands 'dutiful battle' in the *Bhagavadgita*, it is possible to deduce a religion-legitimated application of violence—restricted, of course, to the group of warriors within the caste of the *kshatrias* (→ Caste).

In *Buddhism*, a renunciation of violence is likewise essential. The Buddha inculcates the Eightfold Path to salvation. Along this path of the 'elimination of suffering,' human beings must not be caused suffering by other human beings. "A monk restrains himself from the killing of living beings," said the Buddha. Those who practice violence against other living beings have new paths of suffering before them. Nevertheless, one should be aware of the existence of warrior monks in Tibet and, above all, in medieval Japan.

Judaism

In *Judaism*, in the time of the Hebrew Bible, violence was legitimate against outsiders, when the 'vengeance of the Lord' was shown, and the exercise of violence in war could be explained as being in accord with the will of God. Within the nation, violence was legitimate only in retribution for the transgression of the law. In all other cases, the use of violence was punished by exclusion from the community. Since the founding of the State of Israel (1948), religion plays an important role in the legitimization both of the military application of force and of the extension of the territory of the State (*Erets Yisrael*). The thousands of years of suffering of the 'People of Israel' has led to a culture of memory or memorial within Judaism that seeks to confront the traumatic events to which they have been exposed as a persecuted minority and victims of violence (→ Shoah), using religious means, such as holidays (Pesach, Purim) or 'Books of Commemoration' (of the persecutions and killings perpetrated in the communities),

Christianity

Christianity has an extremely ambivalent relation to violence. Without having the space to go into theological detail, we can say that this relation is essentially conditioned by two elements. First, the Bible's statements on violence are exceedingly contradictory. On the one side, there is the Commandment 'You shall not kill' and the Sermon on the Mount; and on the other, the position that authority has been instituted by God, belongs to the world, and is to be endured (Rom 13:1). Second, the radical institutionalizing scene of the Christian religion is itself an act of legalized violence: the execution of Jesus of Nazareth on the cross by the state. Third, the Christian ethic of violence has been strongly dependent on the question of power: whether, in some circumstances—as religion of the state, or as religion of the ruler and the elite—the Christian community was part of the power apparatus or was only a tolerated—and sometimes persecuted—minority (cf. the 'Constantinian turn' in → late antiquity).

Christian historical praxis, finally, is signed by excesses of violence, like that of the persecution of witches, or that of the → Inquisition in the Middle Ages, but also by self-sacrificing assistance rendered the victims of violence and attempts to prevent the application of violence. Nonviolence was propagated in monasticism, as also by groups like the Waldenses and the Bogomils, and by the Baptists during the Reformation. Quakers, together with related churches, mount a counter-police to the legitimization of state force by the large Churches. Both of these historical peace-Churches, especially in the nineteenth century, toiled for the spread of the idea of peace in many countries, laid the groundwork for the foundation of peace societies (e.g., in New York and London at the beginning of the nineteenth century), and influenced writers like Leo Tolstoy and Bertha von Suttner.

In the Churches today, there are both radically pacifist directions and others who—influenced by the theology of liberation—advocate changes even by 'violent' means.

Conflicts of Religions

6. Wars are frequently explained as confrontations between religions or conflicts of religion. Thus, it is repeatedly asserted of the conflicts or wars in → Northern Ireland, in → Bosnia, or of the second Gulf War of 1990–1991, that they are 'wars of religion' or 'conflicts of religion.' Here, however, some distinctions must be made. Basically:

- All of the conflicts cited have religious components; but they are not pure 'wars of religion.'
- Religions are frequently employed for the attainment of political ends (Bosnia, Northern Ireland).
- Many conflicts have causes that are unambiguously political. Here the religious membership of the mutual adversaries is actually only coincidental to the conflict. Still, such membership can be specially stressed, in the course of the conflict, as a symbolic partition of the parties, if not for other purposes (e.g., on account of the high mobilizing potential of belief systems).
- Membership (claimed, supposed, or actual) of persons in various interest groups during a conflict can be defined in terms of religious membership (in Bosnia, by identifying Serbs as Russian Orthodox, Croatians as Catholics, Bosnians as Muslims). A sense of group membership is reinforced by an exclusion from the outside: 'We and the "others"' (→ Prejudices/Stereotypes). This effect is a favorite means of domination.
- By way of such a group-molding process with religious underpinnings, the loyalty of one's 'own' can be recruited for an—organized or 'spontaneous'—application of power.
- The role actually played, however, by religious components in a conflict is observable only through a specific, tailored analysis of the concrete conflicts under examination (Bosnia, Northern Ireland).

Military Religion

7. Repeatedly, an essential element in religions' interplay with violence is their relation to the military and to → war. Already in the Roman military, there were forms of a 'field religion' (*religio castrensis*). The military often developed its own rites of the dead or of rites of male bonding such as the Oath of the Banner (Lat., *sacramentum*) and Cult of the Banner (cf. the → hero; or the 'Blood Banner' of the National Socialist martyrs' cult)—often 'trimmed' with the contemporary religion that happens to be dominant, which thereby, for its own part, is re-militarized (chaplaincy, field Masses). Examples of insertion and appearance of military religion are found all through history: the cult of Mithra, the Christian military orders of the time of the crusades (Templar, Maltese), the Ottoman Empire, and so on. Regarding → National Socialism (1933–1945), the question arises whether the designation 'military religion in power' was appropriate. These hybrid figures of religion and the military are still at hand in states of the present.

Religion and Violence Today

8. When we hear, 'Religion and violence today,' we all automatically sense reverberations–generated jointly by official policy and the media—of particular religions, as, for example, Islam. How have such associations arisen? Membership in a religion is often employed for political ends. None of the existing religions can be designated as 'violent.' Society by society, the various religions play a distinct role in human cohabitation; rarely are violent conflicts a matter exclusively of religious motives. Repeatedly, in conflicts in which what is at issue are power, or other interests, the 'religious card' is played—and particularly today, after the end of the East-West confrontation. Here then, it is possible to reach a (non)identification of population groups vis-à-vis opponents in a conflict. Religious membership is also repeatedly utilized with view to the construction of 'ethnic identity.'



Ideologically motivated violence, as once exercised by the Church and today practiced by modern nationalists, proclaims its exclusive right to that which it regards as belonging to it—be it the faith, or a 'cultural' or 'national' identity—that no longer leaves place for otherness, for those who live or think differently. The subjects of these must confront the decision—frequently a life-or-death one—either fully to conform their convictions and religious behavior or to be driven out, indeed 'eliminated.' In the Christian cultural domain, compulsory baptism is a symbolic act of unsalutary tradition, a violent act of incorporation, which came into force both during mission-endorsed colonial conquest and against the Jewish minority in Europe (Spain, 1492; Portugal, 1496). What a pair of Serbian soldiers are here inflicting on a

Within religions, violence plays a role, then, especially when, in a given religion, cultic phenomena have been produced in whose case (direct) violence is applied.

It is too facile to regard only obvious—physical, direct—personal violence when we address the theme of 'religion and violence.' Violence is multilayered and often indirect. For example, one must be permitted to ask the question, to what extent (the practice of) religion itself is a violent means. This possibility extends from compelled practice of religion, as many have experienced it in childhood, to dominance of (certain) religions in various societies (→ Tolerance; Freedom of Religion).

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→ *Apocalypse, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Fundamentalism, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Holy War, Jihad, Martyr, Northern Ireland, Peace, Religion, Terrorism, War*

Tobias Pflüger

Muslim they have captured in → Bosnia, in 1992 during 'ethnic cleansing,' is a cynical parody of a rite: the act of baptism, performed without authorization, and in the absence of religious specialists. It serves solely to humiliate and subject the enemy. And the reporter-photographer takes on his role willy-nilly in the evil play. (Hubert Mohr)

Confucianism

Life of Confucius

1. Confucianism is the philosophical tradition of China, coming down from Kong Qiu, later named Kong zi, or Kong fuzi, 'Master Kong.' In the seventeenth century, the → Jesuits Latinized the name to 'Confucius.' Little is known about Confucius (551–479 BCE) with certitude. According to some assertions, he lived 'without rank and in low relations' (Lun yu, 9:6), presumably a member of the lower nobility. Nevertheless, he received an education in writing, archery, and music. He is thought to have held two posts in the ministry of the little state of Lu, but then to have forsaken his homeland in disappointment. Moving through the courts of one principality after another, he offered himself to their respective rulers as a specialist in questions of rite, and as a political adviser. Finally, he journeyed back to Lu, where he founded a school in which he taught 'right behavior for courts' (etiquette), as well as the quintessence of his experience in dealing with rulers and students. He taught under a motto: "I transmit, but devise nothing new. I believe in the old, and love it" (Lun yu, 7).

Teaching

2. Confucius lived in a time of radical political change. Vying feudal lords had come to restrict their acknowledgement of the Chou kings to that of figureheads of a ritual institution, changing alliances left and right as they struggled for supremacy. Toward the end of Confucius's life, the situation escalated to the point of open civil war of all against all (Time of the Battling Kingdoms, 481–211 BCE). Now, in view of the accompanying political collapse and moral disintegration, Confucius's goal was to restore the old order. The only path to this goal, in his conviction, was to bring the kingdom back to its senses, so that it would care once more for traditional values. The ruler must conform to the ideal of the true king, as realized in the first Chou kings: he must reign by virtue and justice, and perform the rites in exemplary wise. Only so long as he thus conducted himself, was his rule legitimized by the *tian ming*, the 'mandate from heaven.' The true king rules by his good example. There was only one way out of the general crisis: an implementation of the gradual moral perfectibility of every individual. Only if all lived by the proverb, "What you do not wish yourself, do not do to others" (Lun yu, 15:24), could the world be improved. Expressed positively, everyone should live 'co-humanity' (*ren*), with reverence or 'piety' (*xiao*) as its root; children's respect for their elders, in life as in death, and 'brotherly obedience' (*di*)—the submission of the younger brother to the elder—are to be cultivated. Among the further components of a right lifestyle in the Confucian sense are the five virtues: deference, gentleness, uprightness, seriousness, and goodness. The requirement of piety and brotherly obedience establishes a strictly hierarchical ordering of

society in the cultures of East Asia influenced by Confucianism. "Owing to their inherent characteristics," the Master says, "human beings are respectively near; still, owing to their diverse practice (*xi*,) they are respectively remote" (Lun yu, 17:2), and thus, by way of a corresponding training and education, they can be improved. Confucians saw one of their urgent tasks in the training both of teachers-to-be, and of future official government employees.

Cult of the Ancestors

3. Tradition attributes to Confucius a number of treasured pronouncements. (Pupil) Zilu asked how one ought to serve the (ancestral) spirits (→ Ancestors). "The Master replied: How can one who fails to understand how to serve human beings, serve the spirits?" (Lun yu, 11:12); or, "The Master spoke: The one bent entirely on tasks that regard the people, and attends to the Numinous [lit., 'specters and spirits'] without approaching it, this one can truly be called wise" (Lun yu, 6:22). Confucius did acknowledge the supernatural, but he approached it from a distance. Here Confucian administrators saw one of their major tasks in the eradication of the local cult, observed by the population with great outlay, and even with human sacrificial offerings. While the cult of the ancestors is older than Confucianism, many Chinese today have made them equivalent: the Confucian virtue of 'piety' prescribes the pious son the observance of the cult of the ancestors, which, in the broadest sense, can be regarded as religious behavior.

Ritual and Liturgy

4. Unlike → Buddhism, → Daoism, and popular religion, Confucianism dispenses with liturgical specialists. The cult of the ancestors is performed by the eldest in the family or clan, assisted by the master of ceremonies, with other helpers, of both sexes—all members of the family. At least up until the late nineteenth century, the *Jiali* (the 'Family Ritual') of Zhu Xi (1130–1200) was in use. The state cult was presided over by the Emperors and their provincial counterparts by the highest administrators, with other functionaries at their side. These had been recruited through state examinations, which had been drawn up on the basis of the classic Confucian texts.

5. Confucianism can be designated a doctrine of social ethics, and as such it has marked the mentality of the Chinese for centuries. At least since the Tang Dynasty (618–907), it formed the foundation for the state examination system for administrators. On the other hand, it is difficult to call it a → religion. Consequently, it is systematically excluded today from contemporary religious lexica of the People's Republic of China. The Communists' attitude toward Confucianism has by no means been consistent. In his *How One is a Good Communist*, 1951, Liu Shaoqi still seeks to combine the Confucian ethics and discipline with Marxism-Leninism; while in 1973, in the framework of the Cultural Revolution, a national campaign was waged against Confucianism. There it was branded as 'representative of a doomed slaveholding aristocracy.' Meanwhile, today Confucius himself is once more the object of a certain official esteem: in 1985, a grand symposium was held in Qufu on the subject of Confucius, at which special attention was called to the superiority of his pedagogy and ethics. And in 1994 in Beijing, the *International Confucius Society* was launched. In Taiwan, Confucianism is a fixed element of the educational system, where values are conveyed by readings from the Confucian texts. On September 28, annually, Confucius' official

birthday (also called 'Teachers Day'), a grand ceremony is held in Taipei's Temple of Confucius, while pupils and students enjoy a free day. The Confucian-legitimated ancestor cult, together with a strict hierarchical structure of society, and the ideal of the five virtues, forms the basis for close clan ties. The Chinese generally look upon worldwide networks of relationships built on family ties as prerequisite for economic success.

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→ *Ancestors, China/Japan/Korea, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Stephan Peter Bumbacher

Conscience

1. The concept and functioning of conscience have always been controversial. An approach to the phenomenon of conscience in terms of *cultural history* emphasizes that, in conscience, a moral experience is expressed in which knowledge of a social norm is joined with the inner feeling of acknowledgment of this norm as one that imposes obligation. A survey of the modern sphere between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries in Europe provides a point of departure in the fact that, during this period, there has always been a norm-defining class of theologians and philosophers (today broadened to include psychologists, sociologists, and so on) that seeks to formulate, at the seam between a 'scholarly culture' and a 'popular culture,' the norms of conscience perceived as necessary for the continuing existence of society, along with the mechanisms of their sanction. For the supervision of conscience, there is a broad spectrum of instances, in pastoral ministries ranging from Catholic → confession to elements of Protestantism, although here individual confession has practically disappeared. Neither must it be overlooked that norms of conscience have been inculcated not only in the worshiping community, but—since the pedagogical reforms of the Age of Enlightenment—in the modern 'bourgeois' family, as well. Today, along with the 'de-churching' of daily life, an extensive 'de-familyizing' has also come upon the scene, so that society confronts the sometimes-problematic phenomenon of a molding of conscience in 'peer groups.'

2. In the area of German *Protestantism,* → Luther's terrifying experience of conscience, oriented toward God and hoping upon rescue in justifying

grace, has not gained general currency. Ministers treat the conscience of their community members as knowledge of the biblical norms, whose binding force, however, must be supplied only by a rewarding or punishing God. This religious approach to conscience, while at first prevailing in society, entered a crisis in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the first place, the old localization of the places of reward and punishment in heaven and hell was made obsolete by a new cosmology. The unfathomable God of wrath and grace became the God of the → Enlightenment, the Father who loved all persons equally. But the deciding experience was that the limited religious conscience of the clashing confessions turned out to be unserviceable for peace. It is the great achievement of the seventeenth-century philosophers (Descartes, Hobbes, Spinoza) to have deprived the confessionally bound conscience of its value and binding force, and sketched new strategies for control of the affect.

Enlightenment

Only against the background of a cultural stabilization reached in this way is it possible to speak of a new emergence of conscience in the eighteenth century. The rough draft of the basic structures of modern conscience is Kant's. No longer can there be a voice of God within us. It must be explained from a self-doubling of the 'I.' Kant has also placed virtue and grace in a new relation. In all delineations of Lutheran orthodoxy or Pietism, the grace of morality must lead the way, for it was vain to imagine the human being, weakened by original → sin, to be able to achieve any good at all. Kant reversed this conclusion. Virtue is followed by a hypothetical grace. Even the emotional side of conscience begins to change in the eighteenth century. What the worship community had foundered on, the family now takes upon itself: a rearing in the climate of an all-pervading love. At the same time, the social extent of the new education is now intimated: it is valid for the middle class, but not transferable a priori to the lower classes of town and country, which have a different family structure.

3. The *nineteenth century* wrestled free of the bond that had enthralled conscience, in the history of philosophy, since the Enlightenment. If conscience is no longer directed vertically, toward God, but toward a better future for humanity, then it stands or falls with the credibility of the teleological designs of history. With criticism of these designs, their subjective appendage, conscience, is also called into question. Schopenhauer solves it by 'fifths.' Conscience is one-fifth fear of human beings, one-fifth deisidaimonia ('fear of God'), one-fifth prejudice, one-fifth vanity, and one-fifth habit.[1] Nietzsche offers a genetic explanation, treating conscience as the turning of one's cruel, gruesome instincts, as soon as they no longer dare express themselves, upon the very 'I.' However, the nineteenth century as a whole still held to the Kantian concept of duty—true, now receiving its content from the state. This *nationalizing of conscience* began as early as the anti-Napoleonic wars. The years 1813, 1871, 1914 later formed the turning points of a German identity, which, at the beginning of the twentieth century, took on increasingly popular traits.

Nationalization of Conscience in Germany

After the First World War had been lost, this German conscience uncoupled itself from the ridiculed 'world conscience' of the People's Federation. For Heidegger, conscience is an understanding of the challenge of the 'call,' and a resolute 'design of the self upon one's very own being-guilty,' a project prepared for anguish.[2] For the existence, for which it is a matter of its own ability to be, this call is a rescue from entanglement in the irrelevant

anonymity of a present set forth as a critique of civilization. In 1945, Paul Tillich called this conscience 'transmoral.' "*The good, transmoral conscience consists in the acceptance of the evil moral conscience,* which is inescapable wherever decisions are encountered and deeds done."[3] This pre-exoneration of evil moral behavior through good transmoral behavior is shown in the trauma of the Germans. They had shown themselves to be helpless before history, and must now overcome morality in order once more to attain to the power that invests history. This was the point of departure in 1933. It is the monstrosity of → *National Socialism* to have extensively succeeded in anchoring the genocide of the Jews to a good 'German conscience,' as a burdensome but necessary task. Hannah Arendt has pointed out that the content of Himmler's notorious speech of October 4, 1943, in Posen, was precisely this.[4] To awake from the 'destiny delirium' of 1933 (G. Benn) is identical with the rediscovery of a moral conscience short of what had been its ideological overlaying. Of course, it must be admitted that this occurred only with a small part of the German population, in the various facets of the resistance.

4. Since then, the conscience of the Germans has struggled with this invasion of morality. A first reaction was to expel a vulnerability to seduction, by way of an ideological conscience. Since the 1960s, the effort has been to identify with the victims, without any reflection on whether this would even be possible. This tactic has produced a commercialized perplexity that has bonded itself to artistry. The so emphatically vowed 'work of grieving,' however, can be done only if one knows that one must deliver oneself from all casts of a transmoral conscience referred to history.

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→ *Confession, Ethics/Morals, Memory, Psyche*

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Constitution

Concept

1. Since the Enlightenment, the concept of the constitution has been equated with that of the → laws that ground and organize the exercise of rule in a state. Generally, these laws are gathered into a single document of their own and placed above the other, simple, laws.

Originally, 'Constitution' (Lat., c*onstitutio*, 'setting together') meant the compilation of different elements into a unified structure. Just as we speak of the constitution of a person in terms of health, the constitution of a state consisted not only in the law, but in the conspectus of all of the factors determining the common entity. True, even the *Constitutiones* of Roman law meant the laws of the Emperor, which had the highest rank and importance. In the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation the concept of *fundamental laws* emerges, which referred to the fundamental orders of law, such as the Westphalian peace agreements (1648).

Emergence of Modern Constitutions

2. The social depository of modern constitutional thinking was the *middle class* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as it struggled to rise. The primary interest was to limit or eliminate the power of the absolute ruler, which was frequently experienced as arbitrary. The economic and social interests of the middle class called for the sovereignty of the individual, the broadest possible exclusion of state interference in economic and social life, and the fundamental accountability of state actions. Thus, constitutional thinking appeals to the idea of natural right, which assigns the individual certain rights as inalienable, and not merely vouchsafed by person in power. From this line of thought the notion of the *social contract* developed, according to which the individual, autonomous members of a society regulate their relations with one another in relations of contract, as well as stipulating their relation to state power in terms of a legality. Since individuals are conferring a part of their sovereignty on a third instance, through a contractual relationship, the state is now constituted as a new sovereign. The great philosophers of the social contract were Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke (→ Secularization; Civil Religion; Enlightenment).

Where contracts could not be established by the violent overthrow of the old orders of rule, as had been the case in the French → Revolution of 1789, the absolutist rulers seized upon the concept of the constitution and guaranteed the demanded rights insofar as they were necessary for economic development, but did not actually call the absolute power of the ruling houses into question (e.g., the constitutions of German states, beginning in 1830, as constitutional monarchies).

Content of Constitutions

3. As a rule, documents of constitution are divided into three successive parts: (a) basic rights, (b) procedures relative to the formation of the will of the body politic, and to the transmission of power to the state, and (c) the basic principles whereby the state itself is to function. Among the *principles of function* fall, especially: the definition of state responsibilities (tasks), the rules for the collection and application of taxes, and the erection and tasks of the independent jurisdiction that tests state behavior in terms of their legality. The *rules for the formation of the political will* refer to the position

of parties in the state, of the work procedures of the parliaments and their committees, and the competencies of the democratic instruments.

Basic Rights

The *basic rights* are to be distinguished into liberal and social basic rights. Liberal basic rights are also called *rights of liberty.* They ground (a) the liberties of the individual (freedom of ownership, freedom of profession and trade, freedom of association, freedom of religion), (b) the rights of defense against the state (inviolability of domicile, along with postal and 'distance' communications, telephone and telegraph), as also (c) the legal position of the members of a society, among themselves and vis-à-vis the state (principle of equality, prohibition of discrimination, right to the orderly and customary practice of the courts, prohibition of retroactivity of the laws). *Social basic rights* developed out of the demands of the labor movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Their purpose is a participation in societal life on the basis of equality of rights. Thus, the democratic principle was widened (equal electoral rights for all social classes, woman's electoral rights), and the *rights of claim against the state* were founded (right to education, right to work, right of alienation and bequest of private property).

Religions in Constitutions

4. In their concrete determination, constitutions are the expression of a *compromise* among the various forces of society. Compromise is also visible in the arrangement of the details of religious freedom, and the position of the religious communities.

The basic right to → *freedom of religion* comports a negative face and a positive one. The negative right of religious freedom is the freedom of the individual to belong to any religious community or none, or to leave the community at will. The positive right of religious freedom is the right of individuals and religious communities to the unimpeded exercise and practice of their belief. Religious freedom must also preclude endorsement of religion either by the state or by religious communities. On the other hand, the position of individual communities in the various constitutions reflects relations of power at the time of the generation of the constitution. The right to confessional religious education, and to a privileged position in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany legalized in terms of the constitution, shows the strength of the Christian Churches immediately after 1945, so that only a 'hobbling' separation of state and church was effectuated. In other countries, separation of state and church was more closely specified under diverse historical conditions (e.g., France under the anticlerical tradition of the French Revolution, the United States under the experience of European immigration). In Sweden, on the other hand, the connection and reciprocal patronage of church and state continued until 1995. But furthermore, as a rule, freedom of religion and the position of religious communities are concretized in the ordinary laws. Thus, many countries, in their formal constitutional acknowledgment of religious freedom, have created regulations that prefer the traditional churches, and are meant to prevent the appearance of new religions (e.g., in Russia, but also in Austria).

Competing Norms

5. These few examples show that constitutions are burdened with several structural *problems.* Their character of compromise not only reflects the

relations of power at the time of their appearance, but also leaves free spaces open for the further development of the constitutions. In certain points, constitutions can even be read as a program to which reality does not yet correspond (e.g., equality of women, principle of the social state). It is further possible that the instrument documenting a constitution has adopted competing norms, which, in a given case of conflict, might necessitate a balancing of one element of law against another. In order to solve such problems, to interpret the constitution, and to develop it further, appeal is usually made to superior principles. These principles may be deduced from a comprehensive view of all of the constitutional norms (concordance), or they may exist apart from the constitutional text. These may be → human rights, but they may also be religious principles. In Islamic states, for example, reference is made to the Sharia (→ Islam), against which all constitutional norms must be measured, and through which, as well, conflicts between appeals to religious law and to a Western-influenced constitution are decided.

A few states—Great Britain and Israel, for instance—have no documents of constitution fixed in writing. Nonetheless, even here superior constitutional principles have value, and basic rights work their effects on simple laws. This effect follows from a historically formed recognition of basic rights as constituting a superior law, and is concretized both in the molding of the simple law, and by way of the legal determinations of the courts.

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→ *Civil Religion, Democracy, Freedom of Religion, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Human Rights, Law*

Steffen Rink

Conversion

Determination of the Concept

1. 'Conversion' (Lat, *conversio*, 'return,' 'transformation') denotes a transit from one religious community to another, most often in connection with a new religious experience. Originally, in Christianity, *conversi* denoted non-ordained monks or women in a religious community/→ order. Later, the concept was broadened to apply to Jews who had converted to Christianity, and to fallen-away Catholics who had returned to the Church. Since the Reformation, the concept has also been applied to the case of a confessional changeover within Christianity. Today, it is understood to include a general changeover between organized religions or worldviews.

Conversion in Non-Christian Religions

2. Many religions have developed particular methods for the incorporation of new members. The respective prerequisites and initiations underlie the internal directions and tendencies of a religion, and are variously regulated by religious law, as well as nationally and institutionally. In →Buddhism, the concept 'conversion' denotes entry into monastic Buddhism, which entails a renunciation of secular life, and dissolves all social bonds. Whether conversion also represents a Buddhist's exchange of one school of Buddhism for another is disputed. The same holds true for the various ways of salvation in the Hindu religious system, or for the guru movements of Sikhism. In → Judaism, 'conversion' designates the process of entry into the Jewish community. In → Islam, it denotes reception into the Islamic community through the pronunciation of the profession of faith (*sahada*). A special case is represented by simultaneous membership in several religions, as we find it, for example, in Japan (frequently, → Shintô and Buddhism). We can also, however, speak of conversion in the case of a complementation of one 'religious truth' with one or more others, since a conversion always implies leaving the 'old faith,' and dissolving one's current community membership.

Conversion of Groups

3. Over the course of religious history, religions have repeatedly introduced conversion under various degrees of constraint. Especially in the case of belligerent confrontations, or in → theocracies, the prevailing power has forced subjects or minorities to make a change in religions (→ Conflict/Violence, illustration). But even disadvantages of tolerated religions, such as special social, economic, or juridical positions, have led to conversions to the dominating religion, from which one has then hoped for protection and improvement of one's own situation. Thus, Islam once knew different taxation for Muslims and for the faithful of other written religions (Judaism or Christianity), which, because of the higher rate of taxation, led to crossovers to Islam. A spectacular mass conversion occurred in the modern age, when some five million Indians emulated the adoption of Buddhism by attorney B. B. Ambedkar (d. 1956), to demonstrate opposition to Hindu discrimination against the casteless.

Outer and Inner Conversion

4. In the case of individual conversions, a distinction is to be drawn between internal and external conversion. Outer or *outward conversion* means a formal exchange of religions that can be motivated by one's need for personal

security, in the presence of religio-political pressure, by the hope of obtaining a confessionally connected employment position, or obtained through the use of social institutions to be found in the administration of religious communities. Inner or *inward conversion* denotes an 'exchange' motivated by personal conviction, and is accompanied by an acknowledgment and acceptance of the doctrinal content and religious praxis of the newly selected religious community, as well as by embracing its postulated path of salvation and formal religious profession ('confession' of faith or belief). Such a movement or 'con-version' is often described as a deep-reaching process transpiring within the soul. Indeed, the course of a conversion is usually beset with conflict, both in the process of separation from the old religious community, and in the various phases of the new connection. The grounds of a conversion are manifold. Converts sometimes cite reasons that fail to do justice to the complexity of the actual phenomenon, just as may their frequent one-dimensional attempts at explanation (e.g., loss of orientation, structure of unconscious needs, 'psycho-structure,' 'brain-washing'). Nor is a sudden, subjectively experienced occurrence, such as a 'divine revelation' or direct enlightenment, always the cause of a conversion. It can just as well be the result of a rational confrontation with the religion's content. Far more often, however, conversion is the result of personal social contact with members of the new community, inasmuch as this manner of relation so frequently plays an essential role in the convert's coming to a decision. The conversion experiences reported by members can become important exemplars for converts. Too, migrants' 'exchange of religious milieu' (K. Goldammer) can motivate the desire for an exchange of religions, as can missionary and promotion activities. The religious market with its competitive situation has partially led to the development of refined promotional methods (→ Economy). For example, the organization of renewal and awakening movements (→ Charismatic Movements), with their occasional character of a 'media show,' serves to attract new members. For the individuals themselves, a conversion can readily lead to the intensification of an unfamiliar self-image and to alienation, but in other cases may introduce a positive, richer ego-development.

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→ *Apostasy, Confession, Group (religious), Initiation, Proselytes, Psychoanalysis*

Daniela Weber

Cosmology / Cosmogony

Emergence of the World

1. *Cosmogonies* (Gk., *kosmogonía*, 'world-origin') are explanatory models, developed by persons of nearly all times and cultures, describing the origin of the world around them, and of the conditions of life that they find there. Inasmuch, then, as cosmogonies not only refer to the genesis of specific, individual circumstances of life, but reflect a world-encompassing linkage of functions, structures, or orders, they form an integral component of *cosmologies* (Gk., *kosmología,* 'doctrine of the world-whole')—that is, of concepts serving to help explicate the respective given 'present,' of any world totality, as well as, it may be, future perspectives and implications for behavior. The motives, metaphors, *dramatis personae,* and patterns of argumentation employed in mythical recitals, theological reflections, or ritual representations of cosmogonic or cosmological interconnections are extremely varied, since they ordinarily reflect very diverse backgrounds in terms of specific culture and time. Hence it is only in geographically and historically connected cultural spaces (e.g., the → Ancient East), or in religions that build on common traditions (e.g., Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), that we find correspondences that reach beyond singular parallels in motif (e.g., creation from an egg, through birth, by way of artisanship, by the word, etc.).

Extra-European conceptualizations bearing on cosmogony or cosmology are therefore difficult to see, to unify, in the perspective so 'obvious' to Western thought: that of creation as an event occurring at the beginning of time and history. The Indian *Yuga* doctrine, for example, of a descending succession of world ages, involves neither a singular event occurring at the absolute 'beginning,' nor a history developing in an extensively linear direction and hastening to a goal or end. For the Indian concept, instead, an understanding of time and life abides in a rotation of the unfolding and disappearance of worlds, so that, in this context, cosmogonies form and depict not only the 'beginning,' but also the necessary sequel: the end of a given age. Again as an iterative event, although an event of the *present,* the process of the creation of the world is actualized and rendered present, for example, among the Cheyenne Indians, in a shamanic ritual. This ceremony wields the conception that not only the main or outstanding elements of the landscape, but every (consequential) sort of beast, and even individuals of the human community, are set in the world order with ritual rectitude. Clearly, then, it is not an outline of world history, with its integration of past and future, that stands at the center of this cosmogonic and cosmological concept; it is rather the constitution of the individual in her and his function for the present social community.

Explanatory Models of the Conditions of Human Life

2. Cosmogonic portrayals, which report the formation of a comprehensive world scenario, are often interlaced with narratives of the origin of gods ('theogony') and/or human beings ('anthropogony'). The origin of the existing world—in Hesiod's celebrated *Theogony,* as in the Japanese creation myths, *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*—rests on the transformation, over several successive generations, of a multiplicity of divinities into material components of the cosmos, into elementary conditions of life and the environment, or into affects of the human psyche. In a very wide understanding, then, notions of the origin of the world (of human beings and gods)

can be described as explanatory models of the circumstances of human life, and as a legitimization of the prevailing interpretation of the world (cosmology). They embrace scenarios of clarification and foundation for the nature and state of the geomorphological, climatic, and biological surroundings of human existence. They likewise attempt to explain and root the forms of the social organization of communities, and the duties resulting from these framing conditions for individuals or groups.

Motifs

Among the pivotal motifs of many cosmogonies is the shaping of the earth along the pattern of the → *landscape image* meaningful to the culture at hand. The old Central American Mayas bound their conceptualization of mountains and plains, and the origin of cypress groves and pine forests, to the creation of the earth. In the same fashion, the formation of the Nile and the annual flooding needed for agriculture in the Nile valley belonged to the fundamental motifs of the ancient Egyptian narratives of creation. The present conditions of life do not by any means always receive positive evaluation in the cosmogonical texts. A Teutonic myth describing the transformation of the primordial giant Ymir, who had originated from drops of melted ice, into earth, seas, mountains, rocks, and sky, places the human being in barren, sometimes threatening, post-ice-age surroundings.

Similarly ambivalent, or even negative, appraisals are also to be found in connection with accounts reflecting the origin of partly biological, partly societal, *life circumstances* (e.g., work, sickness, death). According to Babylonian myths, the gods not only have presented human kind with the demon of death, but also burdened it with the huge basket previously borne by some of the gods on their backs, the 'gods' pannier,' one of the typical work tools of Mesopotamian urban culture.

Sociopolitical components of cosmologies, as well, are found partly rooted in cosmogonic myths. Among the aspects of this founding function of cosmogonies, therefore, the function of political endorsement in certain ideas of creation is one of those most clearly worked out thus far. The myths *Kôjiki* and *Nihongi,* cited above, are examples. Conceived as a 'theogony,' they climax in an account of the divine descent of the Japanese imperial house, and of the charge of world dominion enjoined by Sun Goddess *Amaterasu* on her grandchild. In the meantime, new religious movements introduce isolated patterns of argumentation comparable to the ancient ones, in order to legitimize elitist configurations of rule as over against those of democratic systems. For example, the *Rael Movement,* as it is called, an association founded in 1974 by French sports reporter Claude Vorilhon, takes its starting point in the idea that humanity represents the result of an extraterrestrial genetic experiment (→ UFO). This movement has rooted its call for a 'geniocracy' in the analogous exemplar of its supposed extraterrestrial creator, who had communicated this state of affairs to the association's founder in an 'encounter,' that is, during a stop of its spacecraft on Earth.

Maxims for Human Behavior

Although the essential purpose of a cosmogony is to explain the factual circumstances of the world in which we live, it often contains a perspective, characteristic of the cosmology and anthropology at hand, from which *maxims for human behavior* are defined, at least in part. Thus, over and above the establishment of the origin of the de facto world, experienced as imperfect, the interlacement of cosmogonic narrative can even

format an image of visions of an ideal world and life regimen. Christian and Islamic cosmogonies, for example, while emphasizing the perfection and harmony of the divine work of creation, at the same time stress human beings' ethical co-responsibility for the perfection of this creation. Hindu and Buddhist forms of religion, by contrast, not only reckon with a cyclical, four-phase, degeneration of morality and world order (*dharma*), but place the present time in the worst of these ages, the *kaliyuga*. However, this very package of difficult and obstinate circumstances can be interpreted as a kind of divinely calculated and initiated catalyst for human salvific and redemptive behavior. Analogously in *Theravada* Buddhism, only the acknowledgment that life is suffering forms the decisive prerequisite for the final breach of the cycle of rebirths.

Western reception of the concept of reincarnation—and the consequent renunciation of classic Christian cosmogonical patterns, in which the human being is part of the one God's creation—marks, on the other hand, a characteristic displacement that is cosmological and anthropological at once: here, rebirth does not, as it does in Buddhism, contain the cause of suffering, but offers the individual the hope of further life opportunities in the present existence (→ Reincarnation; Fate).

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→ *Creation, Meaning/Signification, Myth/Mythology, Origin, Time*

Gregor Ahn

Creation

When nineteenth-century scientists presented the claim that they could offer an exhaustive explanation of the world, the question of how life arose became a crucial issue. Their theories were set in competition with religious accounts. The confrontation climaxed on the horns of a dilemma: what need is there for a God if nature makes itself according to eternal rules? Or: what was there *before* the primordial soup, the Big Bang? To establish the nonexistence of God is no longer one of the goals of → science. The creation account is simply a → myth. A modern creation story, like Steven Weinberg's *The First Three Minutes: A Modern View of the Origin of the Universe* (1977), likewise seeks to transpose astrophysical observations in a 'story' or 'history.' The conceptualizations that we experience fictionally in films and images of the → apocalypse are produced by other cultures in the creation account. What if there were no sun? What if beasts lorded it over human beings? What if human beings were so mighty that they need pay no attention to one other, or to right and wrong? In narrative fashion, it can be run through as another order: "Once there was a time when . . ." The goal of proving that the really existing order is the best possible, still

leaves a sticking point: it is not the ideal order. After all, it is possible to imagine a better one, and this one can be changed.

→ *Cosmology/Cosmogony, Fundamentalism, Origin, Religion, Theory of Evolution, Utopia*

Christoph Auffarth

Crisis

The word 'crisis' derives from the Greek, and means insecurity, hazardous situation, increasing gravity, moment of decision, turning point. In Hippocratic medicine, the concept of 'crisis' indicated the high point, and turning point, of the course of an illness, since either the sickness momentarily issued in catastrophe—death—or the crisis passed and there was an improvement. The more threateningly, and 'existentially,' a life crisis is experienced, the oftener and more 'elementarily' is it coupled to the religious dimension.

Life Crises—Crises of Meaning—Movements of Religious Quest

1. The course of a crisis can peak, or merely be chronic, and is often the decisive turning point of one's life, the moment to reflect anew on one's own life situation, and to experience an interior growth conducive a possible transformation. 'Crisis' can be defined as a loss of spiritual equilibrium, not usually attributable to disease but provoked by another outer or inner occasion, or even both. A distinction can be drawn between an *individual* and a *collective* crisis: the reasons for an individual crisis need not be particular events and their objectifiable dimensions, but may instead be the subjective attitude of the individual in question toward the event, her or his conscious or unconscious fantasies and emotions or physical reaction, the objectifiable consequences of the happening, and the victim's capability of dealing with new, unfamiliar, emotional, and burdensome situations. Each individual situation can be part of a collective crisis (natural catastrophes, mass unemployment, persecution, pogrom, deportation, war, genocide).

Individually burdensome crises are crises of changes of life, traumatic crises, or neurotic crises. *Crises of life-changes* are more or less inevitable: leaving one's parents home, → initiation (puberty), marriage, pregnancy, the birth of a child, a change of residence, the coming of age of one's children (→ Life Cycle). Religions offer a framework for the management and control of such crises. To an extent, they may be even become required and provoked as part of one's formation as a religious specialist (for instance, a shamanistic crisis with vision quest). *Traumatic crises* threaten the fundamental means of one's satisfaction (social safety, social contacts, psychic identity, physical health), through a sudden event generally acknowledged as painful. Examples are: the death of someone near and dear, the diagnosis of a life-threatening disease, sudden unemployment, a threat to one's partnership through illness, death, or divorce, and external catastrophes in the sense of a collective crisis (e.g., expulsion from one's home or region as a member of a religious minority). With *neurotic crises*, it is a matter of the critical culmination of an existing neurotic development, such as can result from a problematic personal or especially an unfamiliar experience.

Classic occasions of a neurotic crisis are, in particular, certain interpersonal experiences, especially disappointments and illnesses, with which the victim is momentarily unable to cope, so that symptoms of a crisis may develop, for example in the form of sleeplessness, irritability, depression and mood swings, fears. Crises that are not dealt with can become chronic, can occasion the desire to commit → suicide or the development of 'post-traumatic stress.'

Acute and chronic life crises are, or lead to, crises of meaning and value. They issue from crises of relationship, from disturbances in persons' relationship to the world around them: in their rapport with their inner world and their outer world, their immediate world and their environment. The question of the 'why' of the experience of a danger leads to the question of a religious providence (→ Theodicy), to the question of incurring guilt and being guilty. Tendencies to an interiorization of the concepts of atonement and punishment among one's religious convictions, can now become experiences of urgency. Life crises frequently lead to religious quest, and at times facilitate religious → conversion.

Religious Conversion as the Experience of Evidence, and of the Solution of a Crisis

2. Under 'religious conversion,' William James understood a sudden or gradual process supervening through which a self, divided until now, and experiencing itself as false, inferior, and unhappy, becomes whole again, and consciously experiences itself as just, precious, and happy, as a result of one's now surer standpoint vis-à-vis religious realities. Conversion and transformation can be experienced as a dramatic alteration in personality—as a 'Saul-Paul experience,' accompanied by a radical reorientation of one's identity. But conversion can also mean simply a change of commitment, or, for example, the abandonment of the power of an addiction. Through conversion, persons' basic psycho-social needs are satisfied, as they go in quest of fulfillment: with the sense of believing intensely, and with the sense of 'belonging.' Both of these experiences condition an increase in a feeling of self-worth and in self-respect.

Explanatory Models

Explanatory models of religious conversion can be reduced to the following six (Klosinski 1996). Points of departure are:

(1) As predisposing factors, situations of psychic conflict (crises of identity, stress, etc.) are often at hand, which, through the conversion process, can undergo—suddenly or gradually—a certain release.

(2) Existing personal relations or the construction of emotional ties to members of the religious group play an essential role, be it for motivation of the conversion or for the conversion process itself.

(3) Psycho-dynamically, conversion either denotes a regression leading to a dependency or a progression equivalent to a stabilization or integration.

(4) A savior (guru, leader, messiah), a redemptive principle (ideology and program), and a redeemed family (members of the movement), represent factors found especially in all (neo-) religious movements, to all of whom or which a decisive meaning for conversion is ascribed.

(5) Specific 'offers' on the part of the religious group correspondingly attract 'apt' potential converts. Then the respective personality variables and the sort of psychic conflict at hand lead to the selection or discovery of the respective specific movement.

(6) Often decisive for conversion is the experience of extraordinary or 'dissociative' states (e.g., a short-term loss of awareness of one's identity), and these states can coincide with the conversion experience itself, or with an interpretation of the experience as a demonstration of the occurrence of the conversion. Thereby, an experience of conversion would be an experience of proof (→ Visions/Auditory Experience).

From time to time, religious groups attempt to influence and manipulate pre-converts massively (→ Anti-Cult Movements). Forced creation of extraordinary states of consciousness (such as hyperventilation, extreme forms of meditation, dancing in trance, etc.) produces the perception of the extraordinary, the special, that is then taken for a demonstration of the divine, and/or taken in a connection with the religious movement. This involves the production of familiar, psycho-physiologically explainable states of consciousness, in which interior images and thinking in terms of a 'primary process' are possible, that is, thinking and fantasizing not censored by the ego.

Crisis Management and the Sharpening of a Crisis through Receipt of Religious Influence

3. Many crises of life changes, like neurotic crises, represent crises of relationship. Persons under such burdens get control of themselves and stabilize, if they are then gathered in and supported by a religious community. Positive images of the divine (e.g. the Good Shepherd, the Guardian Angel) that symbolize forgiving, reconciling aspects that heal inner fractures, can lead to an enduring crisis control. A crisis always grows acute, on the other hand, when interiorized images of the divine or God lead to exaggerated self-incrimination, self-contempt, and self-punishment, as with not a few compulsive-neurotic individuals who are beset by religious problems. In this connection, one is dealing with 'religious neuroses' (Hark 1990), or even 'ecclesiogenic neuroses' (→ Psychopathology). Anorexic young women, for example, are often confronted with a 'double morals' in their role as women: they stand between 'sinful Eve' and 'pure Mary.' They perceive soul and body as 'radically irreconcilable images' in the Cartesian sense. They suppress their oral and sexual needs and are tormented by an almighty super-ego. Images of God as a God of retribution and punishment, anchored in these patients, are often the images they have to work with, and that they have received from their religious upbringing as they strive with their consciences. A depressive decompensation (reactive depressive illness) can be seen as a 'pathological final lap of a religious struggle,' especially in the case of someone who has received a rigid, rigorous religious training (Hole 1994; → Asceticism; Fundamentalism).

Exit or exclusion from a religious community is often accompanied by the personal experience of a crisis, with a depressive upset and loss of orientation, in some circumstances matched with guilt feelings vis-à-vis those whom one has left behind.

Threatening or incipient spiritual crises may be manically repulsed, in the framework of an affective psychosis with pathological forms of ecstatic exhilaration. Psychopathologically striking—especially hallucinatory—behavior has always been interpreted in many religious groups as → possession, conditioned by evil spirits and → demons, to be dealt with in a spiritual or religious framework, for example with the help of a shaman, a spirit healer, or an exorcist (→ Exorcism).

4. A religious upbringing or influencing is Janus-headed: it can be fortunate or hazardous. Persons in life crises are therefore, on the one hand,

especially compliant and receptive to alternative religious pictures of the world, especially when the latter are conveyed through persons offering relationship and reliability. But life crises in the sense of a reorientation, transformation, and maturation can also open a previously unknown religious dimension that will then contribute to an appeasement of conflicts of spiritual ambivalence.

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→ *Conversion, Psyche, Psychopathology*

Gunther Klosinski

Criticism of Religion

From Mythos to Logos?

1. In comparison with the various religions, philosophy and the sciences, both physical and natural, are of late appearance. As demonstrated by the emergence of Greek philosophy in the sixth century BCE, they emerged from a criticism of the religious apprehensions and praxis of their time. Philosophy, which always understands itself as, among other things, criticism of religion, sees itself confronted with the task of demythologizing the world, and of leading culture from 'mythos to logos.' Such a conception, however, presupposes two assumptions that are problematic in today's view. One is that mythos itself is pre-logical and presupposes a kind of primitive consciousness. A second assumption, closely akin to the first, is that the transition from mythos to logos is an evolution, in the sense of a → progress, and that it represents a higher development. Both assumptions presume an understanding of culture whose norm is European development. But since Lévi-Strauss, research in anthropology has shown that such concepts precisely contain scraps of a European self-consciousness, as was characteristic of cultural science of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The same holds for criticism of religion on the part of → Marxism as well, which explains religion as 'opium for the people.' Here as well, the point of departure is that religions presuppose, or engender, certain forms of 'weak intelligence.' Akin to this position is the critique of religion mounted by Sigmund → Freud, who likewise sees religion as a pre-logical field, in which all forms of → psychopathology appear once more.

The Scientific Concept

2. A *scientific concept* of the criticism of religion must take its distance from all of these notions, and appropriate a concept of criticism such as Kant developed in his critical philosophy. Here, criticism is a self-critique on the part of → reason, which creates elucidation of the possibilities and limitations of knowledge. Criteria are laid down corresponding to reason itself, first and foremost the criterion of freedom. But historically it was not Kant, but J. W. G. Fichte who was the first to write a critical treatise on religion. Relying on Kant, and in a work originally taken for Kant's, his work on religion, *Versuch einer Kritik aller Offenbarung* ("Attempt at a Critique of All Revelation"; 1791), we find the basic principle of all criticism of religion: that of testing all religious revelations on whether they can be justified, and represented, ethically. As Kant says, for his own part, in *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* ("Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone"; 1796), which appeared shortly after Fichte's essay, ethics must come before religion; but, on the other hand, morality leads undeviatingly to religion. In agreement with Fichte, Kant says that, as moral legislator, God can reveal nothing contrary to the principles of morality. Consequently, God cannot reveal himself on the strength of a supra-reasonable authority, but, in his revelation, himself submits to the principles of reason. A revelation proclaiming anything non-reasonable, or actually against reason, is to be rejected, and held for superstition. This *connection of revelation with reason* not only establishes a critical boundary for the possibility of revelation, but, more than this, actually offers the content that will be normative for a revelation. Consequently, a revelation has to present, and render available, nothing but the moral law, which Kant has found in the 'categorical imperative': "Act in such a way that the maxim of your will could at any time be a general law" (→ Ethics/Morals). Freedom, immortality, and God are notions that make this law plain. Therefore they are the proper content of revelation—only insofar, however, as they give moral behavior, as specified by the categorical imperative, a goal and purpose.

Accordingly, by no means is the criticism of religion → atheism, but a claim and attempt to try revelations as to their truth content. According to the meaning of criticism as found in idealism, according to which reason is to conduct a critical confrontation with all presuppositions of experience, criticism of religion is the critical investigation of, and confrontation with, human beings' religious experience. Even there, the basic approach of a criticism of religion is maintained, even where the criticism of religion is no longer to be ordered to a Kantian and generally idealistic philosophy. This outline is valid for the greatest critics of religion of the end of the nineteenth century, Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872) and Friedrich → Nietzsche. From Feuerbach comes the pronouncement, which became so well known, that in religions humans project wishful thinking, through which they find justification. Not even for Nietzsche does the criticism of religion comport a rejection of religion. He rejects only the Judaeo-Christian religion, which he holds to be the offspring of the resentments of the weak. This resentment has produced the falsification of moral values, and the transformation to their contrary. For Nietzsche, this is especially verified in the dislocation of the meaning of good and evil, which were not originally contradictory, but—in correspondence with the derivation of *gut* (Ger., 'good') from *reich* ('rich'), and *schlecht* ('evil') from *schlicht* ('plain,' 'unpretentious')—expressed the gradations of nobility. Meanwhile,

Nietzsche goes on, the Judaeo-Christian belief, in crass contrast with this, makes precisely the selfless good, and all self-interest, all egoism immoral in one fell swoop. Just as a religion of the weak has materialized in this reversal of values, Nietzsche proclaims a new 'religion of the strong one,' and makes 'Zarathustra' its prophet.

It is precisely Nietzsche's criticism of religion that has had far-reaching effects on the cultural history of the twentieth century. Thus, Nietzsche has become one of the greatest inspirers of new mythology (→ New Myths/New Mythologies), as well as of research into mythology and religious studies itself.

Is Religious Speech Non-signifying?

4. Criticism of religion penetrates the root of the discussion still further when it finds that an analysis of religious propositions shows them to be illogical. Beginning with Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951) and his school, criticism here is directed towards religious speech itself. A chief criterion here is the examination of the 'suspicion of non-signification or senselessness.' Thus, propositions about God are non-signifying, on the basis of their actual content; but they involve religious feelings, such as reverence, or the feeling of being loved, and posit therein a relation among human beings. But with the theory of the 'speech act,' going back mainly to John Austin (1911–1960), the content and function of speech, which distinguish speech from its various act forms, can be identified (→ Language).

This direction is also the one taken by the criticism of religion growing out of the ethics of Emmanuel Lévinas (1905–1995) and his distinction between 'totality' and the 'infinite.' While totality indicates the attempt to grasp transcendence with a concept or system of thought, the infinite stands for the fundamental unavailability of transcendence presented by 'the other' and its 'visage.' The unavailability of transcendence is experienced in an 'atheism of the soul' (Lévinas's appellation), in which human beings experience themselves as being altogether 'on their own.'

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→ *Atheism, Enlightenment (Age of), God/Gods/The Sacred, Marxism, Religion*

Stephan Grätzel

Cross / Crucifixion

The 'Crucifix Affair'

1. In the folk schools of Bavaria, a crucifix hangs over the chalkboard—a 'Cross with the Nailed One,' the suffering Christ. In 1995, a parental couple insisted that children not be required to gaze upon this mute sign of Christian faith unless they shared the faith. In the Weimar Constitution, they argued, and in the German Basic Law, the state had obliged itself to 'neutrality of *Weltanschauung*,'—neutrality when it came to a worldview—so that this display of the crucifix contradicted the basic rights of every citizen. True, unlike the case of France and Italy, with their strict, 'laicist' separation of state (including schools) and religion, the churches have rights in the Constitution of Germany—for example, the right to confessional instruction in public schools; but the Federal Constitutional Court declared the cross unconstitutional in classrooms. Adversaries sought to keep the cross in the classroom as a 'cultural symbol' of Europe. The Court once more distinguished between Christianity as a cultural factor and as a religion. Signs and meaning can vary by times and places; they are not, however, to be defined arbitrarily.

Crucifixion—an Ancient Method of Execution

2. *Scandalous Cross:* a) Punishment by crucifixion was a brutal capital punishment, which in antiquity was imposed only on non-citizens. The condemned had to carry the crossbar, the *patibulum* of the cross, through the city, and were then hoisted to the post or pillory that stood before the gate; a spike was driven at an angle through the heels. The moribund might repeatedly stiffen up against death, until his strength failed, and after several hours he suffocated in agony. That Jesus had died in that way was an extreme abasement and disgrace, a sign that he had failed terribly. But was it a failure? Here theology enters the scene, with an understanding of this death. The 'Messiah' must suffer, as foretold in Isaiah 53. He is the lamb that dies at Passover, enabling human beings to find a way out of their imprisonment. God's wrath could not be appeased until someone dies—and Jesus has done that, once for all. The 'scandal for the Greeks' is reinterpreted. Nevertheless, the cross is far from becoming a sign of Christian identity; it is rather, for instance, the fish sign that serves that purpose.

b) Only when the Emperor Constantine defeated his enemies under the sign (standard) of the cross (312), did the latter become the sign of the Church Triumphant. The dead Christ on the cross reigns in the triumphal arch (Romantic architecture), the crowned king of the Church.



In 1994, a Jewish settler demonstrated against the policy of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, which aimed at an agreement with the Palestinians. The cross serves as a sign of senseless torment and vicarious suffering; ketchup-blood flows in streams. Entirely apart from religion, or the meaning it has in Christianity, the Christian symbol may have been chosen here because of its familiarity as a sign of the 'innocent victim of power.'

The Red Cross

c) As its logo, the cross is also borne by the organization that provides help in various ways, especially at the occurrence of a catastrophe—the Red Cross. In Islamic countries where this organization is present, the cross is replaced with a red crescent, in Israel with the Star of David. The organization has no church roots, however, or even Christian ones. When Swiss Henri Dunant was organizing aid for the wounded and dying (beginning in 1863), he searched for a sign that would make it clear that his physicians and other personnel were with neither side in the conflict. The Swiss flag had long been a symbol of neutrality, so that he simply interchanged the colors, yielding a red cross on a white background.

The Cross as a Protective Amulet

3. *The Cross in religious usage:* a) As the cross served for a sign, so it also pledged the protection of individuals. The shield, the cannon, the sword

belt, were provided with this sign, and the one displaying it expected God to protect his 'own' people in a very special way. The small gold cross about the neck is not only a precious object, but jewelry and amulet, as well. Children in Greece have no Christian name before baptism, and so they are protected by an amulet, in the form of a blue eye worn on the back: at baptism, the amulet is removed, a Christian name is bestowed, and a small cross hangs about the neck (→ Evil Eye; Amulet).

b) In the popular piety of Mediterranean lands, the Good Friday procession becomes a festival, and society—guilds, the quarters of the city, the brotherhoods—tread the Way of the Cross. Vying with one another, each group in the procession bears a sacred image through all parts of the city. Carrying the weighty frames often itself becomes a torment. The Franciscans were the first to take as their objective the 'following of Christ,' the 'imitation of Christ,' as practiced along the *Via Dolorosa* (Lat., 'Sorrowful Way') in Jerusalem.

Modern Interpretations

c) Translating from the far-away 'historical past' to the present of today often means transgressing what the Church, or even Christianity itself, allows. In 1928, George Grosz drew a Christ with a gasmask and military boots, to protest the Christian theology of war. The inscription reads: "Shut your mouth and keep serving." Grosz explained his picture: Christ ran about amidst the trenches, crying: "Love one another!" So he was seized, a gasmask was placed over his face, and he was chained to the cross. Thus, he must 'keep serving' (imperialism). The courts did not accept the interpretation, and convicted the artist of → blasphemy. Jürgen Moltmann goes still further, depicting a scene in Auschwitz: Seeing a prisoner hanging on the electric fence, a fellow prisoner whispered, "Look, Christ on the Cross!" After Auschwitz, Moltmann explains, the cross can no longer be interpreted as a sign of triumph. As we see, it has become a sign of compassionate solidarity, no matter the particular religion.

The Swastika

4. The National Socialists selected the swastika (Sanskrit, *svastika*, 'well-being,' term for this ancient sign; in German, the term is *Hakenkreuz*, 'hook cross') as their official sign, and as an intimation of their → anti-Semitism. True, they cited the fact that it is a very ancient, 'Aryan,' symbol of the sun; but they did call it a cross. Thus, they supplemented their own symbolism with a Christian one: they inserted their counter-claim precisely in the accustomed interpretation (→ National Socialism). Just so, as an allusion and as a parody, the inverted cross of → satanism must be understood: a provocative countersign, which nevertheless presupposes the Christian tradition.

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→ *Christianity, Evil Eye, Jesus, Lord's Supper/Eucharist, Procession, Symbol/Sign/Gesture*

Christoph Auffarth

Cult

In its widest sense the term 'cult' refers to different aspects of worship within a religious tradition. Examples of this include various devotional services, both communal and private. 'Cult' can also be used to denote a set of beliefs and rituals surrounding a certain object of worship. In this sense it can refer to a religious cult like the cult of Virgin Mary or even a non-religious 'cult,' like the ones associated with famous popular music or sports icons.

A more narrow meaning is used in the social scientific study of religion. In this sense 'cult' refers to a religious → group or organization that has beliefs differing from conventional religious organizations and is considered deviant. The term → 'sect' is sometimes used in relation to 'cult.' The difference is the novelty of the belief systems of cults, as compared to sects, who are best characterized as deviant organizations within traditional beliefs. In this sense 'cult' refers to the organizational status of a religious group.

In popular usage the term 'cult' has often had a pejorative meaning. Influenced by the views of the → *anti-cult movement*, mind control, brainwashing, deviant sexuality and destructiveness are some features associated with this pejorative meaning. Stereotypical examples of this kind of usage have been Jim Jones's People's Temple, The Unification Church ('Moonies') and the Heaven's Gate group. Association with the kinds of groups mentioned above have made religious groups shun the label of cult, even in cases where it is used in the social scientific sense.

Because of the large discrepancy between the social scientific and popular use, the concept of 'new religious movements' (→ New Religions) was introduced in the 1970's. Although more value-neutral, it has been claimed that the term has no recognition in popular usage and in the media, so the concept of cult should not be abandoned. The academic use of the term should be made better known instead.

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→ *Anti-Cult Movements, Group, New Religions, Sect*

Titus Hjelm

Dalai Lama

Office and Institution

1. The title *Dalai Lama* (usually translated 'Ocean of Wisdom,' from the Mongolian *talai*, 'Ocean wherein wisdom is enclosed,' and the Tibetan *lama*, 'teacher, master') denotes the highest office in the political and spiritual system of Tibetan → Buddhism. In 1578, it was conferred upon the third Great Lama of the Lamaistic *Gelugpa* ('Yellow Caps') by Mongolian sovereign Altan Khan, then Protective Lord of → Tibet, in recognition of Buddhist teaching, and posthumously extended to both of his predecessors. In the Tibetan Buddhist conceptualization, the Dalai Lama is the incarnation of Avalokiteshvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion (in Tibetan, *Chenrezig*), and is incarnated after his death once more in order to contribute to the redemption of all persons. The frequent designation of the Dalai Lama as 'God-King' is a misunderstanding, as the Buddhist conception of God does not agree with that of the West. In 1642, the fifth Dalai Lama also became the political leader of the Tibetans. Since then, he has had at his side the *Panchen Lama,* who is accounted the reincarnation of the Amitabha → Buddha, and for religious purposes officially ranks above the Dalai Lama.

The Fourteenth Dalai Lama: Life and Work

2. The current, fourteenth, Dalai Lama was born in 1935, in the Amdo Province of northeastern Tibet, the fifth of seven children of a family of small farmers. Discovered at the age of two by a delegation of monks, he was brought to the capital Lhasa in 1939, where in 1940 he was installed as supreme spiritual ruler of all Tibetans, and was ordained a novice. He received the spiritual name of *Tenzin Gyatso,* which, however, like the title of Dalai Lama, is used only in the West. Tibetans call him *Kundün* in personal address (the 'Present' time and moment), or *Gyalpo Rimpoche* when that address is formal (freely translated, 'Treasured King'). Shielded from the population and subjected to a strict protocol, he undertook an education in Buddhist philosophy, culture, and meditation as a five-year-old. The political crisis provoked by the entry of the Chinese military into Tibet in 1950 led to an early naming of the fifteen-year-old Dalai Lama as political ruler of Tibet. In 1959 he fled to India, and since 1960 has headed the Tibetan government-in-exile (not officially recognized by any state), which is concerned for the preservation of Tibetan culture and tradition in the → Diaspora (worldwide, some 110,000 refugees), and a recovery of the autonomy of Tibet. The Dalai Lama took advantage of the new orientation prevailing in exile for the reform of the traditional theocratic system. The effect was both the dismantling of strict prescriptions of etiquette, and an effort of democratization. This sudden irruption into modernity failed to arouse a purely positive echo in the tradition-oriented members of the Tibetan community.

In 1967, the Dalai Lama undertook his first foreign journey of the exile, traveling to Japan and Thailand. Since then his travel activities have steadily intensified, especially in the Western world. Out of politico-economic interests vis-à-vis China, he is always received purely in his function as spiritual ruler. This attitude first showed signs of change in 1987, as, in an address to the Human Rights Commission of the United States Congress, he proposed a 'five-point peace plan' for Tibet. In 1989 he was



As 1995 ended, nuns debated for a month on topics in Buddhist philosophy, for the first time since the beginning of the northern Indian exile. In Dharamsala, before the Dalai Lama's chief temple, a two-hour debate was held among the nuns of various convents of the exile, which the Dalai Lama followed as an observer. Debating Buddhist philosophy is characteristic of the Gelugpa school of philosophical thought, to which the Dalai Lama belongs. (Ž. Marković)

awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace, on the basis of his "constructive and farsighted recommendations for the solution of international conflicts, questions of human rights, and global problems in the protection of the environment."[1] Further honors and awards followed. In 1990, he astounded the public with the announcement that, in a free Tibet, for the sake of a democratic direction in that state, he no longer wished to be political and religious ruler of the country. Unlike the life circumstances of his predecessors, those of Tenzin Gyatso fostered a confrontation with Western culture. On the fundament of the teaching of Mahayana Buddhism, and as a function of his own declarations, his work was to be signaled by three principal concerns: a commitment to the recognition of our 'universal responsibility' vis-à-vis our fellow human beings and nature; to peace among the religions, and interreligious dialogue; and concern for a nonviolent solution of the crisis in Tibet.

Reception and Mythologization

3. Tenzin Gyatso is seen as open to the world, and a person of many-faceted interests. He is appreciated in the West not only for his concern for dialogue, genuine personality, and general comprehension, but also for his interest in science and technology, as specifically Western values. In particular, since he was awarded the Nobel Prize, he has become, internationally, one of the most publicly present and media-effective religious representatives of the present day. Along with visits to numerous public presentations around the globe, he is represented on the German book market alone by more than forty of his own publications, while an additional sixty, by other authors, also deal with his person. Especially through his engagement for nonviolence, tolerance, and understanding

among peoples, he enjoys a very high regard, and the status of a myth in his own time. As representative of a high culture, theocratically organized until 1959, as a protagonist of the peace movement, and of an *oikoumene* of the religions (→ Ecumenical Movement), and as the indefatigable advocate of a Tibetan people against the foreign rule of superpower China, he has become a symbol and icon, in whom are reflected, on many levels, not only authentic values, but also the yearnings of the Western societal system. Thus, his charismatic personality possesses a magnetic efficacy for the propagation of the Buddhist doctrine in the West. The fascination of the mystery-emanating land of snow on the roof of the world, and an idealization of the monastic state as the last refuge of spirituality in a radically demythologized world, turn Tibet into a 'paradise lost,' a point of fascination for Western post-modernity (→ Orientalism/Exotism; New Age; Esalen Institute). That land of allure finds its incarnation in the figure of the Dalai Lama, and lends him the status of symbol for the most diverse groups. Motion-picture stars, guests at various religious gatherings, believers in an ecumenical direction, and devotees of the New Age scene, are all in agreement in their enthusiasm for the Tibetan ruler.

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→ *Buddhism, Lamaism, Theocracy, Tibet*

Benita von Behr

Dance

Dance: Essence and Potentialities

1. The rhythmically unified body movement of dance is a universal expression of human aliveness, of human life. Dance 'acts out' the most fundamental human traits—corporality, and the urge to move. It shapes space and → time in dynamic periods, and opens them up to sensory experience. Not only can it express → feelings of gladness, sorrow, emotion, power, → love, and → eroticism; it can also generate and channel them. As 'life exponentially' (T. Berger), dance has the capacity to transmit harmony, intensity of life, and a transcending of the moment. It can rip everyday perceptions asunder, and generate the intimate identity of a community. Dance does not cut a sharp boundary with other bodily techniques, such as striding,

→ procession (Indian *mudras*), and sacred → drama. The latter two offer, besides, a more powerfully narrative element of expression.

Dance in the Religions

2. The positions of religions on dance and its potentialities are adversarial in the extreme. Many religions have integrated it, shaped it, and used it for their purposes. Often enough, in traditional cultures, dances even stand at the midpoint of collective, as well as of individual, life as the most important of cultic actions, such as the Kachina dances of the Hopi, or the Sun Dance of the Prairie Indians.

Motifs and Functions

According to the positions adopted toward dance in the respective religions, it is possible to make a distinction between *sacred* or *cultic dance* (dances connected to cult or worship, with a clearly → ritual character), and *religious dance* (dances accompanying religious practices and festivals; → Feasts and Celebrations). We know a plenitude of motifs or contexts for dance, which bind a communicated meaning of the belief community, and contact with supernatural beings:

- Dances make a contribution to the ritual construction and interpretation of realty. Danced myths or sacred dramas explicate religious knowledge. The cosmos and its beings are presented symbolically, and its movements are executed in concert, thus becoming available 'here below.'
- In this fashion, dances also authenticate and legitimate the social order with its roles and values. In particular, masked dances by cult groups that present → ancestors frequently demonstrate strength and power. We find, at times, innovative, role-free conduct as well as normative behavior executed in dance.
- Dances are intermediaries: they provide contact with supernatural beings. They serve for veneration, communication, or the receipt of fertility and cosmic order, as with festivals of the agrarian cycle.
- Dances can evoke or document an outer transformation, by preparing individuals for an ideal condition, changing their status in rites of initiation or passage, and healing or purging an evil.
- Dances can also work an inner transformation, usually temporarily. Many dancers make a connection with spirits or gods, enter a condition regarded as sacred, array themselves with spiritual capacities, or embody a supernatural being. Ecstatic practices introduce dance as a trance technique, as in → shamanism or → possession.

It becomes clear that the individual motifs and functions of the concrete dance phenomenon can usually be divided only artificially, for purposes of a typology.

3. As an *image,* as well, dance is frequently applied by and for religions: in order to describe an attitude or mood (joy, mystical experience), or to grasp the cosmogony or the dynamic harmony of the sacred cosmos. The cosmos as a dance of the elements, its fashioning and destruction by the Dance of Shiva, the medieval Dance of Death as an eschatological picture of damnation, and later, of earthly finitude (*memento mori*) and *vanitas.* This macabre roundelay stands over against the motif of the celestial ballet of the angels and the blessed, which, throughout Church history, functions as *the* allegory for a redeemed existence before the face of God.

4. Real dancing on earth, of course, was renounced almost as thoroughly as the wafting of the angels was accepted. Hierarchically organized,



Classic European ballet is a dance form without a religious tradition. Arising in the princely courts of the Renaissance and their absolutism, dance, along with opera and → theater, developed into one of the most influential arts of the urban social horizon of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One basis for the alienation of this art from religion may have been its decided 'bodiliness,' which stands diametrically opposed to the remote quality of Christian liturgical dance. All the more sensational, then, are attempts to 'dance' sacred and, especially, Christian themes—to transport them into the corporal code of the ballet dance, its steps, motions, and bodily gestures. Trail blazing

theologically developed doctrines, with their absolute claim, stand in a special attitude of mistrust vis-à-vis dance as a menacing and competing expression of life. These codes make an effort to limit dance to certain forms, occasions, or persons, to control it, or to prohibit it altogether. Hinduism restricts the art of the classic dance to particular castes and groups, thereby avoiding a conflict with social and ascetic norms.

Western *Christianity* and Islam also quite unambiguously reject dance, in contrast with many currents of their Jewish mother religion (→ Hasidism). The attitude of Church authorities was hostile to the → body, as can be exemplified in the dictum of Church Father John Chrysostom, "Where dance is, there is the devil." The irresolute address to liturgical dance, with its theological underpinnings,[1] over the past two decades, has not delivered dance from its position of a suspect, marginal phenomenon of popular religion. A completely different image, on the other hand, is offered by many extra-European churches who integrate their lively, often extra-Christian, dancing into their divine services.

This scenario entirely corresponds to the dialectical relation of tension between dogmatic theology and powerful institutions, on the one hand, and persons' spiritual experience, upon which they build, and which they manage, on the other. In *currents of folk religion and → mysticism* (the God-seized dancing nuns of the Christian Middle Ages, and the dervishes of → Sufism), dance—in most striking bodily demonstrations—plays a most positive role. In practices and images of opposing currents, dance became an element of heretical movements, or even of an orgiastic, Satanic, or → carnival reversal of the order of daily life (Witches' Sabbath, dance epidemics). Many alternative spiritual directions, too, discover for themselves a

contribution of dance among their elements. The ambivalent attitude of many religions vis-à-vis dance may be owing to its sensory, worldly, aspect, suggesting entertainment. In dance, too, it comes clear that sacred and profane areas in the behavior of individuals, as also in the overall culture, seldom constitute a dichotomy.

5. If we would consider the relation of both life expressions, then not only dance in religion, but *religion in dance* must figure among our concerns. Independently of their cultural position, astonishingly many dancers (from professional dancers to Techno-Ravers) speak of their activity in concepts of spiritual or mystical experience. Dance seems religiously charged and thereby more intimately connected with personal, untrammeled forms of an experience-centered piety than do the hierarchical, abstract theologies. Differently from other forms of art, dance in the West developed apart from, indeed even in opposition to, religious institutions. But in today's secular world, religious motifs seem to press their way out of the area of dance into society itself. Modern ballet often stages religious content. 'Modern dance,' post-modern dance-theater, dance-therapy currents, and dancing esoteric circles speak of dance as a ritual—a transcendence or redemption.

6. In the overwhelming number of cases, religious dances, like religions in general, have a conservative and stabilizing social effect. But in dance, as an expressive cohesion of the most intimate emotions, and yet of the highest transcendence, there also resides a boundary-crossing potential, with a huge explosive force where the prevailing order is concerned. Ideal-typically, one could distinguish between, first, a body control, a disciplined and attentive, assimilation, with strict formal shaping (classical ballet, Balinese temple dance), and then wild, 'Dionysian,' spontaneous performance. It is precisely such ecstatic dances (→ Trance) that constitute an effective means of altering the individual, as well as the religious and social order. They can emit forms, rip down restrictions, and generate a new order, identity, community, and vision.

No wonder, then that millenarianist, messianic, or other charismatic cults often work with 'trance dances.' They offer capacity for action, very concrete orientation, and powerful experiences, in times of need, and of a disintegration of the social, cognitive, or emotional order. And they can mobilize masses, rapidly, and without great outlay. Impressive examples are offered by the spirit dance of the North American Indians (→ North America [Traditional Religions]), or the 'cargo cult' in Melanesia (→ South Sea/Australia), both of which appeared in reaction to the padlocked desperation imposed by violent colonial destruction, were perceived by their respective Puritanical administrations as dangerous and hysterical, and were proscribed. In both cases, along with ethics, prophets taught easily learned, syncretistic forms of trance dances, earnestly calculated to introduce a utopian world restored anew, not only in the experience of vision, but also in the reality of the everyday.

7. All forms of dance and their ascriptions of meaning are contoured and conveyed culturally. It is only the projected longing of a modern primitivism to speak of a primordial oneness of dance and cult, or to regard dance as the pre-cultural, unconscious expression of a primary quality of experience, that could be directly found once more in the supposed 'wild dances' of 'nature peoples.' For example, African dances nearly always

for the contemporary ballet scene, in this respect, are the choreographies, since 1973, of John Neumeier, with the Hamburg State Opera Ballet. Neumeier, born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1942, and educated in a Jesuit school, calls himself a 'Christian and dancer.' In works like his "Magnificat" (1989, music: J. S. Bach), "Requiem" (1991, music: W. A. Mozart), or "Messiah" (1999, music: G. F. Händel and Pärt), which he developed in collaboration with music researcher and director of church music Günter Jena, he interprets *chefs-d'oeuvre* of European sacred music, and central Christian formulas of faith, with a powerful dance style, nor one that shies way from pathos. Bach's "Saint Matthew Passion" presented Neumeier's pioneering choreography with power. In a pregnant gesture, he transferred the composer's sacred work from a liturgical framework to the theatrical, first by choreographing "Skizzen zur Matthäuspassion" in Saint Michael's Church in Hamburg (see illus.), and then, in a second move, by presenting the completed dance piece on the stage of the Staatsoper, and thereby 'withdrawing it to the secular sphere.' The quest for a 'language for religious content,' under the sign of the dance, had begun. (Hubert Mohr)



When spring begins, the men of Somma Vesuviana, a community on a ridge of Mount Vesuvius, on the Gulf of Naples, literally stage 'a dance on the Volcano.' On one of the mountain peaks, in a fashion handed down from time immemorial, they celebrate the Mountain Festival of the Madonna di Castello, called "Mamma Schiavona." Their Festival features a great deal of wine, dance, and song—without, however, the presence of their wives (women must remain below). The festival commences on Easter Saturday, *Sabato dei Fuochi* ("Feast of the Flames")—when the men light fires of celebration, set off fireworks, and bivouac on the mountain the night through—and climaxes and terminates on May 3. The dancing continues unabated

represent exceedingly complicated, highly artificial bodily practices that can be understood as the concentration of tension by way of a 'centering' of various parts of the body. Individual body parts, with precision and elegance, evince a polyrhythmic structure. The climax is reached when the outward movement comes to a stop, and is replaced by a condition of mind and soul suffused with worth and value, with moderation, a restfulness of heart, a calm, an ordering into the community. In the West, the corporeal codification and charge of meaning residing in strange and foreign dance is readily overlooked, and a 'return' is suggested, possible in dance, to an 'original' experience of something that modern persons miss and regret.

1. Berger 1985; Vogler et al. 1995.

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→ *Body, Eroticism, Illness/Health, Music, Possession, Rhythm, Drama (Sacred), Ritual, Shamanism, Trance (Techniques)*

Dietmar Neitzke

until the exuberant Feast of Fertility, around May 1, as it is known throughout Europe. Now a three-meter-long walnut stick is hung with needle-furze twigs, apples, lemons, and all manner of delicacies, and handed to the honored ladies with exultation and song. First, however, there is a great deal of drinking and dancing up on the mountain. The dancers are organized into associations called *paranze* (from Lat., *par*, 'equal,' 'same,' 'similar') and accompany their songs, and the dance of the *tammurriata* (in Ital., *tammorra* or *tambura*), with simple, often self-fashioned instruments, whose type can be traced almost to antiquity. In the photograph, which shows the men on the mountaintop, rhythm instruments predominate: the castanets of the two dancers, the large tambourine (as also used, throughout Southern Italy, for the tarantella), as well as the *triccaballácco*, which the accompanists hold in their hands to left and right. This last instrument is made of wooden hammers, with little tin plates affixed, of which the midmost one is rigid, while the other two are loose, that they may be clapped together. Finally, *i sischi,* the double flute, may also sound forth. (Hubert Mohr)

Daoism

"Ritual of Cosmic Renewal" (*Jiao*)

The most important religious event for the village community (or population of a city quarter) is the celebration of the "Ritual of Cosmic Renewal" (*jiao*), which is to take place after temple renovations, after temple foundations and expansions, and at least once every sixty years. It is usually three days and three nights long, and it involves not only the entire village, but also associated communities, relatives, and friends from elsewhere, all of whom are invited to take part in the great banquet of the third day. Equally important is the invitation issued to the → ancestors, and to the homeless souls of the deceased who have had no progeny, and thus cannot enjoy the cult of the ancestors. Just so, an invitation is issued to the souls of those who have died violently, or far from home. And again, various divinities from famous temples of the country are invited. For them, a tent with a *tan* (altar) is pitched at various locations in the village, as temporary sacred space in which the deities reside for the duration of the cult. The more prosperous families finance these *tan*. The most important guests, however, are the 'Three Pure' (*san qing*), the three supreme gods of the Daoist pantheon.

The meaning of the *jiao* consists in the gaining of 'spiritual merit' (*gong de*) for the entire community, through the ascetical endeavors of that community, its recitations in the temple, its almsgiving, and the great banquet it celebrates for the gods and the population. The effect of this spiritual merit is that heavenly powers are promoted in the hierarchy, the unhappy souls are let into heaven, and the living are blessed with health and profitable employment. The considerable expenses are shared by all of the villagers, depending on their economic resources.

The *ritual* itself is extremely complex, and features not only actions to be performed within the temple that take place with the exclusion of the population ('I' here denotes within the temple), but also processions and actions to which the villagers are admitted as 'audience' ('O' outside the temple).

By way of *preparation*, the gods normally venerated in the temple are removed from their inherited places (of honor) at the northern wall (→ Orientation) and installed on either side of the entryway at the southern gate. The population prepares by fasting, and bestows generous alms on beggars and the handicapped, who are attracted in

swarms by these temple festivals. The actual *jiao* ritual can be divided into four parts:
(1) Creation of the ritual space (→ Place [Sacred]);
(2) Rites for the acquisition of 'religious merit' (*gong de*);
(3) Communion, and renewal of the covenant between human beings and heaven;
(4) Rites of parting to be celebrated before the gods, and the dismantling of the ritual space.

First day: Morning

The first day begins long before sunrise, with the purification of the altar space by the Master, followed by the composition of an official notification, in red ink, with explanatory document, by which the gods are officially informed of the impending ritual (I). Then the priest enters the court and burns these documents, that they may ascend to the gods as smoke (O). There follows the invitation extended to the highest gods and the local deities, that they may all enter the sacred space (I).

Outside the temple, three high bamboo poles are erected, a sign that it is for the 'Three Pure' that the *jiao* is about to be held (O). In order to exhibit the cohesiveness of the community, the village dignitaries (*hui shou*) mark the boundaries of the village at crossings with ten paper figures, some one meter in height, all accompanied by a praying and bell-ringing populace (O). Subsequently, five priests visit the residences of the dignitaries, and offer sacrifices on the home altars (O; this rite takes place on all three mornings, with the entire community symbolically included). The Master's pupils hold recitations at these ceremonies (as during all three days) of lengthy penitential texts (I).

First Day: Afternoon and Evening

The afternoon belongs to the Noonday Sacrifice and further penitential recitations. In the evening, the 'new light' is kindled, and the Daoist myth of creation (*Daode jing,* 42) is recited. Thereby is the universe symbolically renewed (I). The most important and most secret ritual takes place shortly before midnight, and represents the beginning of community renewal (I).

Second Day: Morning

The second day begins between three and five o'clock in the morning, with the greeting of the first of the Three Pure; then the penitential recitations and the Midday Sacrifice of the day before are continued (O).

Second Day: Afternoon and Evening

The afternoon belongs to the laity. Starting from the temple area, a great procession begins to move, whose participants, carrying unlighted lanterns, and accompanying floats entirely covered with unlighted lamps,

proceed to the nearest river, lake, or seashore. After nightfall, the lamps are lit and set upon the water. The floating lights are an invitation to all souls to take part in the great banquet to be held on the following day (O). In the afternoon and evening, the Master has an audience with the second and third of the Three Pure.

Third Day

On the third day, a banquet is prepared for the Three Pure, for the sealing of the New Covenant. Now these gods are simultaneously present in heaven, at the center of the cosmos (the village temple), and in the body of the Master: thus they produce the cosmic 'communion.' The essential of the ritual, and the names of the participants, are consigned to writing, and the document is displayed before the gods (I). Then it is shown to the whole community (O). Now the great banquet begins, at which every possible tasty delicacy is spread before the souls on hundreds of tables—every family in the village prepares a twenty-four hour menu, which is then consumed by the villagers, their guests, and those who have come from other places (O).

On many platforms throughout the village, theatrical productions and puppet plays with religious content are staged. At the same time, the people thank the gods as manifestations of the Dao, take their leave of them, dismantle the altars, burn the paper figures, and reproduce the previous order of things. Through the merits acquired in and around the ritual, the unhappy souls are delivered, persons and nature are renewed spiritually, the village community is strengthened, and all enmities come to an end.

Stephan Peter Bumbacher

1. 'Daoism' (from the Chinese *dao*, 'way,' 'right way,' 'track,' 'principle'; whence, 'principle of the origin of the cosmos') is properly the high religion of China. It has specialists available who have spent years in formation under a Master before receiving the certificate of ordination. The office of priest can be handed down from father to son, for example in the tradition of the 'masters of heaven.' There are, however, monastic traditions as well among which at least the members of the *Quanzhen* ('complete perfection') tradition live in strict celibacy. Daoism's pantheon is a broad one, ever open to expansion, and observes a very differentiated liturgy, whose texts are recited and sung by priests. The majority of these texts have been composed in classical Chinese, and thus are not understandable by the public. Daoism is a 'way' to individual salvation (→ Road/Path/Journey), as well as an institution that seeks to assist persons in the defeat of crises and diseases, and offers them rites of passage; but also provides society in general with universally directed rites of renewal.

As an institution, Daoism is not even a cohesive image, let alone a centralized one, but rather is very heterogeneous—the result of centuries-long developments, as new threads of tradition formed, and existing and foreign elements alike were integrated from popular religion and Buddhism.



The *jiao* banquet is here celebrated for the souls—and for the members of the community, with their guests, friends, and erstwhile enemies—on the third day of the “Ritual of Cosmic Renewal” (see box). The dainties readied and brought to the banquet by the denizens of the village (or city) are all but endless. Souls of the departed and living population alike celebrate the greater community and cosmic renewal in a festal meal.

Philosophical Daoism

The founder of philosophical Daoism (*Daojia*) is reputed to be a certain Lao Tzu (Laozi, Laotse), mythical author of the *Dao-te-king* (*Daode jing*). He was deified in the second century CE: in 164, a pillar with an inscription was built in his honor by imperial command. At about the same time, with the help of commentators like *Heshang gong* (‘Master of the Riverbank’) and the *Xiang'er* (presumably the name of an immortal), the original ‘philosophical’ *Daode jing* was reinterpreted in a religious sense. Since at least that early, the *Daode jing* has ranked as a sacred text, with appropriate supernatural characteristics (its possession and recitation are freighted with blessing).

Goals and Methods

2. The goal of the Daoists is to become one with the *Dao*, the indefinable absolute, the self-settled original principle of the cosmos. This attainment

will reverse the process of age and decay, provide a long life on earth, and, finally, even render a person immortal. In order to reach this goal, it is true, there is no 'royal way.' Rather, there are as many ways as Daoists. Nevertheless, some 'techniques' (*shu*) or 'methods' (*fa*) can be brought into play.

Alchemy

a) Beginning in the first century BCE an alchemy developed, whose purpose consisted, first, in transmuting ignoble compounds into noble metals—as a rule, gold. It was assumed that this process was found in nature spontaneously, but that it took long for it to be completed. The task of the alchemists consisted in accelerating the natural process of transmutation by way of effective procedures. For example, a dish could be produced of these refined metals. Whoever ate from this ennobled dish would be able to attain immortality. More important, however, was the search for the 'pill of immortality.' For the production of such drugs, mercury compounds were usually applied, for example cinnabar (*dansha*) mixed with other, usually inorganic, materials. In the Tang era (618–907), an entire series of emperors died from the ingestion of suchlike poisonous ores or compounds. According to Daoist readings, they may nevertheless have become immortal. After all, one form of immortality consists in *shijie*—here the corpse is buried, but after a short time the transformed person returns to the cadaver as an insect pupa; then, later, after the grave has been opened, only a few personal objects (such as a pair of shoes, or a wooden staff) are still to be found. The person in question is either still walking the earth, in another body and another identity (but still as the same person), or has secretly and directly transmigrated to heaven, where he now sojourns with his fellows and the gods.

Techniques of 'Inner Alchemy'

b) With time, this 'outer alchemy' (*waidan*) developed into an 'inner alchemy' (*neidan*), which adopted the technical terminology of the other, but reinterpreted the processes metaphorically. When the removal of substances by 'smelting' is spoken of, it is no longer a concrete operation that is understood, but an interior process of the purification of the adept.

Meditation

Presumably the oldest technique of purification in Daoism consists in the various types of → meditation. The method of the 'preservation of oneness' (*shou yi*), means, first of all, visualizing the three divinities—*san yi.* These have emerged from the three primordial pneumata, and the Dao has produced the latter in turn in the three 'higher heavens.' Now one must have them descend into one's own body in meditation, and have them reside in their already determined place in the person: namely, in the three 'fields of cinnabar' (the first being in the head, the second in the region of the heart, the third behind the navel). When the human being fails to meditate, these gods return to their heavens, which weakens the human being, and renders her and him susceptible to diseases. Other types of meditation consist in visualizing the divinities of the body as settled in the various organs and thereby holding them fast, or having planets and stars—analogously to the *san yi*—descend into the body where they will spread their light, render the body lightsome, and finally bring it to its condition as a heavenly body. Frequently, Daoists preface their meditation exercises with lengthy recitations from the sacred scriptures. Indeed, if they manage to recite a scripture, for example the *Huangting jing* ("Classic one of the great yellow

room") several tens of thousands of times, this may itself suffice for the attainment of immortality.

Dietary Prescripts

An important role in Daoist practice is also performed by dietary prescripts (→ Eating/Nourishment). By way of example, included here is abstinence from cereals, as they further the prosperity of malevolent corporeal demons, whose only concern is to have persons die as promptly as possible, lest, after death, they partake of the enjoyment of the offerings for the dead. The most pure nourishment of all is early-morning dew on a blade of grass, pure air, or a ray of sunlight reflected from a bronze mirror. Depending upon the exercitant's tradition, one or another of the techniques mentioned, or a combination, is applied.

Becoming a Daoist

3. A person—man or woman—who would become a Daoist, seeks out a master at a mountain monastery or in a town temple, who, after careful scrutiny, receives the candidate, and then, over the course of years, and with frequent assessments, initiates the pupil into his knowledge. The pupil not only gradually receives holy scriptures from the Master, which he or she must copy out and commit to memory, but also the indispensable commentaries, without which the text will not be intelligible. The Master transmits this 'parallel knowledge' orally only. When the Master is at last convinced that his pupil has made such progress as to be able to perfect the Dao alone, or with another master, then, in a vow ceremony, the certificate of ordination is transmitted that lists which texts the pupil has received and which spiritual power he or she possesses.

Duties of the Daoist Priest

4. Along with the individual instruction of the pupil by the Master, Daoists also perform religious functions for the laity. To be sure, a temple is rarely administered by the Daoists themselves. As a rule, the village temple (or the temple of an urban quarter) is consecrated to a local divinity, and is run by the villagers. For cultic acts, a Daoist priest is invited, and borrowed, who—depending on the scope of the desired ritual—himself invites other priests to function as 'subcontractors,' almost always his sons and priest friends, who, when possible, have been ordained by the same master as he. Although priests are locally established, they can be summoned to any locality in which they can be useful. Daoists often also receive 'offers' from various priests, before they decide on a particular one. (Priestesses usually lead a monastic life, and perform ritual functions only within the monastery.) One of the tasks performed by the priest is that of celebrating the very expensive Ritual of Cosmic Renewal (*jiao*) (see box). Of analogous structure, but costing a great deal less, is the Ritual of the Dead (*jie*), which, after the death of a member of the community, the Master celebrates in a tent pitched next to the house of the deceased, in order to smooth the way to heaven for that soul. The principal activity of the Daoist priest, however, consists in the performance of other, minor rites, usually exorcisms, on his own home altar. As a rule, it is persons suffering from a disease, and who could not be helped by medicine, who seek out the priest's services. Since disease is ascribed to the action of evil spirits (ordinarily unattended souls of the dead), the remedy will depend upon identifying the latter, and then expelling them from the patient's body. The priest performs this service free of charge, without, however, refusing a token of gratitude. By contrast, for the great public rituals, (negotiable) remuneration is in order.

Pragmatic Religiosity

5. In the Western world, right into the modern age persons were born into a religion, received their socialization at the hands of their parents, and entry into another confession was rather the exception. Here, the Chinese behave more pragmatically. The satisfaction of spiritual needs is sought with the instances that have shown themselves 'effective' (*ling*). When petitions are not heard by the divinity, or when sacrifices have not had the desired effect, one simply changes divinities. For individual medical help and public rituals of renewal, application is made to the Daoists; funeral rituals, on the other hand, are more often sought from Buddhists.

Daoism Today

6. Daoists are found throughout the Chinese world today, even in Chinese colonies in the United States. In the People's Republic, they have survived the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), and may once more celebrate their rituals publicly and without hindrance, especially in Southeastern China, where relations with Taiwan are especially close. For one thing, many Taiwanese are bound to the mainland by ties of blood. For another, temple associations (*fan xiang*; → Place [Sacred]) span the space between the mainland and Taiwan. Again, there are considerable Taiwanese investments on the mainland.

In the 'Monastery of the White Clouds,' for example, in Beijing, young Daoists are certainly educated in a program encouraged by the state. But if these students subsequently apply to the Maoshan center (south of Nanking), the monks do not initiate them into the higher practices of meditation, nor into certain rituals, since they have 'not yet pacified their spirit'—are not yet regarded as capable (Saso 1990). There is a ritual alliance among the monks of the three centers of Maoshan, Wudang shan, and Longhu shan (→ Mountains, Five Sacred). They recognize one another's rites, and certificate of ordination; however, they do not issue higher certificates to Daoists who have sought their education in lower-ranking institutions, or with unimportant Masters.

During the Cultural Revolution, certain Daoist centers (not all!), or their temples and monasteries, were destroyed, were deprived of their means, along with many local shrines, and nuns and monks were expelled. Since 1979, however, these places have been reconstructed—with financing from pilgrims, but also through the contributions of prosperous Chinese abroad. While, for example, in Shaanxi Province the number of Daoist temples had decreased from 696 to 188 between 1948 and 1965, and then in the Cultural Revolution to five, they have continuously multiplied since then, and by 1992 their number was eighty-six. Comparable numbers have been reported from other regions. The number of ordained Daoists, male and female, will always be small, however, by comparison with that of Buddhist monks and nuns, since Daoists, as decided individualists, are not particularly concerned with official status.

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→ *China/Japan/Korea, Confucianism*

Stephan Peter Bumbacher

Death and Dying

Death as a Boundary Rejected

1. a) Death and human attitudes that are to be observed in connection with it, underlie a transformation. Death concerns all human beings. The precise entry of death, and 'life' thereafter, has its own meaning for every culture. The scientific biological connections, the 'itinerary' of death, are, of course, available to documentation: Western school medicine can describe the gradation between clinical death as cessation of the circulation of the blood, as brain death, and as cellular death as components precisely, and finally, death is defined as the irreversible end of life. In child development, it can be observed that, only from about the sixth year of life, with an increasing sense of reality, does someone grow conscious of the meaning of categories like 'dead' or 'living,' that death becomes a decisive boundary. But that this means life is 'finished'—that actually 'nothing' of the human being remains—thus, propositions concerning an 'absolute' end after death—are relatively rare. → Rituals that accompany the 'passing on,' or concerning an extended existence after death in a Beyond (→ Hereafter), or by way of → reincarnation in a new phenomenality in the present world, are to be found nearly everywhere in religious history.

b) The experience that one has with the death of others has left deep traces—in mythology, in religious systems, and even, for example, in art and architecture. Based on archaeological evidence of the burial of human corpses, frequently accompanied by gifts (such as tools, bones of animals), the death of persons was dealt with differently in prehistoric times from that of animals. Evidence of the former is found as early as the Middle Paleolithic (c. 70,000 BCE). In the history of the evolution of humanity, the evidence from burials presents a new (and perhaps first) horizon of reflection on death. Here is a phenomenon suspect of being a decisive turning point. Cultures have been identified by their tombs over and again (for example, the pyramids, or the tombs and burial temples in the Valley of the Kings in Egypt; the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World). All of this, and more, draws tourists even today (e.g., the Taj Mahal, from the seventeenth century in Agra, India). This manner of experience is ambivalent, however, so that one both avoids the area and 'beautifies' (i.e., aestheticizes it). This same trend is shown with great transparency in language: in the euphemisms with which one



Catania, Sicily, 11 August 1992. Sergio Lo Giudice lies dead on the street, shot from his motorcycle in an exchange of fire between rival Mafia clans. A Franciscan cleric stands beside him and pronounces the "Prayer of Departure" which, in Catholic rite, is spoken over the dead. The "Prayer of Departure" is a prayer at once of impetration and of accompaniment. Like the blessing in which this priest raises his hand, it supports the soul that, in Christian belief, is divided from the body at the moment of death, and now comes 'before the face of God.' The solace and pastoral care of the sick and needy, sinners, and the dying, is surely a great privilege and service of the Christian churches, and of the religions generally. In Sicily, true, representatives of the Church are increasingly 'caught' in the exercise of their spiritual obligations, between the 'fronts' of state power and organized crime. While the father confessor of a Mafia boss sits in prison because he has refused to reveal the misdeeds confessed, appealing to the 'seal of confession,' various clerics who have spoken out publicly against the terror of *Cosa Nostra,* have paid for their commitment with their lives. (Hubert Mohr)

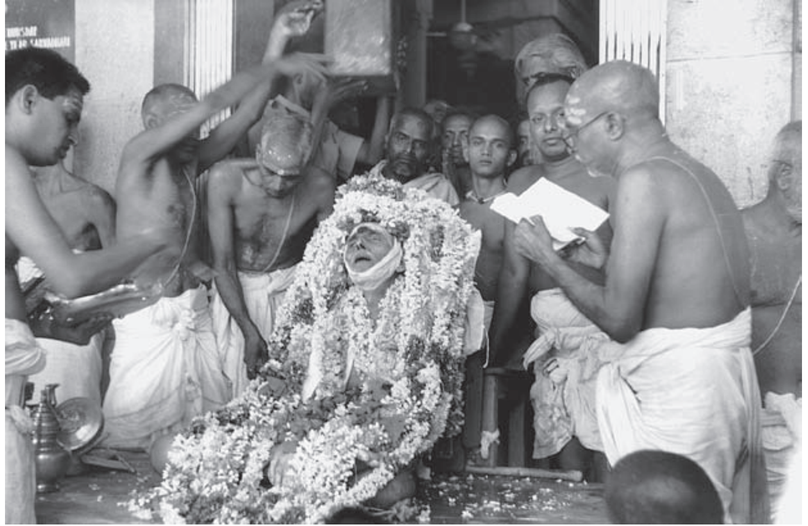
describes the act of death (as 'passing on,' 'passing away,' 'falling asleep'); or by being careful not to pronounce the proper name of the departed, but substituting 'blessed one.' An ambivalent attitude toward death is also illustrated by two French expressions: 'defunct' (as also in English); and the expression that death is a *mal-heur* (that is, something that comes in at an evil or unsuitable hour, even when one has sought to manage the course of death with rites. 'Defunct' is a modern form of the Latin word *defunctus*, referring to someone who has 'entered into rest,' someone who has 'successfully endured,' for example, the present existence.

Death the 'Taboo'

2. Let us permit a chronological leap into the present, but at the same time into a geographical distance, to relativize the Eurocentric perspective of the end of the twentieth century. From missionary and ethnographical reports of Indian ethnic groups of South America, there frequently emerges an attitude of obviousness about death, and a perceived 'public' characteristic of death, in speech about the same. Oriented neither to fear, nor to a (Western) sense of tact, it has at least surprised, if not shocked, the observer. Missioner Cocco[1] reports, impressively, of his illness during a sojourn with the Yanomamo on Orinoko, when the village medicine man assured him not only that, of course, he would die of the disease, but also that the village community of the Yanomamo would care for him after his death—first burning his corpse, and then ingesting the ashes of his bones (endocannibalism). All of this was intended altogether as an expression of compassion and solace, and of the high esteem in which the missionary was held by the village community.

Causes of Death

3. a) Death and dying are a generally human phenomenon, of course, but a concrete death-and-dying calls for a respective concrete explanation. Often, not only can a connection be observed here between human imperfection and the 'first' death, but also a perceived connection between death and evil: dying is the final misfortune. A further connection, produced in



In the year 1950, in Southern Indian Tiruvannamalai (Tamil Nadu), ascetic Ramana Maharishi died of cancer. Surrounded by his devotees, his body, adorned with garlands of flowers, was prepared for the funeral ceremony. In a traditional Hindu funeral, the corpse is burned and the individual soul leaves the body through its cracked or pierced skull. But Ramana Maharishi was buried in a sitting position. Born in 1879 in Southern India, at the age of sixteen he had a mystical experience that he later described as the 'death of the body,' and as a realization of the 'I' that extends beyond the body. In this ordeal, he had endured and overcome the fear of death. Since then he had lived as an ascetic on the sacred mountain of Arunacala, at Tiruvannnamalai. He had given up his asceticism of silence for the sake of the instruction of others, after his disciples had surrounded him and erected an ashram. Ramana Maharishi, also reverently called Sri Bhagavant ('Exalted'), was regarded as a representative of the 'mysticism of oneness' (Sanskrit, *advaita*, 'nondual'). At his formal passage into the existence of an ascetic, a Hindu dies a social and ritual death. Many Shivaite ascetics therefore lie on a funeral pile at the ritual of passage. If he is married, his marriage is dissolved. His possessions are distributed as an inheritance, and the ritual duties of care of the ancestors no longer apply to him. Before his physical death, Ramana Maharishi had also died to the world. (S. Stapelfeldt / Kirsten Holzapfel)

myths, obtains between death and sexuality, where the symbolical and complementary character of life (or of the fertility that emerges from sexuality) and death becomes clear. The various mythological explanations of the origin of death worldwide have been categorized by T. P. van Baaren in eight types:[2]

- Death is a natural and God-willed determination of the human being.
- Death began with the death of a deity or mythical being, rather than being causally determined by human behavior.
- The conflict among individual deities is the cause of human beings, too, having to die.
- A deity has deluded human beings, and consequently they became mortal.
- The necessity of death is the result of human imperfection.
- Death results from the human being having made a faulty decision.
- Disobedience, or (usually human) guilt vis-à-vis deities or mythical beings entails the necessity of dying.
- The human being dies because precisely the human being has called for it. The various myths concerning the origin of death can—as far as the human attitude toward this phenomenon is concerned—be reduced to two formulae, more complementary than antithetical: "Death heals all earthly exigencies," and "Better destitution than death."[3]

b) Preparation for death as a process of leave-taking: The separation of the dying person from those who will live on is accomplished in steps, in which, gradually, the inescapable becomes conscious: a psychological (perceiving, realizing) and social process (the one dying 'must not know'). A five-phase model has been observed here, in terms of the manner in which individuals deal with the recognition that they themselves must die. (1) The first brief phase of not wishing to realize is followed by (2) a phase of angry rejection and disbelief, as well as (3) an effort of postponement. There follows (4) a phase of resigned 'facing the facts,' before (5) acceptance, finally, becomes possible. The social process of separation corresponds to the process of mourning on the part of survivors, which, however, is frequently kept for another time.

Unexpected Death

c) If someone dies suddenly in a traffic accident, this unexpected death will be felt as more tragic than when some relatively long illness ends with death. Death as a necessity ought to enter in with forewarning, lest it nullify the world order and become a simple instrument of the wrath of a deity, or of blind chance. This notion can be observed as general in Europe until approximately the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Accordingly, the progressing age of life is the time in which one's presages of death multiply, so that one begins to 'adjust.' The afflictions of age, then, are not only an occasion to become aware of one's age, but also signs that one is approaching one's 'concealed house and home,' and that 'dust returns to dust.'[4] In becoming conscious of their age, it is true, the aged come upon the prospect of death, but also efforts to cling to life. To some extent, the concept arises in European folk belief, that young persons die more readily, more easily, than do the old, and we find various notions of why dying can be difficult. Often, sins are the alleged cause for someone's 'dying hard,' so that the reciprocal conclusion is also drawn that one who dies a difficult death must have been an evil person. One dies more easily when one has reconciled with one's enemies, or gathered the extended family to one's deathbed. Death comes to children more easily, if their godmother is present, or if their mother averts her eyes. Although the concrete day and hour of death is unforeseeable, many days are seen as favorable. The conception is also present that it is advantageous to die soon after the death of a child among one's relatives, since the child has already opened the way to heaven—inasmuch as, according to the sixteenth-century Reformation and its Catholic correlation, the whole of life ought to be led in a Christian fashion. Life becomes seen 'in the light of eternity' (*sub specie aeternitatis*) that precedes death. Behind all lust for life, grins the mask of death. This annihilates the medieval → *ars moriendi.* The question of what one ought to do, supposing that one faced immediate death, will have an answer: Continue to do what you are doing. After all, for a person who has prepared for death lifelong, every moment of life is like the immediate moment of death. In the twentieth century, finally, appears the recent change in Western culture: death is expelled from public view, and thereby neither is life any longer a preparation for death. Now the nature of death as a process is gone, and a view of the individual, concrete death inclines more powerfully to the negative.

Rituals of Dying

4. The process of dying is accompanied by a series of → rites of passage. Both for the dying and for those remaining, there is an ambivalence of emotions to overcome or manage. (1) One must fill the void of the loss of a member of the community by a regrouping, and (2) dispose of the corpse, and yet not seem unloving.

a) From the perspective of the person dying, those rites are to be cited through which one settles one's 'temporal affairs.' That is, one takes leave of one's near and dear, asks friends, and, yes, enemies, for pardon—since the unreconciled die a difficult death—and one commends one's soul to God. These ritualized elements in the dying process have to some extent been consigned to writing (for example, the Buddha's discourse of departure in the *Parinirvanasutra*; Plato's report in the *Phaedo* of the farewell of Socrates; the Jewish literary genre of the "Testaments" of the Patriarchs; Jesus's leave-taking in the Gospel according to John). Reconciliation and commendation of the soul to God, for instance, also constitute a central



The unheard-of fact, according to Christian belief, that God was executed, has made death and dying a central matter of this religion. In the Christian European cultic tradition, the drama of the violent death of Jesus of Nazareth has produced a rich store of images, which recall the mytho-historical event to the minds and hearts of believers in the most diverse presentations. Or ought one to say: confronts them with it? After all, it is not only the body of the dead God on the → cross on the altar, in home prayer niches, or on the neck of a girl that picture this event—it is the meticulous image of the steps of the act one by one, from the taking down from the cross, to the *Pietà* (the Sorrowful Mother; → Suffering), to the burial, that present, in detail, the images

element of the Church's *Viaticum* ('supplies for the road')—i.e., reception of the Eucharist by the dying—evidenced as early as the fourth century. From the fourth century, this rite followed the last anointing (today called the Sacrament of the Sick), as a strengthening for the journey in the beyond, and so the penitential and reconciliation character was rather overshadowed. That the process of death can be made easier ritually has already been mentioned; to an extent, this form of assisted dying (→ Euthanasia/Assisted Suicide) can assume altogether concrete forms, by hastening death. Until into the seventeenth century, for example, mortally ill persons in Baltic lands were asphyxiated. Anthropology knows of various cases in which the dying are either exposed, so that death supervenes, or elderly persons abandon their village communities to die in the uncivilized wilderness, apart from their relevant (micro-) cosmos. Other rites are used in the case of those who have just died, for example by addressing the corpse by name, to which it gives no answer—a sign that the person in question is actually dead. This rite is used, for example, in the Catholic Church, in order to ascertain the death of the Pope ritually. A similar function is that of the '*sagdid* rite'—the 'canine glance,' in → Zoroastrianism. The eyes of a dog are directed toward the eyes of the deceased, whereby the priest appointed for the execution of the funeral rite receives the assurance that death has actually occurred.

b) From the moment of death and later, *rites of separation* can be observed, for helping in the management, or even defeat, of the new situation of loss. Here we may cite the ritual closing of the mouth and/or eyes of the deceased, the washing of the corpse, or the destruction of (part of) the deceased's possessions. This last ritual has different functions. Either one wishes to prevent anything from the sphere of the deceased remaining in

the world of the living, so that no endangerment can emerge from it; or one wishes to be certain that the deceased have everything available in their new existence that they have had in their preceding manner of existing. As to this last aspect, the primary intent, once more, bears more upon the deceased and less upon the community of the living, with the hope that the different kinds of gifts and bestowals may fulfill this function as well. One of the rites of separation from life performed in the course of the process of dying—in the belief in an existence after death—is the *burial* itself, which can fulfill several functions, both for the departed and for the bereaved. Oriented toward the community, there are the announcement(s) of the death that make the loss known to others, and thereby serve to help overcome and manage grieving. Specialists are frequently assigned to rituals intended to soften the unaccustomed blow that individuals have suffered, as with the bemoaning of a death by professional wailers, funerals at the hands of burial institutes, or of gravediggers or priests. Rites of grieving occasion an interruption of normal life. Forms of expressing grief are manifold (→ Mourning). There are food prohibitions, sexual taboos, omission of attention to one's outward appearance, self-wounding, clothing prescriptions, or body painting. After the end of the grieving period, everyday life takes once again its wonted course, with the end often coinciding with an ultimate admission that the deceased has now been incorporated into the new environment of the beyond. For the West, it is to be observed that—while, until the end of the nineteenth century, excessive public expressions or mourning were often the order of the day—in the twentieth century grief gradually began to be regarded as somehow shameful, and to be tabooed, and it began to be concealed, which can lead to psychic impairment.

In sum, it becomes clear that rites of dying, with differing accentuations and fleeting transitions, are oriented both to the dying and to the community of the bereaved: these rites perform functions for both. The withdrawal of dying from the life of the community and the increasing privatization of death occasion the appearance of a new set of problems. The more 'private' death becomes, the less room is there for the community-related situation of the rites in question. The result is not only a de facto disappearance of this kind of rite, but also, thereby, an infringement on the management of death on the part of the bereaved. A funeral rite in which only one friend or relative of the deceased takes part today is indifferent to the dead, it is true, but it is more problematic for relatives and friends, who have to overcome or manage the separation.

5. Myths identify the fear of death and dying by narrating the 'crossing' of the subject into another form of existence. While in Christianity this transition is but rarely accorded any attention, many peoples are found in the history of cultures who entertain and cherish rituals bearing on this 'crossing,' and descriptions of the 'right way to travel this road.' Here the journey to the next world is usually beset with difficulties, dangers, and trials that the soul must endure. As 'guides' to ensure order in after-death procedures, ritual books can give instructions for coping with the transition involved. Egyptian Books of the Underworld not only describe the topography of the journey, that the soul may find the right route, but also give concrete instructions as to what the deceased is to say or do in the face of diverse ordeals. Descriptions in the liturgy of the 'ascent of the soul' of the gnostic Mandaeans show a forty-five-day journey in the beyond,

of the corpse en route. Here, in contemplation, in a presentation of the → *ars moriendi*, persons may meditate on their own inescapable destiny, the end of life—an accomplishment of religion not to be underestimated. Even more powerfully, the *memento mori*, the 'remember your dying' one day, is set before our eyes, when, in Catholic Holy Week processions, Christians behold the suffering and dying of Christ in groupings of life-size statues, or even in role playing. The little girl who, in Sicilian Enna, hesitantly, and yet with curiosity, gazes upon the crudely naturalistic corpse of the Lord lying in state in its splendid Baroque sarcophagus, sees death right here: sunken cheeks, withdrawn lips with teeth exposed, traces of blood—signs of human frailty. She is dressed as a little nun; the privilege is hers because her father, who stands behind her in a white cowl, belongs to a brotherhood (Ital., *confraternità*), which will reverently bear this 'Grave of Christ' through the streets of the city. There it will elicit community sorrow, just as do the human departed, when led to their last rest, in hearses, with windows, in sorrowful convoy. (Hubert Mohr)



On November 1–2, Mexican tradition celebrates the Day of the Dead (*Día de Muertos*). It stands in the tradition of the old Mexican celebration of the day of remembrance of the dead, and of the Catholic Feasts of All Saints and All Souls. Publicly, the dead are remembered with a celebration at the cemetery; privately, deceased family and relatives are welcomed with gifts, on a house altar (*ofrenda*). On this altar belonging to a Mexican-American family in Sacramento, photos and personal objects recall the departed while they were alive. They are entertained with *pan de muertos* in human shape, and *tamales* (a dish cooked in corn leaves). A statuette of Mary and votive candles likewise have their place on the altar. The bow is hung with heavily scented *cempasúchil* blossoms. The large velvet-like flowers (*tagetes erecta*) are also called *flores de muertos* ('flowers of the dead'). This is an artistic family, and much of the decoration is homemade. Merry, colorful, and shrill are the skulls (*calaveras*), made of papier mâché and sugar, as well as the skeletons, who ride, play music, and have fun—altogether in the spirit of the *Día de Muertos*: the dead should finally have enjoyable times. Bones and wooden snakes (right foreground) at the girl's feet recall the fashioning of the present-day human being, whose emergence was as follows. Since the gods wished to people the earth, the god Quetzalcóatl ('feathered snake') rode into the Realm of the Dead, looking for the bones of the man and woman. With all manner of 'tricks,' he managed to get them away from the Lord and Lady of the Realm of the Dead. Of these 'Precious Bones,' which had been ground to a powder by the goddess Quilatzli/Chihuacóatl ('female snake'), blended with the blood that Quetzalcóatl let flow from his penis, sprang the new race of human beings. In Mexican tradition, the bones and skull left after the decomposition of a corpse are not simply symbols of disintegration. They point to human durability, victory over death, and a potential refashioning. From 1974 onward, the Mexican-American community of Sacramento has celebrated the Day of the Dead publicly, as well. The *ofrenda* has been portrayed in a picture book intended to explain this festival to other American children. It is part of the Mexican cultural legacy. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

during which the soul must pass through the spheres of the planets and zodiacal progressions, along with facing a court of judgment, before it finds access to the 'realm of light.' In the Tibetan Book of the Dead as it is today, a number of texts are joined, which, among other things, explain the process of death, apparitions of light at the moment of death, and techniques for the quest of the place of rebirth. Just so, concepts in the beliefs of various Indian ethnic groups of South America have been handed down which specify that, after death, the soul must choose between two routes, and that only by traversing the more difficult one will it be enabled to attain to new life in the Realm of the Dead. If the varying durations of such a crossing are to have any meaning, then they are precisely the appropriate time for the bereaved to say prayers or perform rites for the departed. Otherwise the soul will be in danger of failing to manage this transition, and will find no rest. In this case, the dead return, wandering over the earth as spirits, and terrifying the living, or 'reminding' them to execute the corresponding rituals, in order that the dead may reach the beyond (→Zombie). The transit of the dying into the beyond is also described in, for instance, their near-death experiences, or in those of persons who have been reanimated. The agreement of the images in these literary and personal descriptions, respectively, of an after-death experience, is frequently a striking one. They picture the leaving of the body, a road through dark tunnels, an encounter with spiritual beings, or the experience of light, and so on. In sum, it is clear that between physical death and an absolute end of life after death, or a reincarnation of the soul, lies a variable length of time. This interval not only molds death and dying into a continuum, but also provides the possibility of contact with the dead through intermediaries or mediums (→ Spiritism).

Death as a Taboo

6. The twentieth century, in the West, has led to a new orientation and alteration in persons' attitude toward death and dying. Older European history (along with, most often, anthropology) have explained death and dying as a public and community affair. The European twentieth century, on the other hand, shifts death into concealment behind hospital walls (explaining this, altogether rationally, with the necessity of intensive medicine, to be sure). In terms of cultural history, death has replaced sexuality as the 'greatest social taboo.'[5] Everyday death, until the beginning of the twentieth century, had directly touched the respective social groups of the (village and small-town) community. Now it usually exists only in a technological form. Death—usually violent death—now has its place in daily life, for the most part, only on the television set in the living room. Of course, this new death and dying scarcely touch the individual any longer. Concrete death has been mostly expelled from the life of the community—again with the 'technologized exception' that, for example, funerals of internationally known personalities, as a media event, are available to all: we have the cases of Mother Teresa of Calcutta, or of Princess Diana of Wales, in September 1997. Despite greater numbers of viewers worldwide, such events remain merely punctual ones. Given their tabooing, the rites of separation wither: grief expressed in dress is reduced to the moment of the funeral, and announcement of the death is buried in the death notices in the newspaper—notices now with only informational (and often euphemistic) content. In the Middle Ages, a solitary death was

an 'ugly' one, which often could be successfully avoided. Now, in our own age, it has overtaken the dying and the living.

1. In Cipoletti 1983, 16.
2. Van Baaren 1987, 252.
3. Ariès 1995, 26.
4. Qoheleth 12:61.
5. Von Barloewen 1996, 85.

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→ *Cemetery, Funeral/Burial, Grave/Tomb, Hereafter, Mourning, Mummification, Ritual*

Manfred Hutter

Death (Personification of)

1. "We must defeat death!" Arrogant illusion of an → immortality to be achieved by technology? Surely. But out of the mouth of someone who is ill, it can express the conceptualization of death as a person attempting to lay hands on his victim and can lend courage for the battle against → death and dying. That God will defeat death as 'the last enemy' is a religious proposition with a long pre-Christian history. This mythological figure is the subject that we here seek to address: death as a person.

In the process of death and dying, physical death marks a caesura that can be variously defined. To be sure, from a perspective of anthropology and religious history, the accent lies less on the moment of medical death than on the entire phenomenon of dying. Here, death is seen as personified. This personification imposes facets on the cultural world of conceptualizations regarding death.

Death as a God: Polytheism

2. a) In *Vedic mythology* we find lore regarding *Yama* and his wife *Yami.* The tale claims that he was the first human being to die, wherefore he not only was the first to enter the beyond, but also became the God of Death, or Death personified. More recent traditions develop Yama's task as death: thus, to a person who is to die he dispatches his Death Bird, *Yamaduta,* to announce the death. Finally, *Yamaduta* conducts the deceased to the Realm of Death, and before Death personified, who pronounces judgment on the deceased. In the "Baal Mot cycle," Ugaritic mythology describes the confrontation between the Ugaritic national god Baal, who brings fertility and life as dispenser of rain, and Mot, who brings death. The ideas linked up with Mot as God of Death are manifold (cf. Hebrew *mavet*, 'Death'). For example, he is seen as the drought that (in summer) causes everything to wither—but he also has anthropomorphic traits, such as a gigantic mouth, which, insatiable, gulps down humans and gods alike. Since Mot, in the Ugaritic religion, was seen as a negative and hostile being, with whom no one wished any contact, no cult was practiced in his honor. In the *Greek* tradition, *Thanatos* is regarded as the blood brother of (likewise personified and deified) Sleep (Iliad 14, 231; 16, 672). Pictorial presentations of Death on vase paintings represent him as a winged man. In inscriptions on tombs, he is depicted as a cruel, hostile, passionate and furious, unmerciful demon, especially in Etruria. The three mythologic testimonials that we have selected here to stand as examples, illustrate the same ambivalence of the position of death and dying. As a divine person, Death is depicted as negative and hostile; yet he certainly can send his premonitions to human beings as a warning or 'reminder' and convey to a person a sense of death in sleep. Besides, there is the image of death as a friend, who delivers one from suffering. This picture has opened a 'pagan' alternative for European history of religion—one that, especially in Romanticism, facilitates an aesthetics of death.

Death as God's Adversary: Monotheism

b) Some propositions in the Bible, referring to mythic traditions comparable to those from Ugarit, apply the image of a personified death as well. The Apostle Paul identifies death as lord of human beings from Adam to Moses (Rom 5:14) and as the last enemy (1 Cor 15:26, citing Isa 25:8). According to the Revelation of John (Rev 20:13 ff.), Death, with the personified Underworld, will be cast into the sea of fire at the end of the world, so that 'eternal' life can then begin. By way of Christianity, whose power stamped and molded European culture, such personifications have stayed vivid, supplemented to some extent by the legacy of a non-Christian European antiquity. They result in various conceptualizations of Death as a person, although corporeal depictions of death are missing until the twelfth century.

c) With its point of departure in the equivalency between the dead and Death, the notion appears of presenting death as a skeleton, a man of bones. In a context of the catastrophes of the fourteenth century plague, this presentation finds entry into the visual arts. Victims of the plague are taken into captivity by Death the skeleton, or they lie at his feet. An especially important type of presentation is that of the Dance of the Dead, which equalizes all social classes. The nature of the human being as transitory, connected with the symbolism of a harvest, inspires the presentation of death as a reaper (at times, again, as a skeleton), carrying his inevitable



American airbrush artist Dru Blair, working on an assignment by the Georgia Air National Guard, is decorating a B1-B bomber of the 116th Bomber Squadron of the Guard with an image of death as a person, thus sarcastically illustrating the death mythology of a "Defense Ministry." Subtly (and particularly forcefully), the image of death is here used as an aggressive power in order to control it and to transfer images of the → Apocalypse to reality, thus inverting the premises of religious history and anthropology. As part of a war and death mythology for a military interpretation of religion, death as a person once more wins a place in a de-sacralized and public venue.

attribute, a scythe or sickle. Sometimes male Death is accompanied by a 'Death-ess,' who bears, as her attribute, a rake. The symbolism of the harvest is unmistakable: the scythe is the attribute of a Death reaping a harvest among human beings, which had already been a concept in antiquity. The fact that speech is often affected by images and ideas is clearly shown in the figure of the 'Death-ess': in Slavic as well as Romance language areas, Death is a woman, owing in part to the fact that, in these languages, the word 'death' is feminine in gender. Other conceptions, appearing in the Renaissance, such as that of Death holding an hourglass in his hand, indicating the amount of time that human beings still have left to live, connect death once more with notions from antiquity (e.g., *Chronos*). That of (the Demon of) Death, astride a white horse, harks back to the Apocalyptic Four Horsemen of Rev 6 and 9.

In the cultural climate around 1900, during the *fin de siècle*, the complementarity of death and life in the broadest sense finds a new expression—Death personified in an erotic context, for instance as "Death and the Maiden." This motif is hardly specifically European: for example, we find it on presentations of pre-Columbian *moche* ceramics (100–600 CE) presented as tomb-offerings. Not only does the imagery on these ceramics refer to various sexual practices, but an ever-returning type of presentation shows a male skeleton-corpse having sexual contact with a living woman. That life and death are two closely connected things finds here a clear embodiment.

Corresponding to the transformation of the attitude taken toward death in the twentieth century, which has led to a stronger and stronger withdrawal of death from the public gaze, death as a mythological person disappears from the same milieu. Although new religious currents of the

present attempt to re-animate mythical material, such as a tradition of goddesses (as well as gods), a personified death remains practically ignored. Human experience with death and dying plays scarcely any role in this new religiosity. Death, here, is regarded simply as a transitional phase, a necessary stage of development, to a new existence and reincarnation. It is not the object of special interest, so that neither does the question of death as a person continue to have any role.

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→ *Ars Moriendi; Death and Dying, Soul, Cemetery*

Manfred Hutter

Demise of a Religion

1. The demise of a religion is nearly always tied to the simultaneous rise of new religions or ideologies. The better term, then, would be 'supersession' of religions, since no empty psychosocial cultural and philosophical space remains. Often this process is bound up with an official division of a religious community into groups. The narrower concept of 'demise' or 'disintegration' may be applicable at best in the case of this kind of fragmentation of a comprehensive religious system. Elements of a disintegrating religion often remain behind (cults, ritual objects, or myths); these then, refilled with meaning—with their old meaning or a new one—become components of a 'successive faith.'

External Causes

2. a) Externally, the disintegration of a religion has social or political causes, as, for example, the demise of the social class that has practiced it, the subjugation of the region by peoples of other beliefs, or the alteration of relationships among the generations. Additionally, new conditionings of the environment can make cults superfluous, or with time, render their content unintelligible. An example of the disintegration of a religion owing to external causes would be the violent Christianization imposed by the Spaniards in the → Central America of early modernity. Indeed, in a framework of → colonialism, Christianity was met in many regions by autochthonous or 'tribal' religions. When their followers were completely subjected to new conditions, as in the case of the Africans abducted to America, one may speak of disintegration, or better, annihilation of the original religion. In areas in which at most some missionaries exerted pressure and everyday structures were scarcely touched, the original religion was only lightly covered over. Outer influences often lead to a mix in the content of various religions, and a syncretism appears, so that essential content and effects are often lost (e.g., in the 'cargo cult' of the Western Pacific; → South Sea/Australia).

Internal Causes

b) An inner cause of the disintegration of religion is the appearance of new intellectual developments (e.g., science, a political ideology), when the latter answer questions, in a way satisfactory to society, that had previously been handled as religious themes. In this case, they dissolve the respective religious references. Socially binding rites and cults are assumed by other instances and/or are rededicated to exclusively secular references. One may say that, in a more or less strongly changing environment, the only religious content and interpretations that endure are those that seem judicious to the individual and to society. Of course, no religion has ever perfectly represented its time and place. Epochal designations like 'ancient Greece,' or the 'Christian Middle Ages,' are possible only from a temporal distance. Thus, only in retrospect is the disintegration of a religion (that has been dominant in time and place) identified with a historical breach and societal caesura. What is usually at hand is a slow process, simply not perceived by the generations of its contemporaries. The outstanding example in a European context is the end of antiquity, as an upwardly moving Christianity suppressed a whole series of Mediterranean belief systems—integrating, however, some of their components into its own religious system.

In the case of religious communities with a tendency to close themselves off (so-called 'sects'), a total demise is theoretically possible. If they have left no traces or alterations in society, even memories of them disappear after a time.

Religion in Secular Societies

3. In contemporary secularized societies, the manifold appearance of new spiritual instances has led to the point that their carriers are forced forward into the areas of competence of the religious specialists. For one thing, the inner sphere of the religious no longer retains much of a connection with human beings' external reality. Except perhaps in the United States, piety and church attendance effect no change in the position of an individual in society. Religion has become a private affair. For another thing—once again with the exception of the US—elucidations of scientists and opportunities for influence on the part of politicians and economists, all of whom usually act without reference to religion, have reinterpreted core concepts that originally were religious. Existential fears, insofar as these have to do with material issues, are entrusted to insurance agencies; and insofar as they have to do with spiritual issues, they are entrusted to psychologists. Spiritual health is reinterpreted as physical or mental health and becomes a matter of medicine. Injunctions and prohibitions become merely socially binding, and are comprehensively explained in juridical terms, their premises being always open to critical questioning. Resorting to unquestionable, ultimate, foundations is generally no longer admissible in social discourse. They are traditions of parts of a group and/or they persist as historically discredited in the memory of people who regard themselves as enlightened.

The post-Enlightenment de-Christianizing of broad areas of life has caused a → disenchantment in the Western world (Max → Weber), and has powerfully repressed the churches in their quality as socially organized religion. Strongly structured religious communities (e.g., the Catholic Church or certain Protestant groups in the United States) or those with an extraordinary claim to regulation (certain schools of Islam) often react to this kind of loss of influence with fundamentalist tendencies (→

Fundamentalism). Others attempt to accommodate by reforms, or else withdraw.

Although explicit religion in everyday life is more and more 'invisible' (T. Luckmann), the need for a religious interpretation of meaning seems to abide. In the West, especially in Western Europe, a waxing individualization leads to the invention by searchers after meaning of eclectic 'individual' or 'virtuoso' religions, which lead, if anywhere at all, to the formation of small groups. At this point, the high standard of the informational media makes it possible to reach back to the religious and cultural traditions of all of the civilizations of the world (especially those of so-called 'nature people'), and it scarcely plays a role whether this knowledge reflects the current condition of those cultures. If these neo-constructions are transported back to the regions of their origin, for instance by ethno-tourism, they can hasten the collapse of cultures often already weakened by brachial modernization in any case.

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→ *Disenchantment/Re-Enchantment, Intellectual Religion, Private Religion, Secularization*

Stefan Rademacher

Democracy

Democracy as the Principle of the Legitimation of the Political

1. Democracy was already discussed in the philosophy of antiquity; only in modern times, however, has it become the principle of the legitimation of government. Unlike the traditional typology of the constitution, essentially molded by Aristotle, democracy today no longer posits merely one form of government among the many that might be possible; instead, it molds the modern versions in terms of the traditional concept of the 'common good' (*bonum commune*), on which the legitimation of the political rests across the board. In order to be legitimate—so runs modernity's core democratic notion—political power must originate from the will of the people. It must guarantee a periodic election, general, fair, and free, and the distribution of power among legislative, judicial, and executive organs. Furthermore, it must observe principles of governmental legality and of publicly declared basic rights. Today the demand for democracy or democratization has its effects beyond the governmental and political area. It spreads throughout any society in which democracy has won broad effectiveness as a form of life. Even religious communities see themselves confronted with this demand.

Historical Retrospective

2. Looking back on European history, we find the relationship between the religious communities—concretely, the Christian churches—and democratic movements to have been complex and by no means free of contradictions. While demands for democratization frequently adopted religious

concepts and doctrines, the churches related rather skeptically to them, even openly repudiating them. Admittedly, the → *Reformation doctrine* of the priesthood of all the faithful marks a decided transformation vis-à-vis the hierarchical conceptual world of the Middle Ages. As a result of the distinction between the spiritual and the secular political domains, as inculcated especially by → Luther, the reformation idea of equality nonetheless did not directly lead to political demands for democratization. At most, the latter were occasionally suggested by certain free-church groups of radical Protestantism—the 'stepchildren of the Reformation' (Ernst Troeltsch). It would be equally inadequate to understand modern democracy as a merely Protestant phenomenon, or even as having arisen from general Christian impulses. The European wars of religion of early modernity and the accompanying crisis of traditional ideas of the legitimation of the political occasioned the appearance of an *enlightened attitude toward the state.* That attitude sought its exemplars in non-Christian antiquity and found its expression in, for example, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theories of a social constitution. In his *Contrat Sociale* (1762; Fr., "Social Contract"), Rousseau calls for a *religion civile* (→ Civil Religion), in which the laws of the republic would be rooted in the hearts of its citizens. But his orientation is explicitly non-Christian and looks instead toward the exemplar of the ancient city religions.

The Churches and Modern Democracies

3. Although, in its initial phase, the *French → Revolution* found support among some elements of the clergy, it soon came into confrontation with the Catholic Church. Church status and power overshadowed the relationship between Christianity and democracy in continental Europe until the early twentieth century. Not only Catholic thinkers of the Counter-Revolution like Joseph de Maistre (1753–1821), but also conservative Protestants like Prussian philosopher of law Friedrich Julius Stahl (1802–1861), emphatically rejected the revolutionary doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, labeling it rebellion against religion and Church. The tendency of the Catholic magisterium to reject the democratic constitutional state reached its climax in the *Syllabus of Errors* of Pope Pius IX, a catalogue of 'eighty errors of our time.' Here the principal objects of criticism were elements of the secular state such as civil marriage, equality of religions, and → freedom of religion. Meanwhile on the Evangelical side, resistance was principally focused on the imminent separation of Church and state, and then Church and school (→ Secularization).

The cultural struggle between democracy and Christianity meanwhile has become a thing of the past, a fact that is related to the experience of totalitarianism in the twentieth century. A broad consensus has now emerged on liberty and democracy as strict prerequisites for human association, at least so in Western countries. As early as the nineteenth century, there were confessional parties in many European nations, usually of Catholic orientation. Although these parties are concerned to ensure the influence of the Church on public life, they have an altogether positive attitude toward democracy, and therefore have occasionally come into conflict with the foreign policy of the Vatican. Democracy today, then, is extensively acknowledged and supported by the Christian churches, where it becomes a political expression of moral responsibility grounded in human

worth. Meanwhile, as much as ever, controversies continue to rage over questions of intra-church consent and democratization.

Front and Center Today: Islam and Democracy

4. In recent times, confrontations over democracy have occurred in the communities of other religions. An example appears in various *Islamic conceptions of democracy.* These have been set forth and examined both by individual Muslim theoreticians and by Islamic organizations, such as Al-Azhar University in Cairo. Of course, conceptions differ considerably. On the one hand, there are authoritarian conceptions of a 'theo-democracy' (Mawdoodi), in which, as the collective representative (*khalifa*) of God on earth, the people of believers is to observe proposed religious norms. On the other side, there are also express evaluations of a liberal democracy that, in function of religious concepts of equality and the Qur'anic principle of consultation (*shura*), can also be grounded in Islam.

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→ *Catholicism, Civil Religion, Enlightenment, Freedom of Religion, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Human Rights, Political Religion, Protestantism, Revolution, Secularization*

Heiner Bielefeldt

Demon / Demonology

Daimon with the Greeks

1. The word *daemon* is the Latinized form of the ancient Greek *daímon*. In English, it has become 'demon.' In the Greek tradition, *daímones* referred to supernatural beings who intervened in the destiny of human beings, partly as bringers of luck and happiness, partly as messengers of the insalubrious. Even Plato still interprets Eros, messenger of → love, as a 'great *daímon*,' in correspondence with this interpretation, and thus as a being 'between a god and a mortal' (*Symposium*, 202d-e). In the later Plato, in the *Apology*, an extension of the concept sees Socrates's *daímon* as his guiding 'inner spirit.' Finally the *daímon* appears as a metaphor of religious speech for the human being's transcendent share in the soul, lent by the divine to the human person to be his and her 'guardian spirit' (*Timaeus* 90a-c).

Negative Evaluation

2. The gradual negative re-evaluation of the concept 'demon' developed only in the post-Platonic era. A normative proportion of the new, pejorative force was that of, especially, the *Christian apologetics* of the Fathers of the Church since Tertullian. In the new meaning, by way of an *interpretatio Christiana*, the concept of demons was inserted into an explanatory model of the world that was extensively dualistic (→ Dualism). Within this model—alongside God and the Devil—the *good angels* and the *evil demons* are posited in a relation of contrariety. In the framework of the theological systematics in question, the angels are the living prototypes and guardians of the good life willed by God. To the demons are exclusively ascribed activities and intentions directed toward endangerment and sabotage of wholesome life. Christianized Europe based upon this schema a demonology in which strokes of fate and the destiny of the life of individuals are interpreted as effects of the assaults of evil demons. This interpretation extends far beyond the Middle Ages, remaining vividly alive, especially in popular belief. Such belief is reflected in the Catholic usage of inscribing the first letters of the respective names of the 'Magi from the East' mentioned in Matt 2:1-12 (i.e. 'C+M+B') with chalk over a doorway on the Feast of the Three Holy Men. This symbolism (meanwhile extensively secularized, and frequently misunderstood) was intended as a means of banishing, with the help of the Sign of the → Cross, any evil demons who might have been lurking in the living space of one's dwelling.

Here and there, notions of demons are also conveyed along Christian routes, and can be found in texts of the 'new religious movements.' The spectrum of reception extends from the direct adoption of the dualistic value-pattern and its implications to its radical reversal (especially in → Satanism).

The bond to a worldview stamped by a dualistic ethics, so obvious for the European context, makes the concept of 'demon' a problematic category in a scholarly comparison of cultures. Frequently, conceptions that, at first sight, seem comparable with that of demons (as, for example, with that of the *dakin* of Tantrism or the Islamic *djinn*), are basically contextualized and evaluated differently than the 'evil demons' of the Christian European tradition, because of the discrepancy in worldview. On the other hand, a more appropriate approach to a description of this kind of thinking, one that will be less the victim of misleading biases, is offered by the category 'religious frontier-striders' (*Grenzgänger*; → Angel).

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→ *Angel, Devil, Dualism, Magic, Witch/Persecution of Witches, Zombie*

Gregor Ahn

Denomination

Denominations (from Lat., *denominare*, 'to name') are legally equal religious bodies. Originally only Protestant communities formed in the United States were called denominations. Today the designation denotes a religious community of likeminded individuals formed on the groundwork of a common belief, even if they come from other religions, as in the case of the American Native Church. Denominations are dependent on common conceptions of value and reciprocal incumbency of duties, and require their members' voluntary cooperation and financing. This dependence on acceptance by their respective clients leads to a situation of competition, sometimes sparking alliances or understandings to the point of a denomination's monopolization by a limited number of its members. Besides having various views, the belief communities may vary in their organizational forms, social strata, political and moral apprehensions, or kinds of religious experiences. Although denominations have no official connections with a civil power, nevertheless a situation of state influence can arise through recognition of the state on the part of a denomination or the withdrawal of privileges (e.g., tax exemption) on the part of the state.

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→ *Group, North America, Sect*

Daniela Weber

Destiny / Fate

Conceptualizations

Unforeseeable events that radically alter persons' lives can be seen as their 'destiny' (Lat. *de-stanare*, 'stand down,' solidly 'stand') or their 'fate' (Lat., *fatum*, 'oracle,' from *far-*, 'speak'). Since such events differentiate what happens to one person from what happens to another, in most cultures they call for an explanation. In Europe, the emergence of conceptualizations of destiny that would become traditional is first and especially inspired by Greco-Hellenistic religions. In these religions, reflections on destiny suggest a kind of 'fixing' of human life by divinities or powers imagined either personally or impersonally. The Olympian gods often influence the course of events in a very direct manner. Destiny is thought of as the 'lot' or portion (Gr., *moira*; also actively personified as *moirai*, 'apportioners') that an individual possesses of the course of events as a whole—'the apportioned' (Gr., *heimarmene*, the Stoa's 'necessity of destiny')—or as what 'strikes,' 'affects,' 'touches' human beings—or again, as happiness or misfortune (Gr., *tuche/tyche*)—or finally, in Roman religion as *fatum*, what 'has been said' by the goddesses of destiny (*Parzai*) at a person's birth (→ Fatalism). The juxtaposition of these motifs with the Jewish-Christian concept of the omnipotent, omniscient, and unique creator-God then

entailed in Christianity—and later, especially, in Islam—the development of the field of tension between predestination (→ Determinism) and human freedom of → will and activity. Besides this theological discourse, however, popular piety has retained impersonal concepts of destiny, as, to an extent, has literature (like the ineluctable 'power of destiny,' or the unforeseeable, coincidence-oriented 'wheel of fortune') as favorite patterns of explanation. Thus, Western conceptualizations of destiny are traditionally bound to the most heterogeneous cycles of problems, ranging from the question of human beings' responsibility for their actions to individuals' entanglement in connections of tragic events or in astrological predictions of 'things to come.' "Destiny" has thereby advanced to the status of a common expression, which can include—depending on the respective model of interpretation—quite different, sometimes even contradictory, concepts. It includes every extraordinary determination of individuals' life conditions (or, less often, those of groups), by one or more instances. The latter are thought of as supernatural, or worldwide, and as working their effects either according to plan or arbitrarily.

Fundamental Patterns in Religious History

2. Investigations in the history of religions have usually been informed by only isolated aspects of the typical explanatory models of the traditional Western conceptualizations of destiny. In Western concepts of Islam, for instance, the topic of destiny was subordinated for centuries to strictly fatalistic thinking, by analogy with Christian problems of predestination. Muslims were called upon to surrender themselves to the destiny that Allah had mapped out for them inalterably. Their special motto could even be found in the 'Oriental novels' of adventure-story-author Karl May, author of a number of much-loved adventure stories (→ Orientalism/Exotism). The word was the Turkish *kismet* (→ Fatalism).

Actually, however, the trove abiding in the history of religions is far more complex. As we have already indicated for European notions of destiny, the respective dominant conceptions of destiny are seldom represented exclusively. They must compete with other notions, or else are combined and harmonized with them. But in spite of respectively distinct constellations and formations, *basic patterns* can be discerned and identified.

b) *Destiny as the outcome of divine activity:* Many religions assign the origin of the destiny of individuals or groups to a determination of human life circumstances by the deities of their respective pantheons. Others say that it has only been by the intervention of these deities in a history underway. Here, the invitations to a differentiation of the *polytheistic* ideas of the gods permit a clear appraisal of the varying degrees of the power over destiny exercised by the gods of a pantheon. Certain deities can be understood as, decidedly, gods of fate (e.g., Ger. Heimdallt, Baltic Laima, Gk. Moirai), who extensively predetermine persons' lives. Others (e.g., Loki or Wotan, or indeed the gods of Olympus) are only attributed situational opportunities of influence.

In the *monotheistic* religions, by contrast, the reduction of the pantheon to a single, all-eclipsing divine figure has led to a systematic difficulty. Given this God's omnipotence and omniscience, necessarily premised, how could the freedom of the human will, and an ethical responsibility dependent upon it, even be imagined (→ Theodicy)? Especially in Islamic theodicy, the question of how to maintain an ethic of responsibility in the

face of a theologically deduced doctrine of predestination, find expression in two opposed traditions. The Mu'tazilites represent a tradition emphasizing the freedom of the human act. The Ash'aritic interpretation takes its point of departure in the concept that human acts are generated by Allah; however, human beings appropriate their roles voluntarily and are therefore independent of predestination in their acts, for which they are now responsible.

Destiny as the product of an impersonal providence: In this case, it suffices to cite two characteristic examples of the acceptance of an impersonal instance of destiny that would dictate the course of the world through a 'blind' providence and thereby predetermine the life of the individual. First, let us recall the Hellenistic *heimarmene* conception. Then there is the twentieth-century European belief in the products of celestial constellations, products unmanageable, and 'foreseeable' only by → astrology. (This belief has been thus delivered from the conditions of its original theistic framework.) The concept of an impersonal providence characterizes destiny as a succession of events without a plan, neither established in connection with the moral behavior of those concerned, nor open to reference to the eccentricity of a capricious God.

c) *Destiny in a universal context of justice:* In the high cultures of the ancient East, and especially in Hindu and Buddhist religious forms, the concept of a world-embracing 'interconnection of justice' is the decisive instance of the generation of destiny. Destiny as a consequence of one's own deeds constitutes a just compensation, in return for good or evil activity, as determined by the prevailing ethic. Indian models of → reincarnation frankly and readily permit the interpretation of a person's social status and character (even along with unexpected happenings in that person's life) as consequences of the *karma* gathered in a previous existence. In practice, of course, even Hindu societies frankly discuss alternative options for explanation. For instance, there was the case of a thief, in which a Tamil village population was unable to agree. Was the theft to be ascribed to an arbitrarily predetermined 'head writing' on Shiva's part? Or had the deed been willed, so that karmic consequences were included in the causality?[1]

d) *Destiny in magically provoked connections:* Diametrically opposite to the fatalistic acceptance of destiny is the attempt to appropriate power over one's own destiny, as well as over that of others, through magical techniques in → ritual. Here the starting point becomes a ritually selected causal nexus, through spells cast by the use of analogical objects or notions, oral recitation, sacrifice, etc. for the purpose of an automatic effect. The associated claim is that these can be the means not only of warding off the looming insalubrious influences, but also of exerting influence over other persons, as for example with love potions (→ Magic).

Ideologization and Politicization

3. In the course of the nineteenth century, the concept of 'destiny' was introduced into a philosophy of the various series of periods in history. The subsequent doctrine of culture developed by O. Spengler in his monograph *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (Ger., "The Decline and Fall of the West"; 1918) was based on that same phenomenon. And both teachings supported the durable politicization and popular national explosive charge of the concept of destiny, which was advancing to the status of a

slogan in the first half of the twentieth century. This concept was seized upon in → National Socialism's ideology and concept of history. The 'Nordic-Germanic' picture of destiny was then said to stand in diametrical opposition to the 'Near Asian Semite' notion of the same. While the latter was stamped by fatalism, the former was seen as having accepted destiny as an 'assignment'—as a 'task' to be performed. Now, for the first time, 'destiny' was stylized as the norm of all norms for the activities of political propaganda.

4. The Second World War was followed by an extensive effort, lasting several decades, to render the concept of destiny taboo, in reaction to National Socialism's utilization of it for its own purposes. Then came the Europe of today, once more marked by concepts of destiny—by various different concepts, right next door to one another—and new syntheses of the same. In the meantime, at least for some practicing Christians, it seems as altogether compatible with their faith regularly to consult their horoscopes, and, rather than commit their destiny to the mighty God of history, tacitly to entrust it to the impersonal might of providence, or of a constellation. With new religious developments—by no means always materializing outside the Church—it has come to the point, over and above an acceptance of the notion of reincarnation, of the adoption of Indian conceptualizations of karma. Granted, the latter are more usually perceived as the sign of a destined opportunity for the individual to have another chance at life on earth.

A good example of this connection between the idea of reincarnation and individual fate is the 1991 film "Dead Again" by Irish Shakespearean actor and director Kenneth Branagh. The plot tells the story, staged in 1990s California, of a detective (Kenneth Branagh) and a stranger, a woman suffering from amnesia. But the latter has engaged the services of a hypnotist and recovers memories of a tragic earlier life in Los Angeles in the late 1940s: Shortly after her marriage to a famous director (Kenneth Branagh once more), the young woman is murdered and her unjustly suspected spouse is sentenced and executed. In the next life, in the 1990s, the long-since married couple meet again. The old murder is unmasked and the loving couple receives a new chance for a happy life together—although in somewhat altered circumstances, as man and wife have switched bodies! In a key scene, the 'detective story of a reincarnation' is told and interpreted as the result of the intervention of a certain destiny resting on karma. With a cynical undertone, an ex-psychologist (Robin Williams) explains to the protagonists that there is no way for this destiny-laden chain of rebirths to have been a coincidence—to have come about by chance: "People do not always meet this particular other person! Thanks to destiny, the only cosmic power, with its tragic sense of humor, two persons, who have been bashed to bits in a previous life, get a chance to revenge themselves on someone in their new life, today. That is the Karma Credit Plan. Buy now, pay for all eternity."

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→ *Astrology, Determinism, Fatalism, Predestination, Reincarnation, Will (free)*

Gregor Ahn

Determinism

1. Determinism is a *Weltanschauung* or worldview that holds all processes of inanimate and animate nature, together with human acts, to be causally conditioned. In other words, inorganic, organic, cultural, and psychic life presents a tight succession of cause and effect. Between causes and effects, therefore, no objective undetermined, random uncaused moment can be introduced, and this in principle. Therefore natural, cultural, and psychic processes are basically (pre-)determinable.

2. The ancient protagonists of this theory are Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius. By way of the early modern naturalism and the mathematically geared understanding of nature as we find it in Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), and Isaac Newton (1643–1727), the concept of determinism has undergone an essential amplification. The mathematical calculability of physical processes gives rise to a picture of the world in which not only physical processes, but human activities as well, seem to have become susceptible of calculation by the methods of mathematics and physics.

Fate and Determination

The ethical consequences of such a view affect first of all an evaluation of → *fate*. Determinism in the strict sense replaces the conceptualization of a divinely created cosmos with that of a nature grounded in itself and ordered by itself. The idea of → *predestination*, which is to be distinguished from determinism, is indeed itself deterministic to the extent that worldly and human fate is subject to divine providence. But an essential difference between determinism and predestination lies in the fact that, in the hypothesis of predestination, individual human beings are reserved a greater or lesser margin of cooperation in this fate; after all, they are basically free beings. To be sure, the margins fall out differently with their various representatives (→ Augustine, → Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin). None of these, however, go so far as to hold that human beings' life and actions are deterministically controlled. The essence of determinism is the denial of freedom on the basis of a radical causal mechanism. Under the coercion of a strong determinism, human life would be decided by destiny. Predestination is to be distinguished from fate or 'fatalism,' the latter being the form of life in which a human being entirely lacks freedom.

We find this radical form of determinism not only in its ancient proponents, but also in the *French materialism* of Paul Heinrich Dietrich d'Holbach (1723–1789). His work *De la nature* ("On Nature"; 1770) ranks

as the best-known work of this inclination. The earlier Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709–1751), especially with his famous *L'homme machine* ("The Human Being a Machine"; 1748), seeks to abandon the Cartesian division of body and soul and to demonstrate the ensoulment of matter in this premise. But for Holbach, nature is a giant machine and keeps itself in motion. The basic law of this mechanisticism is blind fate. Subsequently, materialism and determinism were identified with each other, being regarded as faces of a basically atheistic *Weltanschauung*. But our examples from French materialism show that this equivalency is not correct. Instead, the materialists had different, usually pantheistic, notions of God. This fact demonstrates its complement: that the strongest argument for → atheism is not materialism, but determinism.

Criticism

3. A fundamental *criticism of determinism* is to be found in Kant, and in his conception of the enlightened reason. Determinism, Kant argues, is the outcome of an uncritical use of understanding and reason. Thus, the human being's cognition, and therefore the concept of causality as well, is tied to experience. This circumstance means that human understanding is not in a position to cognize and to identify determinism or deterministic processes. The rejection of determinism as a theoretical model and its disqualification in the practical area is a fundamental note of → Enlightenment thinking. This measure, however, eliminates belief in causality and fate. In science, as well as in everyday thinking, determinism in these two basic forms continues to play a leading role. At the same time, progress in physics in the early part of the twentieth century—with Albert Einstein's theory of relativity, Werner Heisenberg's principle of indeterminacy, and the subsequent development of quantum mechanics—has seriously caught the physical foundation of determinism into question.

Determinism as a Religious Worldview

4. Despite this, determinism abides as a *Weltanschauung*. This persistence obtains especially for various methods that strive to foresee and predetermine one's destiny, as in parts of → astrology. These current forms constitute a testimonial to determinism's presentation not so much of a scientific problem, but of a psychological one. In its method lurks the wish to be able to make life, and especially one's personal history, completely transparent and available to inspection, in all of its relationships and connections.

If all of this is valid for the West, it must nonetheless be regarded in a different way with respect to *Eastern thought*, to avoid falling victim to the prejudice that Eastern philosophy hosts at least a proclivity to fatalism. Thus, while the *Ājīvikas* can indeed be considered as espousing a doctrine based on fatalism, the pan-Indian concept of karma, (Sanskrit, *karman*, 'deed,' 'consequences of one's deeds') is not fatalistic in the Western sense. Thus, in → Buddhism, a strict distinction is to be made between the natural, in the widest sense, necessity of a causality principle, and the alien ascription of causes and their consequences. Agents seemingly live in the context of a law of cause and effect that would be necessary by nature. Still, with their freedom of decision, when all is said and done, they retain the freedom to transcend the inclusive context of their activity. In Buddhism, then (as in Hinduism), the Western concept of fatalism—and therefore of determinism as well—is inapplicable: after all, neither alien attribution nor natural necessity petrifies the further course of human deeds.

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→ *Astrology, Atheism, Ethics/Morals, Fatalism, Fate, Predestination, Will (free)*

Stephan Grätzel

Devil

1. It is the property of the mechanisms of psychic release in all cultures to project vague fears and unfulfilled aggressions on nonhuman beings. In tribal religions—as in the medieval popular belief of Europe—the dead (and various animals), as dangerous revenants, in manifold versions, become hostile demons of this kind. *Devils* (Gk., *diáboloi*, 'pell-mell throwers') appear in collective myths or in the 'theologized' form of such (→ Demon/Demonology; Evil/Evil One).

Hebrew Bible

2. Judaism regarded the highest of the fallen angels as the—admittedly always inferior—adversary, complainant, and tempter par excellence of the human being (cf. Job 1-2). In Christianity, the principal biblical names of the Evil One, like Lucifer, Leviathan, Satan, Beelzebub, Behemoth, Belial, or Asmodeus, became those of individual demons, often with Satan or Lucifer as their head. In Islam as well, there is a Devil, the prince of the evil Djinn.

Christianity

3. Systematizing descriptions of detailed hierarchies of devils finally appear in *Western Christianity*, but only in the spiritual drama of the late Middle Ages. Next we find them, particularly, in the theology and preaching of early modernity, for example, in Aegidius Albertinus, *Lucifers Königreich* ("Realm of Lucifer," Munich 1616). In the rich diabolic literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, distinctions are drawn among diabolical specialists, such as lovers, drinkers, and cursers. Popular theology, however, made no distinctions among devils and → demons.

In traditional *Christianity*, the Devil was the instance that alone made it possible to complete a → theodicy, inasmuch as his activity from *Genesis* onward must serve as an explanation for the existence of → evil in the world. The Devil was seen as the cause of every misfortune, as Luther still taught in his *Hauspostille*: "The Devil always has crossbow drawn and cannon loaded, and aims at us, to shoot at us with pestilence and French disease [syphilis], with war and fire, with hail, with thunderstorm."

Until the High Middle Ages, diabolophobia remained primarily limited to monasteries and convents, but beginning in the twelfth century, an intensified catechesis gradually instilled it in the faithful. Numberless demonic presentations in church statuary and paintings, from the Romance period to the Renaissance, are visible manifestations of the fascination

with the diabolical that prevailed in the age. Dualistically oriented religious groups (→ Dualism) in the tradition of → Manichaeism, especially the Cathari (Albigenses), ascribed to the Devil an all but divine power, as creator and ruler of the world, and identified him with the creator God of the Hebrew Bible. By way of reaction, even Catholic theology and seminary instruction, especially from the thirteenth century onward, manifested an ever-greater interest in the Devil. The late Middle Ages were marked by a pan-demonism that ascribed extraordinary power to the devil. Cistercian Abbot Richalm von Schönthal, for example, saw human beings in the thirteenth century as besieged by millions of devils, around them and within them. Beginning in the fifteenth century, → witch trials were added to the combination, based, among other things, on a belief in the possibility of pacts or sexual commerce with the Devil, as well as on the imputation of a Sabbath devil-worship, with which the Cathari and the Knights Templar had already been charged. Whether organized sects of Luciferians actually existed in the Middle Ages is disputed; it is certain, on the other hand, that there were individual cases of a Luciferian mold (as the demon worship of Marshal of France Gilles de Rais, executed in 1440). In early modernity, further, spectacular public exorcisms, invoked as proofs of the superiority of Catholicism over the Reformed Churches, marked the historical climax of → fear of the Devil. Abroad, missionaries saw themselves confronted with a whole host of new, popular 'devils' (read, indigenous divinities).

At the same time, the Devil was presented as executioner of God's sentences, in the horrible camps of → hell. The extraordinarily widespread, hand-written, medieval literature of → vision surpasses all of the sadism of today's horror-film industry. Such fantasies of fear were represented in numberless representations of the Last Judgment, from Gislebertus to Bosch to Rubens. Scholasticism may have taught only the torment of fire as a purgatorial punishment, but devils also figured in model sermons and reports of visions. Their form in iconography and theater shows them as animal-human → composite beings, partly under the reception of ancient traditions (Pan, satyrs).

Guise of the Kobold

Alongside this horror, however, popular currency featured the less terrifying *kobold* form, as in the legends of mute devils, the Devil as servant, or the Devil's grandmother. Or again, numerous legends of pacts with the Devil, first found in Byzantium ("Theophilus"), climax in the deception of the Devil and the sinner's redemption (cf. Goethe, "Faust").

The Devil after the Enlightenment

4. Since the Enlightenment, the image of the Devil has paled. He becomes the poor, or comic, Devil, and a philosophical figure à la Goethe's Mephistopheles. Kant and Protestant theologians—altogether unbiblically—repeatedly qualify him as a personification of abstract → evil. By contrast, all of the popes, including those of the second half of the twentieth century, have held fast to the Devil's personhood in their doctrinal pronouncements. At the same time, in some subcultures, and all the way to rock music, a sometimes criminal → Satanism is cultivated, a phenomenon of resistance to an established culture still marked by Christianity.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Composite Beings, Demon/Demonology, Dualism, Evil/Evil One, Exorcism, Fear/Dread, Satanism*

Peter Dinzelbacher

Diaspora

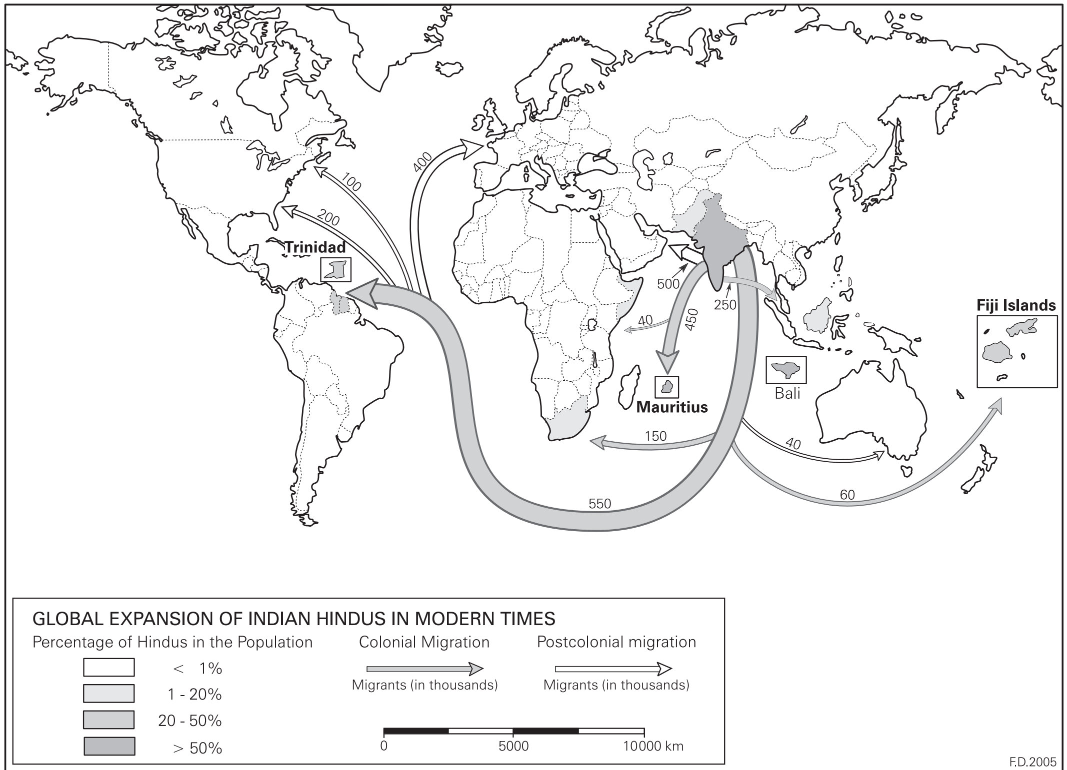
1. *Diaspora* (Gk., 'scattering') in the context of its early Jewish origin denotes the Jewish communities in diverse places outside the 'Land of Israel' (Palestine), and far from Jerusalem. Since the sixteenth century, the term has been used to designate Protestant and Catholic minorities living in an environment of different Christian confessions. Over the last three decades, the concept of Diaspora has achieved a great popularity in social and cultural scientific research. It is often applied in a very general way, to signify any ethnic, national, or cultural minority far from the land of its origin.

Concept in Early Judaism

2. In the *Septuagint*, the Greek translation of the Torah and the Apocrypha, *diaspora* was coined as a technical term. The early Jewish Alexandrian translators of the third and second century BCE did not render the Hebrew terms *gola* and *galut* ('exile,' 'abduction,' 'the banned') with the Greek word *diaspora.* Rather, the term expresses a life far from the Land of Promise, as distinguished from the Babylonian expatriation (*gola*, *galut*) interpreted in historical theology as God's punitive sentence. The geographical 'scattering' of the Jews in the post-Exilic age was indeed interpreted as misfortune, oppression, and punishment ensuing upon disobedience of Jewish law. At the same time, however, an anticipation of God's 'gathering' of the people once more, and escorting them to the Land of Promise, when atonement had been made and the Law faithfully followed, would color the whole concept. Thus, the concept of Diaspora was understood negatively, and imbedded in a salvation history scheme of disobedience, scattering as punishment, atonement, and return. The Christian polemic of the Church Fathers against Judaism truncated this connection with the aspects of penance and return, and one-sidedly emphasized the punitive aspect of the 'scattering' (→ Anti-Semitism).

Diaspora as an Academic Concept

3. As against this religio-historical use, the concept has recently found broad application in the social scientific literature. Now it is applied to



Due to the colonial British system of contract labor the nineteenth century saw an emergence of Hindu communities in overseas—the Caribbean, East and Central Africa, and Southeast Asia. After the Second World War, economic and educational migration (sometimes refuge as well, such as from East Africa and Suriname), Hindu diasporas were founded in North America, Europe, and Australia. In addition, Tamil Hindu diasporas consist of refugees from Sri Lanka etc. in Canada, Europe, and Australia.

any situation signalized by a minority who lives 'abroad.' This wider application, however, excludes the possibility of labeling concrete situations and bounding them off from others. In the direction of a more exact determination, the geographical and sociological content of the concept ought to be emphasized and the early Jewish interpretation in terms of salvation history bracketed. Now the determining element in a situation of Diaspora becomes the identification of a 'referral back to' a fictitious or really existing, geographically distant, land or territory and its cultural religious traditions. In the absence of such ongoing referral—which can be expressed in terms of symbolic content or materially—a situation ought not to be labeled Diaspora. Characteristic of a situation of Diaspora is the triangular cultural relationship of origin, Diaspora group, and host or residence society. A Diaspora group usually—but not always—lives as a minority abroad and preserves cultural usages and religious identifications different from those of the majority of society. There are Diaspora groups that have become a majority in a land, and whose cultures extensively determine those of their countries of residence (e.g., Hindus on Mauritius and Bali).

4. Many Diaspora groups have materialized in a framework of → migration and → mission. Researchers speak of the Greek, Indian, Islamic, Kurd, or Lebanese Diaspora, or the Diaspora of the Sikhs, the followers of Zoroaster (Parsee), the Hindus, and many others.

A situation of Diaspora is characterized by an effort to preserve the cultural and religious traditions that have been transferred from one land or region (e.g., Gujarat, in western India) to another country (e.g., Kenya,

Great Britain), and to transmit them to the next generation. This effort can lead to a cultural and religious 'encapsulation' and isolation, and to a rigid preservation of the relocated rites and usages. On the other hand, the loyalty to what has been brought over does not generally exclude processes of transformation. Adaptations to the new social, cultural, and religious situation, and distance from the (once upon a time) homeland tradition and its guardians, make it possible, first, to undertake changes in religious content, rituals, and organizational forms, and second, to erect other focal points. Is the language (e.g., Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit) unconditionally required for the continuation of the religious actions, or are translations into the language of the country possible? To what extent can converts (→ Conversion) enter into the hitherto ethnically coupled tradition and be full members? Extensive adaptations to a dominant culture are possible: Hindus on Trinidad, for example, hold Sunday morning meditations, with song and addresses. There are benches in the temple, as in Christian churches, and a 'profession of faith' has been formulated ("Our Creed") that renders key assertions of Hindu tradition normative. Diasporas, then, at one and the same time constitute nurseries for a conservative emphasis on tradition and spaces for change and for opportunities of innovation.

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→ *Conversion, Ghetto/Ghettoization, Identity, Judaism, Migration, Mission*

Martin Baumann

Disciple

The word 'disciple' is derived from *discipulus* (Lat., 'pupil,' from *discere*, 'learn'), a word occurring in the Latin → Bible. It designates certain followers of → Jesus, especially the → Apostles. At the same time, the term points to the age difference between the teacher and his pupils.

Those pupils are designated 'disciples' who "depend on a personality to whom they ascribe extraordinary characteristics as his or her charismatic gift."[1] They submit to the authority of the teacher (→ Master/Pupil). Master and disciples usually live closely together, either 'on the road' in a common wayfaring or in a fixed place (e.g., in an → Ashram). Through the elimination of everyday social conditions and contexts, discipleship produces an especially close bond among the disciples. This attachment is fostered by their separation from the 'outside' ('in-group'/'out-group'), their common manner of living together, and their collective concentration on their master. J. Wach speaks of a 'circle of disciples,' one grouped around a central figure with whom the disciples stand in intimate sympathy. This model tends to entail a limitation on the possible number of disciples. Owing to

their concentric orientation to the master, such groups usually have a low degree of organization. Besides the care of the master, the disciples' task frequently consists in winning more disciples, through their preaching and reports of their religious experiences.

1. P. Honigsheim, "Jüngerschaft," in: Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart 3 (1959), 1009.

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→ *Apostle, Ashram, Group, Master/Pupil*

Christian von Somm

Discourse

'Discourse' is not a religious term; it is used in attempts to describe, interpret, or explain religious phenomena. The term refers to linguistic phenomena beyond the basic units of word and sentence, but the extent of this 'beyond' can vary widely, from larger linguistic units to the widest possible historical, social, and cultural contexts. Although often used in writing about religion, the term is seldom defined, and the theoretical allegiances that frame its use are rarely made explicit.

Defining 'Discourse'

Like 'religion,' 'discourse' is a term whose definition presupposes a theoretical perspective. It is useful to think of meanings of discourse ranged along a spectrum: from a naïve view that interpretation is a matter of straightforward textual analysis; through a more nuanced hermeneutical recognition that interpretation must always take account of the contexts of author and reader; to a radical constructionism which holds that human lives take shape within a web of language that literally constitutes self and world, a web with nowhere outside of it. In the first of these cases, 'discourse' is generally synonymous with 'a characteristic way of speaking.' In the latter cases, it points to, but can never completely capture, the fundamental role that language plays in constituting the historical, social, cultural, and personal networks within which all communication takes place.

From the sixteenth century, the word 'discourse' referred in English to spatial movement, to the act or faculty of conversation, to the movement of reason from premise to conclusion, and to a formal treatment of a subject at length. In the late twentieth century, the concept was developed in two fields: cultural studies, examining the historical, social, and cultural conditions that make possible specific statements and their effects; and linguistics, aiming primarily at an empirical analysis of texts.

Cultural Studies and Linguistics

In *cultural studies*, discourse refers to a body of text structured by rules outside the control of, and often the awareness of, an author or speaker. On this view, discourse shapes or constitutes the subject, in opposition to the view that language is simply a tool used by autonomous subjects. Several threads converge here. Mikhail Bakhtin's work on genre, polyphony, and the 'dialogic principle' argued that literature both reflects and shapes its social conditions. Drawing on Bakhtin, Julia Kristeva later developed the concept of 'intertextuality' to suggest that every text is in essence a complex network of relations to other texts (e.g., reference and influence). *Linguists* Ferdinand de Saussure and Émile Benveniste analyzed the systematic aspects of language in ways that laid the foundations for structuralism and for the extension of the concept of discourse to non-linguistic realms. Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser developed Karl Marx's concepts of ideology and hegemony, holding that illusory forms of thought come to be accepted as objective fact, thus perpetuating existing modes of domination and hierarchal social relations. Michel Foucault's early works analyzed 'discursive formations' in history, i.e. systems of thought that define the basic categories through which the world is seen and understood. Foucault defined discourse as a set of rules or constraints that make certain statements possible—and others not—in specific historical, social, and institutional contexts.

Critical or cultural views of discourse have had more effect than linguistic approaches on the study of religion. This is especially so in areas where critical analyses of texts reveal systems of domination, e.g., post-colonialist and feminist studies. Drawing on Foucault, Edward Said argued in *Orientalism* (1978) that academic works on Islam were examples of imperialist as well as scholarly discourse. Said made two distinct claims: one about the content of a specific discourse, i.e. that → Orientalism presents a racist, hegemonic portrayal of Islam as the inauthentic, backward Other of Christianity and the West; and one about the function of discourse in general, i.e. that it helps create the reality it appears to describe, thus entrenching long-lasting biased representations of others. Scholars of religion are often quick to make the first sort of claim without adequately theorizing the second.

Language and Power

The presence of the term 'discourse' is no guarantee that one is reading a critical analysis of relations between language and power, such as Said's; nor does its absence imply that one is not. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, in her feminist analysis of early Christianity, *In Memory of Her* (1983), speaks of androcentric language, texts, translation, interpretation, transmission, redaction, theology, and historiography where, as her later work attests, 'discourse' might be used. The fact that discourse can stand for all these terms and others has the advantage of reminding us that all uses of language are potentially implicated in relations of power. It has the disadvantage of vagueness.

The 'Discourse of Sui Generis Religion'

The most prominent discourse of 'discourse' in the recent study of religion is the debate over 'the discourse of sui generis religion.' Russell McCutcheon argues that this 'regnant discourse'—with the work of Mircea → Eliade as its prototype—functions to draw four sorts of boundaries: between religious and non-religious phenomena (religion is unique and irreducible); between religious studies and other disciplines (a unique phenomenon

demands a unique methodology and institutional location); between the interior, private, belief-oriented domain of religion and public, practical spheres like that of politics; and between tradition and modernity (authentic human life is rooted in traditional relations to the sacred). McCutcheon's 'oppositional discourse,' echoing the work of Talal Asad, Timothy Fitzgerald and others, critiques these distinctions. Again, the fact that discourse serves as an umbrella term to cover such a wide variety of issues has both advantages and disadvantages. Richard Terdiman has introduced the concept of 'counter-discourse' to suggest that all discourses come into being against a background of competing, contrasting utterances. In this light, McCutcheon's explicitly polemical stance is an example of the construction of a discourse as well as an analysis of the construction of 'religion' through discourse.

Linguistic Discourse Analysis

In linguistics, discourse refers most simply to a unit of analysis larger than the sentence and more generally to the set of utterances constituting a speech event. Linguistic discourse analysis developed into a bewildering variety of forms in the 1970s and 1980s. In general, these approaches relate three domains that are often kept separate: *semantics* (how language conveys meaning), *syntax* (how linguistic elements are organized), and *pragmatics* (how meaning relates to use in specific contexts).

Since the early 1990s a number of scholars have developed the application of discourse analysis to the study of the New Testament, as pioneered by J. P. Louw and K. Callow in the 1970s. Four distinct approaches have contributed to this work. The South African school analyzes relations between the smallest units of meanings of texts, i.e., individual nominative-predicate structures. The American Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) school has made important contributions to biblical translation studies through close sentence-level analysis. The Continental school explores relations between the micro- and macro-structures of texts. The English/Australian, or functional, school proposes a more developed theory of types of discourse and their relations to grammatical forms in specific linguistic contexts. However, apart from the narrow field of biblical studies, linguistic approaches have had little impact on the study of religion.

There are dozens of distinct approaches to linguistic discourse analysis. Although scholars of religion rarely use them, a few examples might indicate their potential value. (1) Drawing on poststructuralist discourse theory and critical linguistics, *critical discourse analysis* (Teun van Dijk) analyzes texts as forms of social action that occur in social contexts shaped by ideology and by differences in cultural capital. It has developed a complex set of techniques for analyzing broad text structures, as well as sentence structure and word-choice, as expressions of 'cultural logics.' (2) Rooted in phenomenology (Alfred Schütz) and ethnomethodology (Harold Garfinkel), *Conversation Analysis* (Harvey Sacks) empirically describes formal organizational details of ordinary conversation (e.g., turn-taking and sequencing), on the view that discursive practices mediate social actions and social settings. (3) Drawing on Marxism, feminism, and ethnomethodology, *institutional ethnography* (Dorothy Smith) grounds research in the texts produced by, and in the self-knowledge of, research subjects examined in their institutional contexts. It begins by analyzing everyday social relations rather than a 'given discourse,' holding that

the latter approach necessarily imposes ruling ideologies on the social scientist's own discourse. (4) William F. Hanks has modeled an analysis of the components of ritual in terms of 'participation frames' and 'discourse genres.' (5) Taking issue with Clifford Geertz's view of culture-as-text, the *natural history of discourse* (Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban) analyzes relations between strategies of 'entextualization' and processes of 'contextualization.' This approach views the distinction between shifting discursive practices and established texts as one that is constructed in specific social and historical situations.

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→ *Academic Study of Religion, Colonialism, Gender Stereotypes, Knowledge, Language, Literature, Religion, Science*

Steven Engler

Disenchantment / Re-enchantment of the World

1. The concept *disenchantment of the world* (Ger., "Entzauberung der Welt") reflects experiences of the nineteenth century. Industrialism and the triumph of science, together with the art of engineering, fostered the belief that, in principle, everything can be experienced and then conquered by calculation. Max → Weber, with whose work the concept of disenchantment is especially connected, traced this conviction back to Western intellectualization and rationalization, which, he thought, is reflected in an endless process of the dismissal of incalculable powers through technological knowledge. The disenchantment of the universe makes it possible to see the latter as a causal mechanism, and thus leads to the suppression of the ethical postulate that the world is a cosmos ordered by God and directed toward a goal (→ Teleology). Further, Weber thought, after a phase of the unitary rationalism of a manner of life in keeping with Christian ethics, the disenchantment of the modern world has led to the 'battle of the disenchanted gods'[1]—to the appearance of a multiplicity of conflicting values and spheres of value. This conflict, Weber held, is signalled by the fact that there is no longer any supreme instance that might be able to posit ultimate normativity. At the same time, Weber was aware of the fact that disenchantment created certain deficits that were to be

filled by various other cultural systems. Hence, disenchantment and rationalization is not identical with → secularization but has to be interpreted in a dialectic of disenchantment and re-enchantment.

2. The idea of *re-enchantment* played an important role since the 1980s, in a framework of new religious currents (→ New Age): 'return of the imaginary' and 're-enchantment of the world' are mottos of various approaches to a reevaluation of myth and nature, of magic and of spirituality. For Morris Berman, a protagonist of the program of re-enchantment, a disenchantment of the world stands for the breach with a pre-modern tradition of an independent, participating consciousness (alchemy, mysticism). According to Berman, the cause of this breach—the Cartesian paradigm of the division of spirit and body, subject and object—is to be defeated by way of a modern form of re-enchantment, embracing especially the areas of a totalizing thinking: a disappearance of the 'I'-consciousness and modern individualism, in behalf of a reconciliation of the human being with → nature.

1. Weber 1988 ([1]1922), 605.

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→ *Esotericism, Industrial Society, Modernity/Modern Age, Mysticism, Nature Piety, New Age, Teleology, Weber*

Georg Hartmann

Drama, Sacred

1. The theatrical production of a mythological story in a → ritual connection before a community of believers can be designated as sacred drama. In the Christian tradition, one is familiar today with the manger play at Christmas, for instance, or the Passion of Christ as performed at Easter (recall the Spanish or Italian Good Friday processions). In many *threshold rituals* (→ Rites of Passage) celebrated in ethnic religions, such as the →initiation of a youth into the adult world, a vivid presentation of gods, demons, or spirits frequently comes into play. Here arise the problems of distinguishing between ritual and → theater (V. Turner).

Historical Sketch

2. The origins of European drama lie in Greek antiquity. After the time of Athenian tyrant Peisistratos (c. 545–528/27 BCE), *Greek tragedy* was formally presented as sacred drama of the cult of Dionysus, in a framework of the festival of the "Great Dionysia." This does not mean, however, that its



The incarnation of the goddess Uccitta, taken in Azhikode (Kerala, India), April 1993, at a Teyyam festival.
In this photograph, one sees the goddess in full, solemn array, sitting on glowing coals and held by two assistants, in the last stage of the ritual presentation of her apparition. She has just sung her history, to the accompaniment of a drum. She now no longer speaks through her medium to the community of onlookers and believers; instead, she reveals herself in wild dance and sign language. Next, she will determine solutions to their problems, with which she has already been presented. (H. Moser-Achuthath)

content always fulfilled the criteria for sacred drama, namely, that it present religious myths: a not inconsiderable part of the material of tragedy is formed by political plays presenting current events, of which the earliest extant example is Aeschylus's *The Persians* (472 BCE). The extent to which one of the latest pieces, Euripides's *The Bacchae* (presented posthumously after 406 BCE) contains elements of sacred drama is disputed. However, sacred dramas were presented in a framework of the mystery cults, as the Demeter-Core myth at the Great Eleusinian Mysteries.

In the *Middle Ages*, the *spiritual drama* developed from the Christian → liturgy. The presentation of Christian religious stories, at first sung in the Latin language, was mingled with vernacular elements of popular mythology, as soon as the place of the production was no longer the church, but the open marketplace. In the age of *humanism*, with its accentuated interest in antiquity, modern drama gradually arose, seen as independent of religious worship. The link was not altogether broken, however: the Protestant 'school drama,' which took its dramatic material from the → Bible, did lend expression to the religious struggles of the time of the Reformation (for example, in Strasbourg), and the tension between Christian mysticism and a this-worldly Renaissance was likewise clearly reflected. A reaction came, in mid-sixteenth century, in Counter-Reformation Jesuit drama ("Triumph of Saint Michael," Munich 1597; Jacob Bidermann, "Cenodoxus," 1602). But this form is no longer religious drama. An exception is to be found in the *mystery plays* (Fr., *mystères*), a form of spiritual drama known from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, found especially in England and France. Theater in Europe shifted to the secular stage in the seventeenth century at the latest. Only in the nineteenth century were attempts begun to revive the long production cycles of the mystery plays, which often went on for weeks. Hugo von Hofmannsthal's "Jedermann" (Ger., "Everyone"), 1911, based on the English play "Everyman" (printed 1509), figures among these revival efforts. The piece is still given annually on the steps of the Salzburg Cathedral, as a tourist spectacle and social event.

Sacred Drama in Southern India

3. A vivid image of manifold forms of ritual drama, and presentation linked to forms of worship, is available for our contemplation in instances around the globe. We know the sacred dramas of the culture of Lama monasticism or of that of the American Southwest (Hopi, Navajo, Pueblo). Let us cite southern India as an example.

a) *Darśan*, the gaze of the divine, plays a significant role in India. On the countryside, plays presenting splendid figures, painted in highly stylized fashion and wildly adorned, replace a written religious communication. Here the gods, with their histories and teachings, are directly presented to the eyes of an often illiterate public. However, the educated priestly upper class also cultivates the dramatic production of divine myths as a part of the liturgical calendar. In Kerala, the *Cākyār* male and *Nannyār* female players, with their *Kūtiyāttam* theater presentations in Sanskrit, are a fixed element in the annual ritual cycle of large temples. Only two castes are allowed or obligated by their status to present specific dramas on particular, ritually determined days of each year, in theater edifices expressly constructed for the purpose within the temple enclosure. The stage,

consecrated by a priest on the first day of a presentation sequence, faces the gaze of the divinity, which is represented by an audience of priests, nobility, and other select figures.

Actors and actresses are ritually purified at the beginning of the process of applying their makeup, and they are elevated to a special position. At the end of the last day of a play cycle, the oldest presenter will go on stage once more, without head adornment, and extinguish the fire that has been brought from the shrine of the divinity at the opening of the presentation and used to light oil lamps.

b) On the west coast, annual rituals are performed on the grounds of village temples, where a divinity appears incarnate in a mortal (see plate). Singing and gesturing, it announces through that mortal its mythological history and seeks to resolve social tensions in the community by way of addresses and oracles (Brückner 1995; Richmond 1990). The social components and complexity here are shown in the fact that the 'incarnations' come from lower castes, but suddenly possess the right—exclusively in the name of the divinity, of course—to pass judgment on, and issue reprimands to, the ranking figures of the village. The incarnations of these gods and goddesses, designated *Teyyam*, or *Bhūta*, take place in a framework of precisely prescribed behavior.

Here we have an example of 'controlled possession.' Although seized by the essence of the divine, the performer-incarnation nevertheless follows the prescribed ritual course and brings the essence and history of the divinity to presentation.

This constellation becomes riddled with problems when, itself tightly bound to an act of worship, such a production is understood as 'pure art' and brought to presentation in worldly staging—when sacred dramas are secularized into theater pieces, and gods are 'played' (Ashley/Holloman 1982). Political considerations are frequently decisive for such phenomena. Sacred dramas are thereby intimately requisitioned by their social and political ambiance and milieu, and can be misused as means of power.

4. For European modernity, the reverse process, as well, is observed—the rediscovery and re-forming of sacred drama in → art. The most familiar example is Richard Wagner's *Bühnenweihfestspiel* (Ger., 'play for the dedication of a stage') *Parsifal*—originally permitted only in the Bayreuth Festival Playhouse (first performed in 1882). The anthropology of → theater deals in depth with these entanglements.

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→ *Catharsis, Dance, Liturgy/Dramaturgy, Myth/Mythology, Ritual, Theater*

Heike Moser-Achuthath

Dream

Dream as a Universal Phenomenon

1. An unambiguous, if at first very limited, definition of dream is available if one considers dreams as → experiences during sleep.[1] On the other hand, there are also dreamlike phenomena apart from sleep, such as 'daydreams' and hallucinations. Furthermore, a thought-like experience during sleep can occur that does not present the usual 'dreamlike' characteristics, as bizarreness, incoherence, condensation of 'events.' Psycho-physiologically, the dream is a universal human phenomenon, but content and iconography lead at once to the interpretation and understanding of the dream as dependent on culture: in some cultures, as that of the → Aborigines of Australia, the dream plays a far more central role than with us: in the spirit of the preeminence of reason, rationality, and a control of reality, Western culture has ultimately stylized the dream as anti-phenomenon, so that it becomes either the subject of scientific investigation (experimental dream research; → Psychoanalysis), or, in esoteric doctrines or religions, the sphere of a truth transcending reason. The dream thereby affords a purchase on extra-rational knowledge—messages from the gods, for example, or visions of the next world. But the dream is also used, in various contexts, for the development of life-controlling practices.

Our cultural tendency to distinguish between dream and reality on the basis of rationality and conceptual thought leads to a disjointed and very diversified understanding of the dream, and to just as diversified practices of its interpretation. But although exposed to the pressure of a marginalization, it emerges in many phases and locations of socio-cultural life.

Understanding of the Dream in Antiquity

2. The *ancient understanding of dreams*, which is one of the roots of the modern perspective,[2] shows a great acceptance of the dream phenomenon, and its equal status among various socio-cultural domains (medicine, religion, literature, philosophy, and the professional interpretation of dreams). In 'incubation' (Lat., *incubatio*), the 'temple sleep,' which was practiced in the sanctuaries of the healing cult of Asclepius (e.g., in Epidauros in the Peloponnesus), the dream served as the sphere in which God and the sick could meet. The secularized interpretation of dreams, as it has come down to us in the form of Artemidorus's handbook *Oneirocritica* (Gk., "Distinguishing Dreams"; second century CE), attempted to combine a systematic and an encyclopedic elaboration of the dream science of its time. On the basis of a typology of the causes and kinds of dreams, Artemidorus was concerned in particular with dreams that could be used as tools for a view of the future. He was interested not in the bizarre and irrational quality of the dream image, however, but only in its use in the life of waking.

Christianity

Christianity reinforced the tendency to devalue and marginalize the dream, a propensity that came to characterize European culture. The suprasensory and the interpretation of dreams as a medium for foreseeing the future lost their status, in view of the divine salvific plan, and even came to be combated. The dream became accepted at most as a measuring stick for the depth of one's faith. Unlike → visions, then, the dream could not profit from a Christian transcendence of worldly reality. Still, this marginalization has been unable to prevent the persistence, down to our own day, of popular dream interpretation, where the dream continues to be used as a medium for a view of the future—as, for example, the *Smorfia,* the dream-book popular in Naples, attests.

Modern Interpretation of Dreams

3. *Modern* interest in the dream, and corresponding interpretations thereof, are signed by two antagonistic tendencies: on the one hand, a scientific concern with dream research, and on the other, an evaluation of the dream as counter-world to the world of facts and reason, with a reality-consciousness of its own. This evaluation is manifested most of all in art (surrealism), literature, and film.

Sigmund Freud

Sigmund → Freud's study *Die Traumdeutung* ("The Interpretation of Dreams"; 1900) is of epochal importance. There, in a certain way, both of the above tendencies are linked. On the one hand, Freud connects the scientific approach with the science of his time. On the other hand, he sees the dream as a linguistic hermeneutic imaging. At the same time, Freud's interpretation of dreams is both the groundwork of a science—the science of the unconscious—and, in psychotherapy, a revival of the practices of coping with life as it had been available in Artemidorus's *Oneirocritica* or in the popular interpretation of dreams of the different ages.

C. G. Jung

But the matter is by no means laid to rest with Freud's interpretation of dreams. C. G. Jung, at first Freud's student, then his antagonist, does not question the concept of the unconscious in principle. But, unlike Freud, he sees, alongside the respective individually determined dream activity of a person, a collective part also. By way of determinate dream images, occurring, in variations, in all cultures and times (e.g., serpents), a person reproduces what Jung calls *archetypes.* According to Jung, these were an expression of the conflicts inherent in the *conditio humana*, to be reworked by each individual. This interpretation of dreams, which is oriented rather to manifest content and thus provides a more holistic interpretation, is propagated, often in a radically simplified way, by the contemporary → New Age scene.

Within → psychoanalysis itself, the understanding of dreams has been broadened and altered after Freud. The key criticism has been directed at Freud's neglect of the dream's manifest content—those so often ludicrous and bizarre images and image sequences from which, after all, art and literature have precisely drawn their attachment to the dream.

Experimental Dream Research

4. The experimental investigation of dreams, so closely bound up with brain and memory research, is less interested in the interpretation of the dream than in its physiological conditions. The breakthrough to differentiated views on the question has been produced especially by E. Aserinsky's

and N. Kleitman's recent discovery of what are called the REM ('rapid eye movement') phases. In the REM phases—which alternate with no less important *non*-REM dream phases—that human beings have in common with other mammals, an increase in brain activity is to be observed, along with an irregular pulse and blood pressure, and the like. Sleepers awakened during an REM phase can ordinarily remember a dream. In subsequent investigation, a connection is seen between the amount of REM sleep one has and the ability to learn, and consequently between dream and memory. In terms of these discoveries, dreaming serves the shaping of information concerning what has been perceived in the day, and there follows not only an orderly insertion of the new material into already given values of experience, but also the excision of unimportant facts. Dreaming, especially the REM phase, therefore consolidates "important ego functions, such as learning, situation control, memory recall, and problem solving."[3] But this by no means explains the phenomenon 'dream' in its comprehensive, and very individual, effect on the wakened person as well. Advanced experimental dream research therefore combines scientific experiments with an interrogation of the subject, for the purpose of a closer determination of the place of the dream in human life.

1. Strauch/Meier 1992, 11.
2. Freud, Traumdeutung, 1900, chap. 1.
3. Vedfeldt 2002.

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→ *Fantasy/Imagination, Freud, Psyche, Psychoanalysis, Soul, Vision/Auditory Experience*

Christine Walde

Drinking / Drink

1. *Drinking*, like eating, belongs to the elementary processes that maintain the human → body biologically. At the same time, however, its religious, social, and cultural implications far transcend these natural functions. The twin relationship of a natural and a cultural 'membership,' along with the status of 'world-openness' (H. Plessner)—that is, human beings' ability to establish themselves in different environments—make the process of drinking a symbolical field of activity as well, that is not only defined by biological needs, but can be freighted with extracts of cultural, religious, and social meaning (for a more extensive treatment, → Eating/Nourishment).

Drink as Means of Nourishment and Pleasure

Drinks can be distinguished into means of nourishment and means of pleasure, and the latter are often identified with culture-specific drugs like alcohol, caffeine, or coca. Thus, in the European and Western tradition, a distinction is made between alcohol-free nutritional means, as water, milk, or fruit juice, and alcoholic liquids like beer, wine, or spirits. The boundary seems fleeting: a change of cultural habits, in the social functions of drinking, and in customs of consumption have led to a shift in the purpose for which alcoholic drinks are used. Previously they had found application mostly by virtue of their nutritional value, whereas today they are consumed by and large as vehicles of pleasure. In the pre-industrial world of Central Europe, for example, beer essentially played the role of a basic nutrient with the agricultural class, from breakfast, where it was drunk in the form of warm beer soup, to the evening meal, in the most varied forms. Today, beer is consumed practically only in one's free time, as a means of pleasure. In work-related environments, beer drinking is often morally, socially, and, at times, even juridically prohibited. On the other hand, since the eighteenth century, the drugs coffee and tea have leapt to social respectability (cf. Schivelbusch).

Ambivalent Evaluation of Drinking in the Religions

2. As a vital basic need, in many religions drinking can be cast positively (as an expression of the joy of living, here and now) and negatively (as succumbing to the world). The ingestion of *wine*, for instance, in the Judaic and Christian tradition, is reckoned, on the one hand, as 'rejoicing man and God' (cf., e.g., Judg 9:13, Matt 6:31); on the other hand, its consumption beyond the need to still the thirst is deemed an index of a lust for pleasure and a godless lifestyle (Prov 31:4, Matt 24:49). The psychic elevation stimulated by drinking alcoholic beverages can lead, as a limit experience, to uncontrollable passion, but also, as in the ancient cults of Dionysus and Bacchus, to fulfillment and → ecstasy. Positively appraised, it enables a person to be filled with divine power and grants a share in the divine itself (→ Mysticism).

Drinks Permitted and Forbidden

3. In many religions the distinction between clean and unclean nourishment holds for solids and fluids alike. The multiple food taboos motivated in religious considerations refer mainly to the consumption of animal products, it is true, and only rarely to plants or fluids. Conceptualizations that are obviously magical configure prevailing attitudes toward nourishment universally, in respect both to the effects of the ingested substance

and to a belief in the transfer of its essence and power to the eater or drinker. Here the ingestion of animals is deemed threatening in principle, and that of plant substance or liquids less threatening. Alcoholic drinks as a means of euphoria and relaxation are especially ambivalent and open to religious prohibition. On the one hand, they foster the intensity of religious experience; on the other hand, its consumption carries the drinker along distorted pathways, so that he or she loses control, and leads a 'depraved life.'

In *Islam*, those whose aim was a sober following of the law were first forbidden wine, and later, any alcoholic drink. Its pleasure belongs to the great sins. In Islamic Sufism, admittedly, wine served poetic elevation. Even sura 16:69 praises it as God's gift. Nevertheless, in sura 5:92 it is labeled devilish. Coffee, meanwhile, underwent great extension in Islamic Arab cultures, where it found application since the tenth century at the latest, first as a medication and detoxifier, and then, since the fifteenth century at the latest, as a popular drink.

In *Buddhism*, the influence of alcohol is understood as a hindrance to spiritual concentration. The fifth great commandment of Buddhism therefore forbids monks and laity the ingestion of mood-changing drinks. In Buddhist milieus, some drinks were nonetheless promoted, such as tea, which, while it elevates the psyche, also bestows sobriety.

The prohibition of certain drinks is not always joined with religious motives. In the secularized Europe of modern times, new norms and rules have appeared for the ingestion of drinks. These placed scientific, dietetic, and medical cognitions in regard to the body, as well as the cultural orientation of sobriety, at the focus of restrictions. In nature healing and life-reform movements (see parag. 4a) however, drinks are important in a positive context. The pathologizing of alcohol consumption—in Christianity as well, especially in Protestantism during the era of industrialization—evoked efforts of moderation, culminating in 'Prohibition,' 1920–1933, in the United States, when the production and sale of alcoholic beverages were prohibited under Federal Law.

Ritual Functions and Applications

4. The use of drinks and actions performed in the drinking context can fulfill purifying, sacrificial, and community-establishing functions.

Purification

a) The conception of the purifying and restoring effect, not only of washing, but also of drinking, is very closely connected in most cultures and religions with the life-giving fluidity of → water, which composes human beings and the higher animals in a proportion of sixty to seventy percent. Extensively colorless and tasteless, water—on the basis of its life-supporting function, along with its classificatory neutrality—is eminently suitable for symbolizing → purity and life. After the demise of the medieval system of baths, accompanied by pestilence and war, it was the medically based 'drink cures,' established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that first introduced a renaissance of the culture of the water cure. The cleansing, restorative application of mineral and other waters, especially since the nineteenth century, was professionalized to the point that naturally and artificially enriched mineral waters reached consumers through the mail-order trade—no longer merely at health spas, wilderness baths, and cure institutes. The life reform movement as well, and the therapeutic prescriptions it absorbed, propagated the practice of the 'simple drinking' of

'natural' drinks like water or milk. In institutions for natural healing built expressly for this purpose, such as Monte Verità in → Ascona, 'purgative' drinking cures belonged to the program, through which the self-healing powers of nature were supposed to be mobilized. Even body fluids like urine can be ascribed a purifying function, as they can eliminate, by means of the kidneys, superfluous salts, water, and albumen. Urine is not always regarded as a bodily waste product whose ingestion can occasion a psychic reaction of nausea. In India, for instance, the drinking of urine on therapeutic grounds is no rare phenomenon, and even Western fears of excreted fluids are repeatedly met with claims of the healing functions of urine.

Drink Offerings

b) Drink and pouring → sacrifices (libations; from Lat., *libare*, 'moisten,' 'pour out'), in which beverages are ritually poured out, are gift offerings (sacrifices), made in order to render the gods gracious. Further, the libation can institute sacramental drinking communities, through which the oneness of human being and divinity can be achieved, so that human beings can share the power of the divine.

Commensality: Rituals of Community Drinking

c) Drinking, then, accomplishes more than the satisfaction of nutritional needs. In all cultures and religions ritually regulated ways of drinking show forth interpretations of the world and assign meaning. Thus in Christianity, a special sacramental character attaches to drinking (of wine) in the celebration of the → Lord's Supper, which is at once a memorial rite, a mystical unification (bread and wine as Jesus's body and blood), and a ratification and renewal of the bond between God and the community of God.

In the diversity of daily and festive drinks, as well as of drinking customs, one may experience, in a sensible and visible mode, the partition of profane time and sacred time, the division of the daily and the festive. In the course of life, specific fashions of drinking mark biographical transitions, such as birth, betrothal, or marriage. In the course of the year, the special nature of festival days is brought out and emphasized by special forms of drink, for example, champagne at New Year's (→ Life Cycle; Rites of Passage; Ritual).

De-ritualizing of Drinking Behavior

To the participants, drinking rituals open up the opportunity for identification with and participation in groups and communities. In the act of drinking in common, individual and community fuse into a unity. Consequently, in modern Europe drinking customs, as a rule, are gradually losing the all but legally binding function that they formerly had. For instance, while drinking to brotherhood and friendship, in symbolic reinforcement of emotional ties, or in usages such as a pledge, has survived (→ Friendship), the establishment of places of business and legal relationships by drinking in common has generally lost its meaning and importance. Thus, over a length of time, a *process of the de-ritualization* of drinking behavior can be observed. The separation of work from free time, a disintegration of life into distinct areas, social processes of differentiation and individualization, as well as the separation of the worlds of private and public life, have finally led to the dissolution and meaninglessness of collectively obligatory drinking patterns. Granted, this certainly does not mean the elimination of drinking rituals. New, relatively adjusted drinking fashions attest rather a transformation and function-change of drinking behavior

The New Rites of Social Distinction

in particularized societies. Certain drinks and their ritual ingestion have assumed the task of generating the effect of a community underpinning on delimited social groups. The educated middle class prefer dry white wine on the Vernissage, health food enthusiasts pour their ayurvedic or ginseng tea. Specific drinks have their binding character only within certain milieus and for certain social groups. They serve social distinction by demarcation from others.

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→ *Asceticism, Body, Eating/Nourishment, Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens, Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming, Water*

Friedemann Schmoll

Druids

Etymologies

Greek and Roman authors who wrote about Gaul or Britain between the second century BCE and the fourth century CE designated the religious specialists and scholars there as 'druids.' Two etymologies are adduced: (a) In the Celtic *dru-vides*, 'much knowing' or 'farseeing,' could be the correct one (the Old Irish *drúitheach* means 'impressive,' 'piercing,' 'influential'); (b) the other conjectural derivation, 'oak expert,' goes back to Pliny the Elder, who also describes the importance of mistletoe, which grows on oaks, in druid worship. Archaeologically, only the functions of the druids in worship can be established. Unambiguous pictorial presentations or graves have not as yet been found.

Ancient Description and Reception

The direction for the druids' reception originates especially with Caesar. According to him, aside from the nobility, the druids constituted the only respected and privileged class in Gallic society. They were charged with the interpretation of religious precepts, the sacrificial system, the administration of justice, consultation of the rulers, the art of healing, and → divination. Druid and sorcerer *Merlin* (in Welsh, Myrrdin) has achieved fame, first through the literature of Geoffrey of Monmouth, then through his Romantic reception by Schlegel, Uhland, or Lenau. A second strand in his reception leads to the founding of the *Druid Order* in the eighteenth century, where subsequently Enlightenment impulses accompany Romantic ones. A further contribution to popularity was supplied by the erroneous ascription to Celtic art of the megalithic stone monuments (Stonehenge).

Modern Druidism

In the context of → Paganism/Neo-Paganism, modern western → shamanism, and parts of the → New Age movement, Druidism experienced a revival in the twentieth century. Several Druidic groups formed in Britain,



Druids at Stonehenge during a ceremony of the British Circle of the Universal Bond, in 1958. The ceremonies at the solstice are the occasion of constant confrontations among defenders of the monuments and the druid orders. After a prohibition of some years, in 1998 a limited number of druids and believers were once more permitted to celebrate the solstice at Stonehenge. (Benita von Behr)

among them the Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids, and the Ancient Order of Druids, which uses Stonehenge for its rituals despite the lacking historical connection between Druid traditions and this site. In the United States, the Reformed Druids of North America began in 1963 as a satirical protest against required attendance at church at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. Becoming more serious, the RDNA developed rituals and lore from Celtic history and poetry, considering Druidism a philosophy rather than a religion. Other American Druidic groups include the New Reformed Druids of North America (founded in 1966) and Ar nDraiocht Fein ("Our Own Druidism," founded in 1983). The latter, currently the largest Druidic movement in the U.S., sees itself as a neopagan religion with Indo-European roots that are adapted to the needs of modern people.

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→ *Celts, New Age, Paganism/Neo-Paganism, Reception*

Silvia Kurre

Dualism

We / Not-We

1. The most unambiguous and most simple way to ascertain one's own place in a complicated reality consists in dividing the world into '*We*' and '*Not-We*.' The social identity determining which individuals belong to '*We*,' and which as '*Not-We*' are to be left out, is constituted as the result of many criteria. After all, in many ways the members of a group are alike, while they are distinct in others. Culture operates precisely through the perception of difference. Since no individual case is unambiguous, dualism contributes to a perception into which all differences blend. It simplifies the lack of clarity of reality, narrowing it down to the one criterion, which must be valid 'in principle' (→ Prejudices/Stereotypes): the world is divided into mutually exclusive alternatives. What is not to be found in the real world of life, since this actuality is far too complex, is reduced to a recounted, fictitious counter-world: the world of long ago, the story of the beginning, the world of heroes and villains, and in a few cultures also the world beyond, still more rarely the ideal world of the future. Dualism renders it difficult to perceive the variegated nature of the world at hand, but relies on the world recounted; what that world lacks in demonstrability, can be substituted by sacralization. Complexity and 'modernity' are reckoned as threats. The potential for action that results from dualistic thinking goes from dreaming of an unambiguous world—which renders personal decisions unnecessary—to the radical change of the world—accomplished in disregard of human beings, insofar as this purification involves 'cleansing' the world from evil elements to the point of genocide. But the dreamers are inclined to agree with the murderers: they are inclined to let them have a free hand, to cooperate with them.

Redemption

2. *The dualistic counter-world:* Those who experience their own world as the place where a small elite is prevented from realizing the ideals of the true world, see actual reality only as 'bad': as set athwart the good world. The adversary disposes of superior powers, that are invisible to boot. Whereas few images are available of the radiant corpus of the good, sadistic fantasy can let go the reins when contouring the Evil One (→ Devil) and his assistants, as it can in traditional images of their inhuman behaviors and bigotry. The Enemy's dependents are of overwhelming powers. However, on the side of the good minority stands the Hero, the 'Redeemer.' In many a battle, he must stand forth to fight the Evil One, who, in his diverse and always new shapes, is difficult to recognize—indeed he even appears as the false Redeemer (Pseudo-Messiah, → 'Antichrist'). The Redeemer well nigh suffers the fate of his followers, including death, but in a cosmic final battle, with God's help, he annihilates the superior adversary (→ Millenarianism/Chiliasm). From dualism appears, ontologically, an eschatological monism.

Creation

3. *Anthropological dualism:* Rational processing seeks to replace the narrative with a decision in principle as to how to act meaningfully. At all events, exceptions need not be appraised as good or evil (*adiáphora*, 'indivisibly'). A division into mutually exclusive alternatives in reality is difficult to establish. It would call for evidence, unambiguous substantiation. The argument (of radical dualism) becomes unassailable if 'from the beginning' there were already two gods at creation, a good one and an evil one—or better still, if creation is altogether evil, created by the evil god (the *demioûrgos*, 'crafts-

man,' from Plato's *Timaeus*). The good, then, is imprisoned in the bad matter of the body, and its quest is for reunification with the good God; it must be redeemed. Especially in late antiquity, fear of survival was rediscovered, both in Plato's philosophy and in the expectation of redemption maintained by Gnostic outlooks on the world (→ Gnosticism). The body was from the Devil, therefore sexuality as well, and in the prevailing male view, 'the' woman. The soul, however, and the capacity for (re)cognition, were evaluated as a correspondence to the good God. The philosopher and theologian, even if unrecognized by the world, stand in nearness to God and are capable of understanding his mysteries. Whether pessimistic or optimistic ('idealistic'), the dualism of soul and body, flesh and spirit, nature and idea, life and death, has also—and especially—been a stamp and model for the conceptualizations of meaning in the European history of religion. And yet the thesis abides, in the self-understanding of European culture, that dualism is 'oriental.'

"Dualism is Non-European"

4. a) Christianity was close to adopting radical dualism; but it decided programmatically against doing so. In the second century, Marcion wished to set the 'Jewish' God of creation over against the good Christian God as adversaries. As the fourth century was closing, → Augustine abandoned the radically dualistic Manichaeans (→ Manichaeism), and began to teach a 'moderate dualism': the good God, the only one, had created the world, but the human being had decided against his commandments. Thus, besides Lucifer, the human being had 'fallen' out of God's world—here, out of Paradise. Augustinian dualism raises the human being to the potential anti-God—an argument that culminated in the discussion on 'autonomy' and enlightenment: Why does God forbid the human being to eat of the Tree of Knowledge? Why does he give human beings freedom to decide against him?

b) By about the end of the nineteenth the century, Catholicism, then on the defensive, had developed its picture of a 'West' that had created the ideal synthesis between a godless self-realization (Enlightenment) and a passive awaiting of salvation (the East). But in Catholic monasticism, Benedict of Nursia had come upon the golden mean: 'pray *and* work' (*ora et labora*). The thesis of Arno Borst (1953, with an anti-Communist point) goes further, that in the thirteenth century European Christianity had withstood the dualistic temptation by annihilating the Cathari. This was also a loss, however: had dualism prevailed, Europe today would be '*ärmer und wärmer*' ('poorer and warmer').[1]

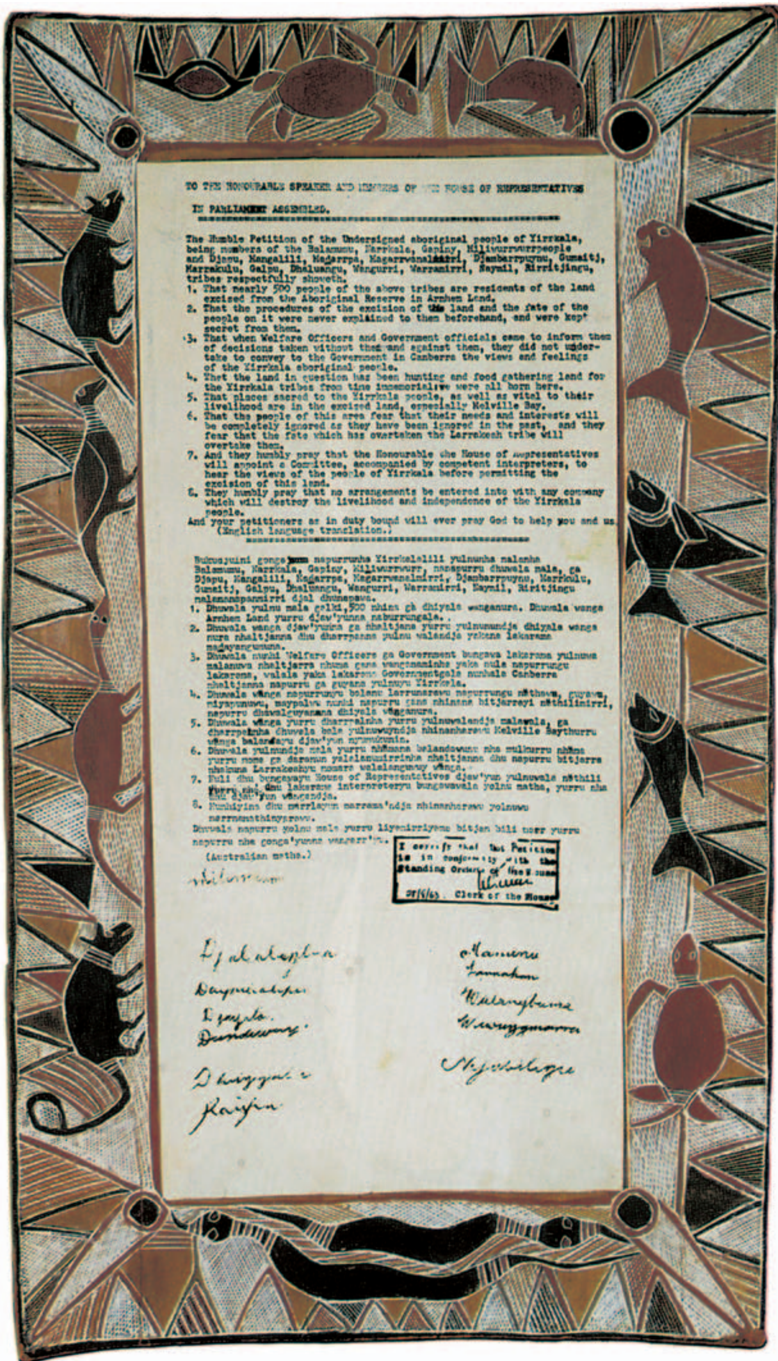
1. Borst, Arno, Barbaren und Artisten, Munich 1988, 231.

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→ *Antichrist, Apocalypse, Devil, Evil, Fantasy/Imagination, Gnosticism, Manichaeism, Orientalism/Exotism*

Christoph Auffarth



TO THE HONOURABLE SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The Humble Petition of the Undersigned aboriginal people of Yirrkala, being members of the Balamumu, Narrkala, Gapiny, Miliwurrwurrpeople and Djapu, Mangalili, Madarrpa, Magarrwanalmirri, Djambarrpuyngu, Gumaitj, Marrakulu, Galpu, Dhaluangu, Wangurri, Warramirri, Naymil, Rirritjingu, tribes respectfully showeth.

1. That nearly 500 people of the above tribes are residents of the land excised from the Aboriginal Reserve in Arnhem Land.
2. That the procedures of the excision of this land and the fate of the people on it were never explained to them beforehand, and were kept secret from them.
3. That when Welfare Officers and Government officials came to inform them of decisions taken without them and against them, they did not undertake to convey to the Government in Canberra the views and feelings of the Yirrkala aboriginal people.
4. That the land in question has been hunting and food gathering land for the Yirrkala tribes from time immemorial; we were all born here.
5. That places sacred to the Yirrkala people, as well as vital to their livelihood are in the excised land, especially Melville Bay.
6. That the people of this area fear that their needs and interests will be completely ignored as they have been ignored in the past, and they fear that the fate which has overtaken the Larrakeah tribe will overtake them.
7. And they humbly pray that the Honourable the House of Representatives will appoint a Committee, accompanied by competent interpreters, to hear the views of the people of Yirrkala before permitting the excision of this land.
8. They humbly pray that no arrangements be entered into with any company which will destroy the livelihood and independence of the Yirrkala people.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray God to help you and us.

(English language translation.)

[illegible]

(Australian matha.)

I certify that the Petition is in conformity with the Standing Orders of the House
28/8/63. Clerk of the House

In 1963, the Australian Parliament decided to excise 360 km² from an Aborigine reservation for bauxite mining, in the vicinity of Yirrkala, Northeast Arnheim Land. With their country already settled through decisions of religious and military authorities, the hunting and gathering cultures of the North Australian tribes were now threatened in their daily life and subsistence by the economic sector of Western industrial societies. The operative factor here was the particular structure of Aboriginal religion: the local myths were, among other things, titles to possessions, and only owners might commemorate and recite them. In October 1963, members of the Gumatj tribe, of the Yirritja group, reacted, and dispatched a bilingual petition (the "Bark Petition"), inscribed on eucalyptus bark and painted with ocher, to the Parliament in Canberra, in which they observed that "places sacred to the Yirrkala people [. . .] are in the excised land." The figured lath frame was intended as evidence of the tribe's right to its places of worship and its land. It presents the mythical totem ancestors in the form of creatures of land (below and left), and water creatures (right and above). In times of great demand for raw materials, the myths have of course lost much of their power: In 1968, after a brief delay, a contract was signed between the government and a mining firm in the matter of the mining of bauxite. (Hubert Mohr)



Jizo Bodhisattva figures in front of a Buddhist temple (Kofu, Yamanashi Prefecture) in Japan. Jizo Bosatu is the patron saint of children, and is especially venerated by family members who have had an abortion, miscarriage, or stillbirth. The figures are gently and attentively provided with caps and bibs as if they were babies. Usual offerings are vegetables, baked goods, sweets, and toys. In so-called 'abortion temples' (e.g., Hasedera, Kamakura), those concerned find guest books in which they may inscribe prayers, testimonials of gratitude, or confessions to obtain inner peace. (S. Beyreuther)



The phenomenon of the trance, or possession, is one of the most important features of Afro-American religion. In the course of a *Candomblé* ceremony in a private locale reserved for worship, the Babalorixá (high priest), in a state of trance, incarnates an American Indian spirit of the forest. The green color of his cloak symbolizes the forests. (C. Mattes)



Rice-planting Festival (*Ta-ue-matsuri*) in the field of the *Fushimi-Inari* Shrine in Kyôto, Japan. Celebrated in June in honor of Inari, Goddess of Rice and Nourishment, this festival invokes her blessing on Japanese rice farming. The celebration commences in the Shrine, where a Shintô priest consecrates rice plants. These are then borne in procession on wooden trays to a field belonging to the shrine, where the shoots are solemnly planted. Traditional music, and dancing over the field in honor of Inari make up part of the ceremony. Along with its cultic function, the festival has become a tourist attraction, drawing many visitors. (Benita von Behr)



A woman strews flower petals on the crimson altar in a temple of Dakshinkali in Nepal. Thus she offers a sign of her reverence for the goddess, who is represented by a picture, and at the same time beautifies the sacred space here, as have others before her and as others will after. She has taken the petals from a bowl on the stone. The red part of the altar is enclosed, and functions as a conduit for offerings. The sacred image over the altar is that of the dark-blue Kali, standing at a cremation site dedicated to the god Shiva. In Tantrism, Shiva and Kali embody the tension between the static and the dynamic, essence and vitality. For the believers, Kali, because of her destructive force, can be a terrible person; but she is mighty and one may well place oneself under her protection. (Christoph Auffarth and Kirsten Holzapfel)



In his house in Lomé, Togo, priest André Kunkel has set up a room for a Voodoo ritual to be performed over the telephone. As persons can use this modern medium to carry on conversations with one another, so here the priest inserts coins into imaginary slots, and then, through the handset, makes inquiries of the guardian spirit, represented by the figure, into possible solutions to his clients' problems. The traces left after preliminary rituals, usually drink offerings, remain at the altar, thus testifying to the importance of the protective spirit, while orderliness and aesthetics withdraw into the background: what is asked is 'mighty deeds.' (Christoph Auffarth)



“Rama’s Game,” the *Rāmlīlā*, following its version in the Indian epic Rāmāyaṇa, is presented on a boat in the Ganges at Benares. Seated in the center of the picture is the main figure of the epic, royal prince Rama, regarded as the incarnation of Vishnu. To his left sits his wife Sītā, and to his right his brother Lakshman. The three are surrounded by three of their allies, members of the army led by monkey god Hanuman. Young men present the figures. Unlike the renowned month-long presentation under the sponsorship of the ruling Maharaja in the Ramagar Quarter, the producers here are the quarter committees of Benares. They vie with the Ramagar production over the more magnificent presentation of the scenes. (J. Gengnagel)



In an interesting reversal of positions, the modern artistic avant-garde develops religious traits out of blasphemous criticism of Christianity itself. The “Orgies Mysteries Theater” of Vienna activist Hermann Nitsch in Prinzendorf makes explicit use of Christian symbolism, often transformed in its opposite: crucifixion, slaughter of a steer, releasing of lambs from their pasture, defilement of Mass vestments with blood and excrement. Behind his overt concern to shock the bourgoisie, Nitsch’s determination nonetheless predominates: to lead Christianity back to its pagan Dionysian origins, and to the ‘basic excess’ of pagan lustfulness. Unsublimated, the latter is now to be revived and experienced once more in ritual. The six-day dramatic presentation staged by Nitsch as the pinnacle of his ritual ‘actions’ in 1998, came into conflict, however, less with the Church than with the animal protection league: the state’s attorney filed a charge of animal torture. The lawsuit was resolved in favor of Nitsch who today lets the animals be slaughtered according to the official Austrian laws. (Hubert Mohr)



The picture shows a minaret destroyed by an explosion in Ahmici, a village of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Until the beginning of the war (1992), there were many communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina with religious buildings of (often) two or (rarely) three of the three primary religious communities of Bosnia-Herzegovina: the Catholic Church, the Serbian Orthodox Church, and Bosnian Islam. Besides these, Jewish communities had synagogues in the large cities. In smaller communities, often enough, a religious house was built in the center, while another, more often, was constructed outside. All of this reflects the relationships maintained by the majoritarian communities in the village populations. Since one of the goals of the military leaders of the various parties was the expulsion, even the annihilation, of the other groups, 'ethnic cleansing' comported the destruction of the symbols and testimonials of the other religious cultures. The ruins of former places of worship are either left standing as triumphalistic monuments of war ('destruction aesthetics'), or—more frequently—razed to the ground to erase any memory of the faith community that has been expelled and preclude its return (method of the *damnatio memoriae*, 'extinction from memory'). Finally, again and again, houses of faith are destroyed even when members of the religious community are still living in the vicinity. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, all three approaches to religious structures have been employed. But it has also happened that 'alien' religious installations have been maintained and protected, despite the expulsion of the population groups that once used them. (T. Pflüger)



Built in the form of a Qur'an lectern, this newly erected gate stands at the frontier of Mecca's *haram* district. *Al-haram* means "the sanctuary," and designates a 'sacred, inviolable place' strictly off-limits to non-Muslims at all times. This *haram* extends, at its narrowest width, from five kilometers from the Ka'aba in all directions, and stretches thirty kilometers to the southeast, enclosing Mount Arafat and all other locations at which the pilgrimage ceremonies take place. During the period of pilgrimage, everyone coming from outside Saudi Arabia must have a pilgrimage visa in his passport in order to set foot in the *haram* at all. (A. M. Harwazinski)



Cultic veneration of the Buddha at first played a subordinate role in Buddhism. It was recognized only as a means of producing a salvific state of consciousness. In the course of time, however, the wish spread, especially from the side of the laity, for a piety that could be practiced on a daily basis. On models borrowed from the various Hindu religions, an elaborate cult developed, at whose midpoint stands the representational image of the Buddha and various bodhisattvas. Here, in a little Buddhist temple in Hong Kong, a monk makes his daily meditation. (T. Oberlies)



A devoted young woman from Hong Kong gives the departed a drink. It is the Ching-Ming Festival, and relatives bring their departed a sumptuous meal, serving them the food in front of their headstones. Here the dead are represented as photographs. (Christoph Auffarth)



The double world in which the Australian → Aborigines live since their 'discovery' by the Europeans is reflected in this multicultural cemetery scene on the island of Melville in the north of Australia, around 1990. In conformity with indigenous burial rules, hollow eucalyptus trunks are erected, which contain the bones of the departed. These are the burial pillars for a second burial: the dead are originally placed elsewhere, for example on a tree, until the process of decomposition has left only whitened bones. These are then gathered and hidden in the trunk receptacles, which are decorated with symbols from Aboriginal mythology. Western and Christian burial usage is demonstrated by the grave in the middle: relatives have also adopted a simple wooden cross, and the molded shape and religious symbolism, of a European grave. (Hubert Mohr)



Russian Orthodox Christians, as here in Volgograd, visit the cemetery at Easter for a common meal with the departed as part of their celebration of the Feast of the Resurrection. The grave is fenced off; the dead are present as images of the living. Their share of the meal consists of red-colored Easter eggs, which are blessed at the Easter Liturgy, and then laid before them at the gravestone. Freshly planted flowers, and the well-tended grave, testify to the visitors' lasting solicitude for the dead. (Christoph Auffarth)



Romuald Spira prays before the grave of an ancestor, cabbalist Nathan Spira (c. 1585–1633), whose work *Discoverer of the Depths* (posthum., 1637) became fundamental as a text for the modern Ashkenazi → Kabbalah. The Remu Cemetery (founded 1551), where the grave marker in the middle of the photograph is found, shared the fate of the Israelite religious community in Poland who buried their dead here: at the beginning of the Second World War, the SS built a shooting target range on the forty-seven *mazzewe* (monuments) still standing, destroying all of them but one. Excavations at the end of the 1950s unearthed more than 700 gravestones intact, which, owing to the destruction of Jewish culture in Poland, had received neither scientific attention nor any maintenance. Spira, one of few survivors, has documented the inscriptions, which he has taught himself to do. Today, in Poland as in Germany, the Jewish communities that kept them up and needed them have mostly disappeared, since their members were driven out or killed. (Hubert Mohr)



The story of the naughty, lovable god-baby Krishna is one of the commonplaces of Vishnu mythology. In today's India, however, the presentation of child divinities is not limited to Rama or Krishna: Shiva and Hanuman, too, appear as children in color pictures. The god in monkey form is one of the most popular gods in the Indian pantheon and ranks as the ideal, devoted, venerator (*bhakta*) of Rama, as well as the incarnation of Shiva. In the Indian national epic, the *Rāmāyana* (c. 300 BCE–300 CE), several episodes of Hanuman's childhood are recounted, and today have been taken from the powerfully emotional *bhakti* tradition and re-worked in 'soft focus.' (I. Keul)



Temporary shrine in Hong Kong in honor of the 'Great Deity, King of the Seas,' and other divinities. In the south coastal regions of China, such shrines are the regular scene of rituals for the welfare and prosperity of fishing and sailing. (S. P. Bumbacher)



In the commune *Rajneeshpuram* ('The Holy City of the King of the Full Moon'), Bhagwan-pupils (*sannyasins*) work in the field. In the 260-sq-km area of Big Muddy Ranch in the highlands of Central Oregon, the *sannyasins* built a large spiritual commune, which until 1985 was the center of the → Osho Movement. Despite difficult conditions of soil and climate, over the course of two years the members managed to render the extensively neglected ranch arable once more, and turn the commune into an economically self-sufficient farm. Along with fields for fruit, vegetables, and grain, raised on principles of dynamic biology, there were 3,000 chickens, 450 cattle, and 90 beehives. Work was done without remuneration, regularly seven days a week and twelve to fourteen hours a day. Within the commune there was no monetary exchange. The 'residents' received clothing, board, shelter, and health care in exchange for a membership fee, often a considerable amount, and the surrender of private ownership. All activities were regulated in common, from housework and meal preparation to the rearing of the children, who were accommodated in a special living area. The commune replaced the family; life centered on work, to which was attributed a power of transformation. (Benita von Behr)



On November 1–2, Mexican tradition celebrates the Day of the Dead (*Día de Muertos*). It stands in the tradition of the old Mexican celebration of the day of remembrance of the dead, and of the Catholic Feasts of All Saints and All Souls. Publicly, the dead are remembered with a celebration at the cemetery; privately, deceased family and relatives are welcomed with gifts, on a house altar (*ofrenda*). On this altar belonging to a Mexican-American family in Sacramento, photos and personal objects recall the departed while they were alive. They are entertained with *pan de muertos* in human shape, and *tamales* (a dish cooked in corn leaves). A statuette of Mary and votive candles likewise have their place on the altar. The bow is hung with heavily scented *cempasúchil* blossoms. The large velvet-like flowers (*tagetes erecta*) are also called *flores de muertos* ('flowers of the dead'). This is an artistic family, and much of the decoration is homemade. Merry, colorful, and shrill are the skulls (*calaveras*), made of papier mâché and sugar, as well as the skeletons, who ride, play music, and have fun—altogether in the spirit of the *Día de Muertos*: the dead should finally have enjoyable times. Bones and wooden snakes (right foreground) at the girl's feet recall the fashioning of the present-day human being, whose emergence was as follows. Since the gods wished to people the earth, the god Quetzalcóatl ('feathered snake') rode into the Realm of the Dead, looking for the bones of the man and woman. With all manner of 'tricks,' he managed to get them away from the Lord and Lady of the Realm of the Dead. Of these 'Precious Bones,' which had been ground to a powder by the goddess Quilatzli/Chihuacóatl ('female snake'), blended with the blood that Quetzalcóatl let flow from his penis, sprang the new race of human beings. In Mexican tradition, the bones and skull left after the decomposition of a corpse are not simply symbols of disintegration. They point to human durability, victory over death, and a potential refashioning. From 1974 onward, the Mexican-American community of Sacramento has celebrated the Day of the Dead publicly, as well. The *ofrenda* has been portrayed in a picture book intended to explain this festival to other American children. It is part of the Mexican cultural legacy. (Kirsten Holzapfel)



The incarnation of the goddess Uccitta, taken in Azhikode (Kerala, India), April 1993, at a Teyyam festival.
In this photograph, one sees the goddess in full, solemn array, sitting on glowing coals and held by two assistants, in the last stage of the ritual presentation of her apparition. She has just sung her history, to the accompaniment of a drum. She now no longer speaks through her medium to the community of onlookers and believers; instead, she reveals herself in wild dance and sign language. Next, she will determine solutions to their problems, with which she has already been presented. (H. Moser-Achuthath)

Eastern Mediterranean

Historical Region

1. The countries of the Near East that border on the Eastern Mediterranean between Asia Minor and Egypt belong to the regions of the earth that, with their Eastern and Southern hinterlands, possess special meaning for the history of religion. The area is one of the oldest regions of human habitation. In the ninth millennium BCE, the Neolithic Revolution began in this region and spread out from here. Since the seventh millennium BCE, medium-large urban settlements are in evidence that also give indications of particular forms of cult (e.g., the burial of artistically prepared skulls at Jericho in → Palestine, or ornamented public space in Çatal Hüyük). The development of writing in ancient Eastern societies since the third millennium BCE (hieroglyphics in Egypt, cuneiform lettering in Mesopotamia) considerably expanded relevant documentation for the history of religion. Around 1500 BCE, coastal inhabitants of Syria and Palestine began to use the alphabets that eventually prevailed in the Mediterranean region by way of Phoenician and Greek colonization. The religions of the region were polytheistic. Due to intensified communication, they came in contact with one another in the first millennium BCE. Certain cults even spread to the European coasts of the Mediterranean. Hellenization, since the end of the fourth century BCE, and the later establishment of the Roman Empire, reinforced these processes, especially since the first century BCE.

Since mid-first-millennium BCE, on the foundation of the cult of YHWH in Jerusalem and in close contact to the Canaanite traditions, the *Jewish religion* appeared here, the first religion to—albeit slowly—turn explicitly to → monotheism, with the Hebrew → Bible as its key collection of texts, and corresponding traditions. In addition, oral traditions also existed, later to be compiled as 'oral Torah' in the Mishnah and the two Talmudic redactions of the fourth and sixth centuries CE (→ Talmud). Beginning in the sixth century BCE, Jewish communities spread outside Palestine, in a polytheistic environment, and were rapidly Hellenized in the Mediterranean area (e.g., the *Septuaginta* Greek translation of the Bible in Alexandria, third to first century BCE). In the first century CE, the second monotheistic religion *Christianity* formed in this framework with a biblical tradition derived from the Jews; and, in the region between Egypt and Asia Minor, it received its various normative and institutional foundations. Through the fourth and fifth centuries CE, the Mediterranean area was extensively Christianized, while the influence of Judaism was contained. Against a Judeo-Christian background, and in a framework of ancient Arabian polytheistic religion, Islam arose in the seventh century CE, in Mecca and Medina in the West of the Arabian Peninsula. Here was a third monotheistic religion of biblical tradition, with the Qur'an as its revelatory text and a rich corpus of tradition in the Arabian language. With the Arab Islamic conquest, Islam spread as the religion of the rulers. First the Arabization, then the Islamization of the area began, and the Islamic religion formed in its inner multiplicity. The other religions, especially Judaism and Christianity, were gradually relegated to minority status. The Near East also received, in view of the universalization of Islam, its role as a center, with → Mecca as its central place of cult



BULGARIA
BLACK SEA
RUSSIA
LEBANON
Beirut
GREECE
Istanbul
Grave of mystic Maulana Jeladdin Rumi
Ankara
GEORGIA
Tbilisi
CASPIAN SEA
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
Yerevan
Baku
Ejmiadsin
Konya
Syrian Orthodox, formerly also Nestorian monastery
Antalya
Çatal Hüyük
Tabriz
Grave of Sheikh Adi Ibn Musafir
Tur Abdin
Lalish
Mosul
Aleppo
Nicosia
SYRIA
Tehran
Bkerke
IRAQ
MEDITERRANEAN
Antelias
Beirut
Damascus
Samarra
IRAN
Haifa
ISRAEL
Omayyad Mosque
Baghdad
Tel Aviv
Amman
Esfahan
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Monument of martyr Husain, son of Ali and Muhammad's daughter Fatima
Kerbela
Najaf
Monument of Ali Ibn Talib, fourth caliph and first imam
Azhar University
Cairo
JORDAN
Basra
Aqaba
Holy City → Map Jerusalem
Monastery of Saint Anthony
First Egyptian cenobitic community
Asyut
Monastery of Saint Catherine
Founded 324, icon treasury, manuscript collection
BAHRAIN
EGYPT
SAUDI ARABIA
Manama
QATAR
Doha
Medina
Riyadh
Abu Dhabi
Muscat
Tomb of the Prophet Muhammad
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
OMAN
Jedda
Mecca
Umm al-Qura University
Central pilgrimage place → Map Mecca
RED SEA
SUDAN
Khartoum
ERITREA
San'a
YEMEN
ARABIAN SEA
ETHIOPIA
Aden
F.D.2005
EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
Sacred Topography
Archaeological Site
Muslim
Muslim (Shi'a)
Islamic School/University
Jewish
Yezidi
Christian
Coptic
Greek Orthodox
Dominant religious affiliations
Muslim (Sunni majority)
Muslims (Shi'a majority)
Jews
Christians (various denominations)
Orthodox Churches
Armenian Apostolic Church
0
250
500 km
Christian Patriarchal Sees
1. Ecumenial Orthodox
2. Armenian Orthodox
3. Georgian Orthodox Katholikos
4. Armenian Apostolic Katholikos
5. Maronite
6. Armenian Apostolic Katholikos
7. Armenian Catholic
8. Syrian Catholic
9. Greek Orthodox
10. Syrian Orthodox
11. Melkite Orthodox
12. Melkite Catholic
13. Armenian Orthodox
14. Greek Orthodox
15. Roman Catholic
16. Coptic Orthodox
17. Coptic Catholic
18. Chaldaean
Religious Minorities:
Alawites (Islamic)
Druses (Islamic)
Jesids (other)
Mandaeans (other)
Copts (Christian)



The Omayyad Mosque in Damascus is a classic example of continuity of cult in the Near East. It is built on the foundation of a Christian church, whose Byzantine frescos are still partially visible. The church, in turn, stood on the foundation of a Roman temple. Caliph al-Walid widened the mosque between 705 and 715, by including the space formerly occupied by Christian Saint John's church. The carpeted interior of a mosque is entered without shoes, and may be used for relaxation outside the times of prayer, although guards ordinarily awaken sleepers. (Agnes Imhof)

and pilgrimage. Over the centuries, → Palestine, as the 'Holy Land,' was the goal of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim pilgrims.

2. a) The contemporary religions of the area are monotheistic (exact, up-to-date membership tallies are rarely available). The majority religion is Islam, mainly in its Sunnite version, with strong Shiite communities (in → Iran as the majority, in Iraq, and in Lebanon). There exist besides, often only here, smaller denominations important for the history of religion, that stand on the periphery of the majority Islam and manifest strong syncretistic traits (*Ismailites* in Lebanon and Syria, *Druses* in Syria, Lebanon, and Israel, *Alawites* in Syria and Turkey, *Alevis* in Asia Minor). Their representatives are concerned to move closer to majority Islam, and to be accepted by it. In rural regions, there are also unique communities such as the Yezidis. The → Baha'i religion arose, as a new universal religion, from the Shiite environment in the region at the end of the nineteenth century. Its center is now in Haifa, in Israel.

b) The second largest religious group is the *Christian*, with strong confessional differentiation. Apart from Cyprus, Christians form minorities, larger in Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt. They are members of churches with Chalcedonian and post-Chalcedonian rites, mostly Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics. 'National' churches, as it were, are the Maronites in Lebanon, in union with Rome, and the Copts in the Nile Valley. Western Christian churches and communities have done missionary work in the region, especially since the nineteenth century. While their effectiveness among Jews and Muslims has usually been modest, their work has occasioned the appearance of Catholic and Protestant denominations in the autochthonous Christian communities. Currently, indigenous Christians are disturbed especially by the activities of Pentecostal ministers from the

United States. For years, efforts are to be noted in inter-confessional and inter-religious dialogue, which generally is even endorsed by the state. The conversion of Christians to Islam usually has social reasons. New religions have scarcely any footing in the region.

c) Outside of Palestine, the strong Jewish communities in the region are almost decimated, or have all but entirely disappeared by reason of emigration to Europe, America, and Israel.

Structural Change in the Twentieth Century

3. The twentieth century was accompanied by basic changes for the region. At the beginning of the century, large parts still belonged to the Ottoman Empire. But after the First and Second World Wars, new states appeared, frequently with artificial boundaries. Members of numerous peoples live in the region, with ethnic membership often, but not always, coinciding with religion, as in the case of the Armenians. The peoples of the Near East belong to different linguistic communities. They are mainly Arab and Arabized peoples with their Arabic language, as well as Jews with Hebrew (a Semitic language), Turks and other Turkish peoples with Turkish languages, Iranians, Kurds, Armenians, and Greeks with Indo-European languages, along with numerous others, for example members of Caucasus peoples, like Circassians and Chechens, in Syria and Jordan. The ethnic and linguistic landscape is extremely variegated; however, there are clear tendencies toward assimilation to the majorities and their officially promoted cultures—Arabization, therefore, in Arab states, and Turkish assimilation in Turkey.

Urbanization and Population Movements

In the twentieth century, the population of this region grew rapidly. Many rural residents moved to the cities, especially in the closing decades, so that great metropolises such as Cairo (more than 15,000,000 inhabitants) and Istanbul (some 7,000,000) expanded unchecked—with all drawbacks of forced urbanization, such as slums, environmental degeneration, and deficient infrastructure. At the same time, profound demographic and even religious changes have taken place, noticeable throughout the region. The Christian population has lost its share of the territory mostly by way of emigration and expulsion, for example the persecution and massacre of the Armenians in Anatolia in 1915–1916, the resettlement of the Greeks of Asia Minor by treaty in 1923–1924, and the continuous emigration of Christians from all countries to Europe and America. Arabic Jews have emigrated from the region to Israel, Western Europe, and North America, especially since the founding of Israel in 1948 and the Arab-Israeli conflict. By reason of these changes, and a rapidly growing population (2% annually in Egypt, 3.5% in Syria, and 2.1% in Turkey), the proportion of the Islamic population is expanding in nearly all states.

→ Palestine—and especially, → Jerusalem, with its places sacred to three great religions—has a special religious meaning in this region. That fact was taken into consideration when, for instance, in 1947, the UN decided on the division of Palestine by the formation of an international zone in the region of Jerusalem. After the Second World War, and with the founding of the State of Israel, in 1948, Palestine became the center of the Near East conflict between Israel on the one side and Arab states and Palestinian Arabs on the other. Under the influence of the Cold War, this conflict gained a trans-regional importance. It was addressed by political, economic, and military means. In spite of the progress attained with the

establishment of peaceful relations between Israel and Egypt, Jordan, and the Palestinians, there has been no comprehensive resolution. On the level of ideology and propaganda, the sides immediately concerned by the presentation of the conflict offered preponderantly nationalistic conceptualizations, while religious dimensions were usually relegated to secondary consideration. Activists, however, and militant groups striving for political and religious ends—Islamic and Jewish, as well as Western Christian—repeatedly sought to place more emphasis on religious considerations. Since the 1980s, these have enjoyed growing attention. In the interest of Islamic ecumenical tendencies, as also with hegemonic endeavors on the part of Islamic states, Palestinian affairs were used in several different ways for activities concerned with solidarity and international interests. Thus, the assault on the al-Aqsa Mosque of Jerusalem occasioned the formation of the interstate Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

Modernization and Reform Movements

4. All of the religious communities in the region have modernized over the last two decades—in their conceptualizations as in their institutions. Now religious heritage and legal traditions coming down (for example) from the time of the Ottomans, and colonialism, all continue under new conditions. With their specific opportunities and possibilities, religious communities now take part in political life, and, through new kinds of organization, address social and educational tasks with greater power. Beginning with the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924, and the exclusion of religious institutions from Turkish public life under Kemal Atatürk—all under the sign of a secular nationalism—a consistent policy of laicization in Turkey has had effects on the entire region. At the same time, political and social reform movements arose in Islam itself, such as that of the Muslim Brothers, founded in 1928 in Egypt. Beginning in the 1930s with attention to local peculiarities, the Brothers have spread throughout and beyond the entire region, while nowadays they are frequently proscribed. They have become a model for various configurations of Islamic political and social engagement. Nationalistic forces that have come to power with the gaining of state independence have partially followed the Turkish pattern, but have entered compromises, as they are supported by national traditions. In states with a Muslim majority—except in Turkey—the constitutions, on the one hand, acknowledge Islam or its ideal law as a basis for the state, and require both a corresponding respect to be paid to the maintenance of Islamic norms, and honor to be accorded Islamic symbols in public life. Islamic institutions are supervised by the state, thereby lending religious legitimization to the political power of the state. On the other hand, the same constitutions usally fix the legal equality of all citizens, independently of their religious or ethnic membership. At the same time, members of the Islamic majority have the de facto privilege of having the most important state offices reserved for them. The relationship between the Islamic majority and non-Islamic minorities is dependent on internal as well as external considerations, and can be often complicated under dictatorial conditions, as in situations of crisis. Under normal conditions, political forces are generally interested in a balanced relationship, with a practical tolerance. The nationalistic ideologies prevailing in Arab countries include Islam in their considerations as a component of culture, and a specific heritage, and see to these claims being upheld in state educational entities as well.

Islamization since 1970

Owing to the oil boom in certain states of the region, the revolutionary changes in → Iran since 1978, and critical developments within the states (and the differences prevailing among them), a modernized normative Islam has gained in importance. Now the latter, with its intra-state and traditional differences, and peculiar neo-traditionalist tendencies, has partially repressed secular attitudes. Prevailing political forces are concerned to make use of these phenomena for a solidification of their power, and for the confrontation with opposing secularist groups. But at the same time—in only partly democratic contexts—they must take up the challenge of various forms of political opposition with religious Islamic motivations. Here, militant Islamic groups have also sprung up, eager to gain political power by violent means, even at times by → terrorism. To boot, they consciously strive to disturb fragile relations among the various religious communities by encroaching upon them. Differentiations appear within the Islamic communities, at times in the observance of the local, regional, and even ethnic specifications of Islamic practice, with simultaneous exchange among these. One effect of the transformations in question is the expanding Islamic → diaspora in Western Europe and North America.

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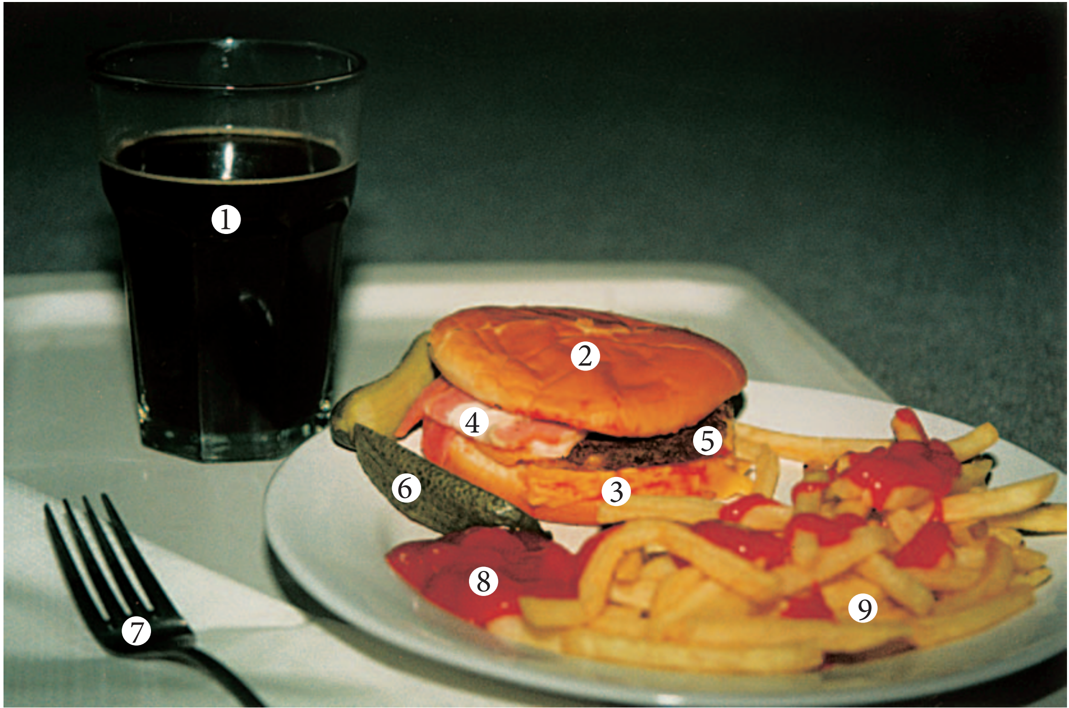
→ *Ancient East, Christianity, Egypt, Fundamentalism, Islam, Jerusalem, Judaism, Laicism, Mediterranean Region, Palestine/Israel*

Holger Preißler

Eating / Nourishment

Eating as Basic Need and Social Activity

1. Eating and drinking 'keep body and soul together,' we say. The adage points to altogether distinct dimensions of the taking of nourishment. On the one hand, eating satisfies, and thus serves to maintain the human being biologically. But the expression also refers to dimensions of eating by which the human being is distinguished from the beast: psychic elements, which can be realized in cultural, religious, and social dimensions. Between the organic need of hunger and its satisfaction enter religion



This meal is in violation of the rules of thirteen religions—together observed by around sixty percent of the population of the world

1. *Components of the meal*

1. Caffeine-containing refreshment (e.g., Cola)
2. Bun
3. Milk product (cheese)
4. Pork
5. Beef
6. Pickle
7. Cutlery
8. Ketchup
9. Salted French fries

2. *Survey of Dietary Prohibitions*

(3, 4) *Adventists*, like Jews, eat no pork. Often they avoid cheese, as well, since it is frequently prepared with an enzyme taken from pork.
(4, 5) *Buddhists* often avoid meat, since they are not to kill animals. Theravada monks and nuns may eat no meat from animals killed expressly for them.
(5, 7, 9) *Hindus* eat no beef, since cattle are sacred animals. Many Hindus eat with no cutlery that has touched beef. They also avoid salted foods, such as salted French fries, since these are associated with lust and madness.
(6,8) Members of ISKCON (→ Hare Krishna) eat no pickles or ketchup, for the vinegar in them is a fermented product, which decomposes and causes mental impairment.
(1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8) *Jains* take no caffeine. They eat no milk products, meat, pickles, ketchup, or salted French fries. They may not eat bread covered with sesame seeds. Incidentally, neither do Jains eat when it is dark—they might inadvertently swallow small insects.
(3, 4, 5) For *Jews*, pork is unclean (Lev 11:7). The laws of Orthodoxy require that one wait at least an hour after consuming beef to eat milk products, for it is not seemly that a person eat the meat of an animal that has been boiled in its mother's milk (Exod 23:19). Even eating the meat of ritually clean animals is allowed only when the animal has been slaughtered according to certain rules. (The animals must be bled to death, in order to preclude consuming the blood. The meat is then *kosher.*)
(4, 3) *Catholics and Orthodox Christians* traditionally avoid meat on certain days of the week—especially on Fridays, in order to fast in memory of Jesus's Passion.
(1) *Mormons* live without caffeine.
(4, 5) *Muslims* eat beef only when, as prescribed, the animal has been slaughtered under invocation of the name of God. The Qur'an forbids the consumption of pork (cf. Jews).
(3, 4, 5) *Russian and Greek Orthodox* monks eat no meat on Mondays, Wednesdays, or Fridays, in order to show, by fasting and abstinence, their participation in the Passion of Christ. They avoid pork and beef generally, as being difficult to digest, and distracting at prayer.
(4) *Rastafarians* eat no pork (as neither do Jews or Muslims).
(5) *Sikhs* eat no beef.
(2) *Daoists* traditionally refrain from bread, as spiked worms live in wheat silos.
(4, 5) *Zoroastrians* eat neither beef nor pork when in mourning. Likewise on the days of the month that are sacred to gods Ram, Rahman, and Gosh (who protect animals), they avoid taking meat. (COLORS and Hubert Mohr)

and culture, which organize body and sense. Like every living being, the omnivorous ('all-eating') human being must eat. What human beings eat, however, how and with whom they assimilate food, or how they reflect thereon, is dependent on respective social, religious, and cultural norms. They satisfy their hunger not instinctively, but with a system of learned methods transmitted by culture and religion. Thus, eating always stands between the 'primitive need' (Georg Simmel) of the → body and the 'civilizing deed' of the choice of nourishment, its distribution, methods of preparation, and habits of consumption. The taking of nourishment figures among the 'routinized' undertakings of everyday life—which, however, far transcend the latter.

Commensality

Eating is a self-interested activity. "What a person eats, under no circumstances can eat someone else."[1] Just so, however, in the situation of the meal human beings know themselves to be social beings, since they eat in common and follow common rules in doing so. In the meal, social relations are presented and reinforced. Not the victuals, but the manner of their ingestion is a society-generating phenomenon, creating a unity of individual and community (commensality). This manner can be that of one's routine eating in the family, eating at the festive meals celebrated at particular moments of one's life or of the calendar year, eating at a funeral reception, at Christmas, or after Ramadan by the breaking of the fast, at the → Lord's Supper, or at the Passover or Easter meal. Eating begets and rejuvenates social units: nourishment, then, is not only a medium of social integration, but a sensible, visible presentation of social, cultural, and religious differences, as well. The foreign is determined by the most elementary means—eating; it is identified by its taste. Not only does eating develop symbolical meaning, as social activity, but the food functions as a vehicle of meaning and symbol. Exclusive foods serve as prestige and status products for the identification of social positions and differences.

Nourishment and Religion

2. The elementary act of eating is not, therefore, exhausted in the satisfaction of a need of nutrients, but possesses a symbolical surplus of meaning, by way of which, in every religion and every culture, mighty questions of human existence are addressed and models of social order conceived. Let nutrition be good not only when it comes to eating, says French cultural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, but when it comes to thinking, as well. Dreams of paradise and expectations of salvation are charged with fantasies of unregulated eating and sweet foods, or of festal gourmandism (→ Feasts and Celebrations; Agrarian Religion). Eating is not only the recollection of the lost and a foretaste of the future land of ease. It symbolizes—like biting the apple—the Fall and the expulsion from precisely this paradise. In eating, the relationships of the here and now instituted and maintained, but it also builds a bridge between human beings and relations of the hereafter. In the bloody → sacrifice as the central act of so many religions, an act through which human beings strengthen their faith, a living organism is destroyed in order to influence invisible powers, to enter into community with them, to honor them, or to ban harmful influences. Through the meal of sacrificial food, those who partake are joined with one another, or, when the sacrificial animal is believed to contain the divine principle (totemism), united with that principle.

Dietary Prohibitions

3. We are not only what we eat, but also what we do not eat. The fact that beef in Central or Northern Europe, or in the United States, assuages an essential part of the need for meat, while it is tabooed as a source of nourishment among the Hindus, in India, finds its foundation not in these per se edible animals themselves, but in supervening elements of society, culture, or religious testimonial. Every culture and many religions divide foods into clean and unclean, to be eaten or not to be eaten, enjoined or prohibited (Mary Douglas). Nutritional customs of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have been essentially marked by dietary precepts found in the Hebrew Bible, which, it is true, have been abrogated or altered by Christianity and Islam. The most frequent instance is the prohibition of blood consumption, based on the notion that blood is the seat of the soul and vessel of life, and must be restored as such to God the Creator (Lev 17:10ff.; Deut 12:23). This acknowledgment of the fundamental order of being is the groundwork of the provision, that the blood be completely removed from the animal that has been killed in the rite of slaughter.

There are various explanations of dietary prohibitions. *Functionalistic* approaches emphasize the social-integration tasks of dietary taboos and the meaning of these tasks for the production of the collective identity. With the proscription of pork in Judaism, for example, it is pointed out that the division into clean and unclean meat underscores the Jews' cultural and national distinction from other peoples.

Cultural materialistic elucidations are based on economic cost-benefit logic, as well as on the 'theory of the optimal fodder quest' (Marvin Harris). Behind dietary taboos, utilitarian strategies are hypothesized, whose aim is to achieve a high nutritional profit from a small expenditure of energy. Pork was tabooed, first in Judaism and later in Islam, because environmental conditions in the Near East were unsuitable for pork farming, and the economic costs were therefore too high.

Structuralistic approaches take their point of departure in the notion that eating and animals are good for thinking. Their variety predestines them to a service as models of social order. Thus, such animals are prohibited that escape the criteria, and therefore the normality, of social ordering. Pork was therefore tabooed in Judaism on the basis of its anomalous character: in the Hebrew Bible's classification of dietary precepts, land animals were permitted to be eaten that were ruminant *and* had cloven hooves. But the hog has cloven hooves without being ruminant, and thus presents an anomaly where it comes to classification.

Dietary prohibitions usually refer to meat nourishment. They may be of limited duration, for example when associated with → feasts and celebrations, rites of initiation, or other biographical occurrences, such as pregnancy or death. In many religions, temporary proscriptions include the obligation of → fasting, as abstinence from food suspends current, profane time, in favor of a concentration on the meaning of human existence.

Dietary taboos are not restricted to worlds of religious conceptualization. By way of a scientific approach to daily thinking, discoveries of medical or nutritional science alter received nutritional relations. → *Vegetarianism* in modern societies—part of life-reform movements since the nineteenth century (→ Ascona/Monte Verità), with their criticism of civilization—is an example of the confluence of scientific thinking, culinary morality, and sometimes even spiritualistic attitudes. Thus, vegetarianism develops a

dynamics by which the nutritional relationship is altered. Abstinence from meat here becomes an expression of a moral sensitivity that can be highly charged emotionally, and psychically anchored in antipathy and aversion.

Eating in the Modern Age

4. With the secularization processes of European modernity, eating has been gradually released from its religious associations. Fewer and fewer norms and rules are guided by religion, although there are nutritional practices—for example, fasting—that have maintained their religious tone as they are transformed into worldly eating practices, like slimming diets that have come to acquire a quasi-religious quality. Eating in a demystified world is characterized by medical ('healthy eating'), pedagogical ('conscious eating', civilizing—'eating politely'), or scientific attitudes. These perspectives foster rational approaches to eating and place the physical health of the body at the center of attention. To be sure, nutritional habits exemplify what little hope there may be that a rationality of purpose will become a basic cultural orientation or contribute to the disestablishment of received customs. Thus, many dietary precepts and prohibitions (e.g., insects and canine flesh in Europe) seem unreasonable or are observed even when their religious origin and meaning are no longer present.

1. Simmel 1957, 243.

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→ *Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic, Animal, Asceticism, Body, Cannibalism, Drinking/Drink, Fasting, Feasts and Celebrations, Ramadan, Sacrifice, Vegetarianism*

Friedemann Schmoll

Economy

Satisfying Needs by Exchange

1. Economic trade is an activity proper to human beings. Its premises are, for one, unlimited needs, and for another, limited means of satisfaction of those needs. What sort of needs these are is not important. In terms of economics, no need is 'obvious.' The intention of economic exchange is to achieve optimal possible satisfaction of needs by optimal mediate

investment. While these abstract definitions are always valid, they generate no uniformity of economic exchange. The historical and intercultural variety of needs dictates a variety of means to their satisfaction. To boot, technological development determines economic configurations. Again, in every society, some needs are defined as being outside the purview of economics. For modern Western societies, religion, → eroticism, and → sexuality are largely de-economized, so that to 'buy' or 'sell' religion or love seems offensive. In the presence of a concept of economics broader than the process of exchange, however, it is altogether possible to speak of economic activity in their regard, especially in view of the fact that one of the intrinsically scanty means is time. The time that I spend in the satisfaction of religious needs can no longer be applied to the satisfaction of other needs.

In the abstract, all needs are equal. But, both individually and socially, there is an observable hierarchy of needs. While these needs are not necessarily inalterable, it is not completely false to speak of basic needs. In all ages, the need for nutrition and protection against the hardships of nature has stood at the focus of human action. Granted, it is empirically possible for a need other than these, in connection with religion particularly, to become so important that, for its satisfaction, voluntary starvation itself becomes a consideration.

Religious Goods

2. In an economic view, religion can be seen either as a means for the satisfaction of non-religious needs, or as a need in itself.

Means to an End

a) The first case refers to the human phenomenon that is empirically the most widespread, and presumably the oldest: religion. Religion as an independent need presupposes an advanced differentiation of religion. The introduction of religion for the satisfaction of non-religious needs can occur in manifold form: → magic (with hunting, and so forth), prayer for the success of an undertaking, vows, and the like. In such cases, it is irrelevant whether the means applied is 'objectively' promising or not. The old distinction between magic (as a designation for the activity just cited) and → religion (as a designation for religious actions that are not goal-directed) is polemical, and therefore frequently regarded as unusable. Economic activity whose upshot is particularly uncertain, as hunting, for example, or in earlier times, foreign trade, is very often prosecuted by religious means in addition to technological ones; while in everyday economic activity, religion is scarcely ever invoked. A familiar example would be the promise to *sacrifice to the god a part of the profit* (votive system) in case of success of the economic activity. This can be regarded as a kind of insurance policy, although, to be sure, the essential distinction here is that the 'insured' (in this case, the votary) pays a 'premium' only in case of the success of the risky undertaking, while the god risks losing devotees. It is consonant with the insurance hypothesis that the religious assurance of precarious economic actions has an important psychological function: that of at least partially delivering the subject of the uncertain economic action from the fear of not having done everything necessary for the success of the undertaking. Nor is this in any way a matter of 'primitive' ideas. All religions have integrated such acts somewhere in their system, although strictly monotheistic religions, with their idea of a radically transcending God,

had intellectual difficulties to overcome. At least in the area of folk religion, these theologically dubious practices were usually tolerated.

Religion as a Good and a Service

b) Even when religion is introduced as a means to a nonreligious end, the religious means can be considered a good (or a service), in whose terms a need exists that makes it necessary once more to satisfy the introduction of means. This state of affairs is easiest to explain by representing situations in which matters at issue are committed to the competency of religious specialists, who are concerned to satisfy their own needs, and who therefore are dependent on means not at their disposal. It then comes to acts of exchange, such as are customary in a society with a division of labor. Here an intellectual difficulty arises. If we postulate an individual who acts rationally in matters of economics, as economic theory presupposes, then it is to be expected that, in the long term, the demand will diminish for religious goods and services as a means for the satisfaction of non-religious needs. After all, merely by 'trial and error' the consumer will have had the experience that the result is not dependent on the introduction of the religious means. This process ought to lead to a religious decline that would come into evidence at least beginning with the early high cultures. Empirical data do not verify this hypothesis. Instead, an increase is observable in the supply of religious goods and services over the last five thousand years. Of course, it is likely that the proportion of religious goods available as means for non-religious ends will have diminished across the market and the supply area as a whole. The material prerequisite for this development, offered by technological evolution, is the smaller outlay of means (e.g., labor power) for the satisfaction of primary needs. Religion in the broader sense could then be regarded as a good for which a direct need developed. The case is similar in the area of art.

Are Religious Goods Worth the Outlay?

Supply and Demand

c) From the standpoint of economics, religion is always dealt with in terms of goods and services. By definition, these must be things or capabilities that (1) are scarce, and thus not available everywhere and always, and (2) satisfy a need. Whether the second condition is met can only be ascertained empirically: an inquiry must be conducted.

Whether religious goods or religious services are scarce is a difficult question to answer, and depends extensively on the capacity of the religious system whose goods or services are being sought. In nearly all religions, there is a group or class of specialists whose members offer religious services, such as the performance of rites, and who expect a good requital for doing so. The 'scarcity' resides in the fact that the specialists can refuse the service. In a framework of the *rational choice theory*, the relationship between supplier and consumer is geared to the principle of profit even with religious commodities, so that, of course, an open and transparent market is presupposed. But this presupposition is not very frequently observed in the history of religions. Genuine competition with respect to price is not observed among suppliers of religious commodities. Furthermore, religious goods belong to the class of goods whose quality is evinced only with use—if, indeed, in a given case, a 'quality check' is empirically possible. When competing offers are at hand, price is normally determined by a decision as to which rite or which specialists enjoy the most prestige. To be sure, the exercise of consumers' rational choice is not entirely excluded: they still have the opportunity to decide in favor of a less prestigious good.

Market and Rational Choice

Monopoly

An altogether different situation obtains when the religious market is ruled monopolistically, or when it is so segmented that specialized monopolistic suppliers act for different religious goods respectively. The former case long prevailed in Christian and Islamic societies; the latter are to be observed extensively in Japan, where, for example, non-Buddhist specialists typically perform marriages, while funerals are committed to Buddhist specialists. Then the only alternative for the consumer consists in refusing the offer altogether, which is sometimes excluded on cultural, or even legal, grounds. Negotiation is then limited to the supplier's expense-derived asking price, or the refusal of the offer.

Prohibition of Selling Religious Goods

d) It is a special case in religious economics, then, when a religious system prohibits the sale of religious goods. This obtains in an especially radical way in Christianity, and has entered church law under the concept of the prohibition of simony (Acts 8:18-24). It refers first and foremost to the 'priceless' quality of the sacraments. In the case of a consistent analogical application, then, there could be no specialists living from religion. As we know, this development has not occurred. Instead, it was a matter, at first, of the formation of coalitions (communities), in which the members of the community authorized customary contributions for the consumption of religious goods. Later, when Christianity had become the established religion, compulsory membership and regulated contributions came into usage, in the form of the tithe. Besides, since the Middle Ages, the clergy must be paid 'stole fees' for official acts. (The term is from *stola,* Lat., 'stole,' the vestment that priests donned on the occasion of these acts.) To be sure, it was always regarded as essential that it be a matter of a fee, and not of a price, so that no purchase was being made. Despite all dogmatic difficulties, a religious market has developed even in the history of Christendom, for example, as trade in devotional objects on the occasion of a pilgrimage and in the system of indulgences. Of course, protest was never absent, and led to religious currents that often withdrew from the market system with great success.

'Extra-Economical' Rejection of the World

e) From a perspective of theoretical economics, the question of why religious needs are present is irrelevant. In the view of religious studies, however, it is a question of central importance, since the most successful religious systems (the 'world religions,' as they are called) submit offers that obviously not only do not harmonize with the goods of the endeavors usually striven for (long life, health, wealth), but, at times, stand in direct opposition to them. One may speak of the tendency to a 'rejection of the world' in the world religions, where the degree and proportion of the rejection differs: earthly prosperity is more easily legitimized in Judaism and in Islam than in Buddhism or Christianity. Nevertheless, in both first-named religions, the religious (non-worldly) need is to be preferred to the worldly need, in case of conflicting opportunities of need satisfaction. True, in all 'world religions' actions and ideas developed in 'folk religion' that brought earthly goals well into agreement with religion. Nevertheless, it remains incontrovertible that the primary commandments of these religions are extra-worldly. Release from the wheel of rebirths (Nirvana), beatitude in a world that will become reality only after death (in Christianity and Islam).

For the relationship between religion and the economy, the question arises of how such large numbers of human beings can actually have been convinced that it is sensible to invest in these goods—that is, to posit means to their attainment. The older (crassly) materialistic thesis, that it has been purely a matter of earthly compensation that the unattainable quality of earthly goods has led to an illusionary flight to other goods, can be regarded as refuted by the history of religions. As a rule, on the consumer side, the vessels of the new religions offering extra-worldly goods were not the most underprivileged groups in their respective societies. One comes a step closer to a solution when one considers that the goods offered were not distinguished from earthly goods radically or all at once, but have come into this distinction only gradually, and in a context of an extensively assured satisfaction of material needs. The wish for a long life and the wish for immortality are not an infinite distance apart. Even religious systems that proclaim the goal of a termination of individual existence, in practice present themselves as also sponsoring the immediate goal of a blissful rebirth. Support of pious foundations and generosity to mendicant begging monks are payments with which this need is to be satisfied.

Reciprocal Services

f) It is a complicated case, then, when the satisfaction of a religious need corresponds to no contribution in the form of material gifts, but only to commitment as the member of a group. Here one must closely ascertain the nature of the engagement—that is, what contributions are required of the group member. It is decisive whether any group members receive payments based on the engagement of other group members. The Apostle Paul (1 Cor 9:4-18) maintains a polemic in practice against those who support themselves by the proclamation of the Gospel, although he does not contest their right in principle to do so. This testifies that, very early in the Christian communities, before the development of a clergy, itinerant missionaries lived at the cost of the community members. The nature of the contribution made by or expected from these missionaries (apostles) is of no account. The only decisive thing is the fact that people were prepared to make counter-contributions for these contributions, thereby establishing a relationship of exchange. Only in a religious group in which there was no sort of distribution of labor could relations prevail that were not of an economic nature.

Religion as an Economic Factor

3. The connection between religion and economy prevails not only at the level of the organization of religion, but also at that of the role of religious activity on behalf of a community's economic life.

Key Marketplaces

a) Religion as an economic factor is especially evident at a regional level. Places of pilgrimage, central temples, and other important sacred places favor the appearance of establishments that have key economic importance for an area. The prerequisite for such a development is that consumers have an adequate surplus that can flow into the satisfaction of religious needs. On the supply side, a situation of competition often arises in which suppliers must 'vaunt' their contributions. The more successful the marketing, the more, in that case, an entire region, or at least a place and its environs, can live from religion. → Mecca, Lourdes, and → Santiago de Compostela in Spain are outstanding examples.

Interruption of the Cycle by Fortune Building

b) If direct religious donations are made that are not fully taken up by operations, then, over time, a temple treasury appears, to grow with appropriate use. This pattern held for Christian monasteries in the Middle Ages. If a prohibition of sale is imposed, the property of the 'invisible hand' grows to quantities that may exert a certain influence on the economic life of an entire society. To all appearances, this development will be independent of religious content. Buddhist monasteries in Asian countries, Christian monasteries in Europe, and the second Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, are examples of the economic power of religious institutions that lose all connection with the religious goals they represent. Especially when individual poverty to the point of a total lack of possessions is required of the religious specialists, the institution may host the rapid appearance of a treasure. This treasure arouses the greed of political entities, and of the elites linked to them, and these seek grounds to reconvert the amassed goods to another use. The history of religions is accompanied by a → secularization of religious goods.

Welfare Bodies

c) In modern capitalist societies, the landed property of religious institutions (churches) is often still considerable, this is true; but it no longer plays any decisive role. A factor of growing importance, on the other hand, is the co-determination of the market by welfare bodies associated with the churches (→ Charitable Organizations). Although they dispose of considerable property in dead capital and real estate, their resources nevertheless consist especially in the shares of the social budgets that flow to them for services rendered. However, because these budgets are in the administration of the state or of regional corporations, services must be extensively rendered in religious neutrality. This leads to an organizational, as well as ideological, independence of the charitable organizations from the churches, which frequently continue to be bound with one another only by way of rhetorical attachments. The public only rarely notices the independence of these bodies. Thus, the churches appear to be vehicles of social service work, and this occasions the urge to claim to be financing these activities with moneys from the collections, which actually are applied almost exclusively for a church's religious purposes.

Economic Ethics of the Religions

4. Considering the basic importance of concrete economics for people of all times, it is not surprising that religious systems issue *declarations on the economies.* The administrators of the respective religions are decisive for the direction of these declarations. With newly forming religions—as has occurred with Buddhism and Christianity—the first administrative classes did not belong to the economic elite, but were instead 'intellectuals.' One of the results of this state of affairs is an indifference to economic activity, together with a warning against too close an entanglement in worldly affairs, and against the dangers of wealth. Consequently, one notes a rather negative attitude, in these cases, toward economic innovations. Religions that can look back on a long history and appeal to sources that have come into existence in an early phase of that history, often develop the inclination to idealize the economic conditions of that time, without taking it into consideration that relationships actually never corresponded to the ideal. Such tendencies are recognizable even in the Hebrew Bible, in criticisms by some

of the prophets (Amos) of an urbanization of economic patterns. Especially in situations of crisis, a religious argument returns to the supposedly good order of the past as a plausible solution for problems.

Generally, the 'world religions' regard a full merger with economic activity rather negatively. In a religion-based hierarchy of purposes, spiritual religious needs take precedence over purely material ones. But this does not prevent the mass of followers from placing economic interests in the foreground and aiming at religious purposes only toward the end of their lives. In Hinduism, an ideal life course is configured in four phases that a man ought to traverse. After the second phase, that of householder, which is devoted to the founding of a family and to economic activity, the last two phases belong to spiritual contemplation and withdrawal from active life. The high appraisal of the reflective (contemplative) life over the active life probably has no religious roots, but goes back to the early division between spiritual and corporal work.

Religion cannot actually become one of the drives toward an income-centered economic activity. In the few instances in which this nevertheless seems to be the case, it has happened along a rather indirect path. It was never a matter of direct encouragement to acquire riches, but of criticism of a lopsided higher appraisal of the contemplative life, with a simultaneous devaluation of the active life. The Reformers' religiously founded polemic against the monastic life, and the division of the clergy from the laity, led to a certain release of economic activity from the pressure of having to be justified. Relationships lie entirely differently when, either voluntarily (Jains) or under compulsion (Jews in Germany before Emancipation), members of a religion were confined to certain occupations, often in trade, and perfected a specific rationality for these trades. There is scarcely any evidence in the history of religions for economic success as a good to be pursued religiously. It steps forward rather as a concomitant phenomenon, for example in the expectation that, for one who leads a life pleasing to God, God will provide that all things emerge successfully in this world as well (→ Capitalism, Max → Weber). Only in the circles of new religions, for instance in Japan and in the United States (→ Scientology), worldly success can be regarded as part of a holistic concept intended to neutralize the dualistic tendency of the great religions that differentiate between true life and earthly existence.

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→ *Capitalism, Charitable Organizations, Everyday Life, Exchange/Gift, Interest, Secularization, Weber, Work*

Günter Kehrer

Ecstasy

Unlike → enthusiasm, when God or the Spirit enters human beings, in ecstasy (Gk., *ek-stasis*, 'standing out of') human beings 'leave' themselves, so that they lose consciousness and self-control. The concept is variously differentiated. In the psychological sense, euphoria (→ Emotions/Feelings) can be included. The anthropology of religion has especially described the techniques of the release of the spirit or → soul from the body by dance, rhythm, or drugs. In a context of the history of religions, the application in Neo-Platonism is even more specific. Neo-Platonism labels the way of the soul from this world into the other, for example in mystical meditation, as the 'leaving.' (See the description of the related phenomena in terms of cultural studies, under 'Trance.')

→ *Enthusiasm, Emotions/Feelings, Shamanism, Trance*

Christoph Auffarth

Ecumenical Movement

'Oneness'

1. The Ecumenical Movement denotes the "movement of oneness and coming together of Christianity on earth" (R. V. Kienle). The goal of the Ecumenical Movement *within* Christianity is the re-gathering of splintered Christianity to the one, holy, apostolic, and universal church of Jesus Christ, in the common → Lord's Supper and the worldwide bond of love of all churches. *Outside* Christianity, the purpose of the movement is a worldwide understanding of cultures and races, regions and religions, ideologies and sciences, over humanity's common questions, needs, and tasks.

The Greek word *oikouméne* means first of all the inhabited earth, as contradistinguished from the wilderness. In Hellenistic culture, the geographical notion is connected with the religio-cultural and political concept of a *"universally obligating community of human beings"* (O. Michel). Later the idea of the community of peoples is transferred to the *politico-legal* configuration of the Imperium Romanum.

Primitive Christian Oikoumene

2. Jesus himself joined to his proclamation of the imminent Reign of God concepts whose point of departure was the eschatological mission of Israel to *all peoples.* Thus, the primitive Christian mission reached out beyond the Jewish communities into the → *Diaspora*, and to the very boundaries of the Empire. But the New Testament *missionary command* (Matt 28:19-20) burst the boundaries of Judaism. After Paul, the Gospel was addressed

to *all* human beings. A network of communities sprang up all over the world: the *oikoumene* of the Christians.

Basic Problems of Christian Oikoumene

3. With its development into a universal religion, Christianity faced three special challenges: (1) The problem of its own *identity*: How can the original message be inculturated, in the most disparate cultures, without losing the connection with its origin? Even in New Testament times, church unity could be realized only as a broadly conceived 'synoptic' communality with the 'Jesus affair.' (2) The problem of *exclusivity*: Christianity understood itself as the eschatological, only true religion, to which the legacy—the promise to, and covenant with, the Jewish people—had finally been conveyed. In confrontation with non-Christian religions, at best only a polemical and defensive, apologetical self-presentation may be undertaken. (3) The problem of *dogmatism*: When Christianity was pronounced an authorized religion by Emperor Constantine, and, in 380, all citizens directed by Theodosius (by state law) to believe in it, Christianity was no unified, single movement. Schismatic by-churches and sects entwined the 'catholic' church. Only with the assistance of the first *ecumenical councils* (beginning with the Council of Nicaea, in 325) did the Emperors succeed in imposing a canon of *right belief* ('orthodoxy') and forming Christianity into a unified, single state religion. The ruler established by law what the correct faith was.

With this, the idea of a worldwide *oikoumene* was doubly abridged. It was restricted, first, to Christians, and then, to the membership of the Catholic (Orthodox) Church. But even with the means of the interdict, → Inquisition, and excommunication, the unity of the Church could not be compelled. In 1054, a *schism* occurred between the Greek and Latin Churches, and in 1518 the → *Reformation* began in Germany. Neither the Wars of Religion nor the Council of Trent (1545–1563)—despite mediators on both sides—succeeded in restoring unity. The Reformation churches gradually began to become → *denominations*. In the twentieth century, even the Roman Catholic Church began to show signs of dissolution, after it failed to react adequately to social change and the process of religious emancipation.

Oikoumene *in the Twentieth Century*

4. There had been repeated attempts to restore church unity. Only in the twentieth century, it is true, was there finally a comprehensive cultural globalization of Christianity, together with an assimilation of the insight that Christianity as a whole must leap the frontiers/borders of confessionalism. Since then, the concern of the ecumenical movement has been to bring the churches, confessions, and denominations together, into a world-encompassing, *single* church of all Christians. The ecumenical movement owes this breakthrough to two key events: (1) the 1948 founding of the *World Council of Churches* (WCC), with headquarters in Geneva, and (2) the *Second Vatican Council* of the Roman Catholic Church (1962–1965).

(1) In the WCC, four international ecumenical initiatives came together: the World Federation for Friendly Cooperation of the Churches, the International Missionary Council, and the World Conference of Practical Christianity combined in 1948 with the World Conference on Faith and the Constitution of the Churches. More than three hundred member churches in the WCC seek '*conciliar community*' in practice and doctrine.



No world peace without peace among religions. The World Prayer Conference of October 27, 1986, marks an important step in this direction: at the invitation of Pope John Paul II, Buddhists, Hindus, Jains, Muslims, Shintoists, Sikhs, Parsees, Jews, Christians, and members of the so-called traditional religions gathered in Assisi for common prayer for peace.

Most Reformation churches of Western Europe have signed the (1972) *Concord of Leuenberg* and grant each other common and Eucharistic intercommunion.

(2) With its "Decree on Ecumenism," *Vatican II* gave the process of unification a decisive impetus. Dialogue commissions were erected among the churches that discussed all essential controversial questions (justification, sacraments, church, office). A consensus was found on most divisive questions, so that remaining differences need no longer be grounds for a separation of the churches. Actually, with regard to recognition of the offices and community of the Lord's Supper—unlike practical ecumenical cooperation 'on the spot'—the theological *oikoumene* has come to no significant consensus. The upshot is stagnation of the ecumenical movement. Dwindling membership is enticing the churches to seek a recovery of lost ground by 're-confessionalizing.'

Inter-religious Dialogue

5. The change to a multi-religious society alters the interest of ecumenism. The question of how people of different religio-cultural origins can build a common entity harmoniously is becoming more important than the ecumenical idea of the churches. Foundations for the dialogue are, on the Christian side, the declarations of Vatican II (1965) and the WCC (1981) on → freedom of religion and active tolerance. In 1993, meeting in Chicago, the Parliament of World Religions published its "Declaration on a World Ethos" as a contribution to the dialogue and a common basis of action. At present, a trend is appearing toward ecumenical movements in non-Christian religions as well, and the initiative for the inter-religious

dialogue, which heretofore lay extensively with the Christian side, is being taken up by other religions.

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→ *Catholicism, Christianity, Church, Conflict/Violence, Peace, Protestantism*

Urs Baumann

Egypt

Egypt in Western Memory

1. Egypt has been present in Europe's cultural memory from the beginning. European identity rests on the two broad religious and cultural bases of Greece and Israel (→ Palestine/Israel). Each culture, in confrontation with Egypt, developed contrasting images of its own that came to be of key meaning and importance, for both the Hellenistic and the Israelite self-concepts, respectively. The contradictory reception of Egypt has gained entry into European awareness of history, and its ambivalence has impregnated our view of Egypt to our very day. While Greeks and Romans stood in awe of its extended age and of the magnitude of its civilizing accomplishments, the Israelites wrote Egypt off, in the Second Book of Moses (Exodus), as a despotic, dictatorial state, caught in the religious errors of idolatry, magic, and worship of the dead.

2. The great age and cultural constancy of old Egypt is impressive. In around 3000 BCE, Egypt, with its 'imperial unification,' entered the world stage, and ended, after thirty dynasties, with the death of Cleopatra (VII) in 30 BCE. The violent unification of upper and lower Egypt into an empire used to be seen as the birth of the Egyptian state. Today it is known that this phenomenon was a long process rather than an event. Meanwhile, scholars posit a 'Zero Dynasty' of some 150 years for the time of transition from pre-history to history. The last hieroglyphic inscription to testify to ancient Egyptian religion is placed at 394 BCE, after which hieroglyphic writing sank into oblivion until Jean François Champollion began to decipher it once more (1822).

According to Herodotus, Egypt is a gift of the Nile. The geographical contrast between an upper-Egyptian valley in the South, and a flat lower-Egyptian Nile Delta in the North, between wilderness and fertile soil, extended to the ancient Egyptian image of the world, in which a whole basically consists of two parts. But what has stirred the most fascination from time immemorial, along with history and landscape, are Egypt's religious monuments: pyramids, temples, and subterranean grave installations, on which even the Greeks and Romans, like modern tourists, left their graffiti. The process of modern civilization has entailed the demystification of the world. Without a pole of transcendency to which

to withdraw, human beings are delivered to the 'monstrous world' (Peter Sloterdijk). Nevertheless, they have a 'longing for meaning' (Peter Berger). In diametrical opposition stands the world of Egypt. Not democratic individualism, but a human god at the pinnacle of the power pyramid, stamps out the societal form. In Egypt, the secularization and demystification of modernity encounters a magical reverse image, in which everything is connected and reciprocally dependent, and in which a multiplicity of gods penetrate the world. The significance of Egypt refers to practically all objects, formations, and life forms, and, from an aesthetic perspective, generates a *Gesamtkunstwerk* ('total work of art'), and one reshaped in artistic productions of every sort to our very day. A mystery and a spell still seem to flow out of Egypt, to address, in exhibit and tourism, even a mass audience. The process of Egypt's → reception in the media, in which the difference to modernity and Christian piety is cunningly targeted, develops buzzwords like 'godlike rulers,' 'divinities in animal form,' and 'mysterious cult of the dead.'

Europe's Encounter with Egypt

3. In *Europe's encounter with Egypt*, two phases are to be distinguished: (a) antiquity, in which a confrontation with a still living culture took place, and (b) post-ancient Europe, in which Pharaonic Egypt has already perished.

Antiquity

a) In the astonished view of the Greeks, Egypt is the land of the sciences, of hidden knowledge (→ Atlantis; Esotericism), and art, but especially, that of recognition and reverence of the gods in mysterious cults (→ 'Mysteries'). Egypt's different appraisal of life and death, of the here below and the beyond, and—in close connection—the wish for immortality, struck the Greeks at once, as it has modern visitors. Antiquity's travelers in Egypt, Herodotus (in the fifth century BCE), Diodorus, and Strabo (both in the first century BCE) were fascinated by the animal cult alive at that time. The shock of the 'dog-headed gods' would long abide in Europe.

Middle Ages and Early Modern Times

b) In the Middle Ages, after acquaintance with Egyptian religion and culture had died and the pyramids were thought to have been Pharaoh's biblical granaries, knowledge about Egypt multiplied through the study of ancient authors by the humanists. This time, the interest of scholars and amateur archaeologists focused, on the one hand, on the investigation of the Pyramid of Cheops as the last wonder of the ancient world, and on the other, on the transmittal of Egypt's Hermetic tradition (→ Hermetism/Hermeticism; Esotericism). In the rediscovered, only conditionally Egyptian, writings of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, ascribed to Egyptian god Thot as Hermes Trismegistus, the humanists thought that they had found a key to Egypt's arcane teachings, mysteries, and alchemy. As a doctrine of the correspondence of macro- and microcosm and divine all-unity, Hermeticism was revived among the Rosicrucians of the seventeenth century and the Freemasons of the eighteenth and nineteenth (→ Freemasonry). The Freemasons, who saw Egypt as the cradle of the arcane sciences and the mysteries, likewise propagated the motif of the pyramids as locales of ordeal and initiation, as in the opera *Zauberflöte* (1791; Ger., "The Magic Flute"), of W. A. Mozart, well known to have been a member of a Freemasons' lodge. Confusing Islamic and Hermetic tradition, they supposed the

Pyramid of Cheops to be undiscovered treasuries and records of all of the knowledge of the time. These notions and yearnings are still alive today, as mystics of the pyramids hold that secret data, even regarding atomic physics, are stored in the Pyramid of Cheops. Civilian travels, Napoleon's military expedition of 1798–1801—basic work, *Description de l'Égypte* (1804–1822; Fr., "Description of Egypt")—together with the deciphering of the hieroglyphics early in the nineteenth century, created the foundations of modern Egyptology. An 'Egyptomania' sprang up, drawing to Egypt not only droves of scientists, but plunderers and treasure seekers as well.

Ancient Egypt in the Twentieth Century

4. Modern Egyptology, partly by way of sensational excavations, such as the discovery in 1922 of the nearly intact tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamen, but also through painstaking detail work on the sources in text and image, has been able to solve many of the riddles of Egyptian culture and religion, and revise earlier preconceptions. For example, Egyptians did not believe that their gods actually had the form of an animal, or—as in the typical composite form—a human body with the head of a beast. The composite form is to be read as an indicative sign ('ideogram'), whereby the head reflects the god's identifying attribute. The actual form of the gods was 'mysterious' and 'concealed.' The divine enjoys but transitory entry into images and sacred beasts, the intent of its sojourn being to keep the world in movement and operation. Only in the next world can human beings live in the presence of the gods. Besides the impressive funeral architecture of the pyramids and the cliff tombs, which at first was provided only for the Pharaoh as intermediary between gods and human beings, life after death presupposed the immortality of the body in the form of the mummy (→ Mummification). But the cult of the dead and existence in the hereafter were intelligible only in terms of the literature of the dead, such as the texts of pyramids and sarcophagi, along with the Book of the Dead and the books of the underworld. On the perilous trek of the dead in the beyond, maps and the Book of the Two Ways served as guides (→ Death and Dying).

Egypt's complex worlds of the beyond have been developed in novels, by authors like Franz Werfel (*Jeremias: Höret die Stimme*, 1937; Ger., "Jeremiah: Hear the Voice"), Gustav Meyrink (*Das grüne Gesicht*, 1916; Ger., "The Green Face"), or William Burroughs (*Western Lands,* 1987). The religious world of Egypt has offered a fascinating source of inspiration for literature, film, and cartoon strips even until today. Finally, as Roland Emmerich's → science-fiction film "Stargate" (1994) has shown, the images of Egypt are still transmitted, in their ambivalence of despotism and awe.

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→ *Antiquity, Death and Dying, Mummification, Reception*

Edmund Hermsen

Egypt / Ancient Near East: Time Chart

Chronologies

1 a) Chronology of Egypt
(Following Jürgen von Beckerath: *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten*, Mainz 1997)

c. 6000 BCE	Badari cultures (A + B) in Egypt	Neolithic cultural groups; agriculture; ceramics; cemeteries with corpses on stools, and burial gifts.
c. 4000	Naqada cultures (I-III)	Continuation of burial cult; ceramics with images of animals; female idols, illustrations of ships; palace and ritual installations.
c. 3150	0 Dynasty (some 150 years)	Direct transition from the Naqada culture to the first pan-Egyptian rulers.
3032–2707	Ancient era: First and Second Dynasties	Discovery of hieroglyphic script and pottery shards; twelve-month calendar; central governmental administration; royal tombs.
2707–2170	Ancient Realm: Third to Eighth Dynasties	Pantheon of the gods; Sun God Re; erection of temples; complex notions of the hereafter; construction of the great pyramids.

c. 2604–2581	Cheops, Egyptian Chufu (Fourth Dynasty)	Builder of the largest pyramid (146 m), at Giza.
2367–2347	Unas (Fifth Dynasty)	Beginning with Unas, inscription of the pyramids with the “pyramid texts”; besides Re, Osiris, Ruler of the Dead, guarantees the continued existence of Pharaoh in the hereafter.
c. 2170–2020	First intermediate era (Ninth/Tenth Dynasties)	Collapse of the central administration; chaos.
2119–1794	Middle realm	Reorganization of the sacred royal realm; Amun Re as ‘King of the Gods’; Osiris cult in Abydos; era of classical literature.
1794–1550	Second intermediate era (Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties)	Confusion of the throne; Hyksos rule; horse and chariot.
1550–1070	New Realm (Eighteenth–Twentieth Dynasties)	Egypt’s shining hour, and maximum extension; immense construction projects; underworld books, and Book of the Dead.
1504–1492	Thutmosis I (Eighteenth Dynasty)	Erection of the Temple of Amun in Karnak, and installation of royal burial places in the Valley of the Kings.
1351–1334	Amenophis IV (later Akhenaton)	Sole veneration of the Solar Disk (Aton); new residence in Tell el-Amarna; commemoration of Akhenaton

		in Egypt is completely extinguished after his death.
1279–1213	Ramses II (Nineteenth Dynasty)	Egypt's most celebrated pharaoh, ruled sixty-six years; the departure of the Israelites is said to have taken place under his rule.
1070–664	Third intermediate era (Twenty-First to Twenty-Fifth Dynasties)	Disintegration into two power centers, Tanis and Thebes; Lybian rule in Egypt.
664–332	Late Era (Twenty-Sixth to Thirty-First Dynasties)	In religion and art, an archaicizing return to more ancient eras; rule of the Persians.
332–30	Greek rule	Alexander the Great conquers Egypt; realm of the Ptolemies
30 BCE until 395 CE	Roman rule in Egypt	At first, temples continue to be built; but with the penetration of Christianity, the ancient Egyptian religion slowly dies out.
4^{th} cent. CE	Demise of the Egyptian religion	The year 394 CE is the date of the last hieroglyphic writing (in the Temple of Isis at Philae).
1 b) *Chronology of the Ancient East (Mesopotamia, Persia)*		
c. 9000 BCE	Neolithic revolution	In the Middle East, especially in the mountains of Iran, transition to an agriculture of seasonal planting and harvests; wheat-planting, organized farming,

		domestication of animals. First settlements, with animal husbandry and orchards (Çatal Hüyük; Jericho).
c. 3000	Mesopotamia (Sumer and Akkad)	Invention of cuneiform writing; extensively independent city-states (temple cities); Eridu (founded 4000), Uruk, Kish, Ur, and Lagash; each city has its own god.
c. 2800	Gilgamesh, King of Uruk	The *Epic of Gilgamesh*, which takes its name from this ruler, addresses the question of death: first written copy c. 2000 BCE (Sumerian, later Akkadian).
2334–2279	Sargon, First Dynasty of Akkad	Sargon unites Babylonia; Akkadian language; pantheon of the gods: Anu, Enlil, Ea, as well as Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar (Akkadian, by adoption of Sumerian deities).
2112–2004	Third Dynasty of Ur ('Sumerian Renaissance')	Last Sumerian realm; subsequently, degeneration into rival city-states.
1792–1750 (1696–1654)	Hammurabi of Babylon; First Dynasty of Babylon	Renewed unification of the realm; important collections of laws; *Codex Hammurabi*; Marduk, city god of Babylon, becomes First God of the Pantheon (creation myth: *Enuma Elish*, 1100 BCE).

912–891	Adad Nerari II (New Assyrian Empire to about 625)	Beginning with this Assyrian ruler, Babylonia finds itself under Assyrian control; Assyria rises to the status of world ruler; god Assur now corresponds to god Marduk.
625–539	Late Babylonian Empire	Rule of the Aramaic Chaldeans; rebuilding and last flowering of Babylon.
604–562	Nebuchadnezzar II	Conquest of Jerusalem, 597 BCE; Babylonian Captivity of the Jews.
c. 700–330	Achaemenides rule in Persia	Beginning in the third millennium BCE, the Achaemenides join themselves to the Realm of Elam in Persia; development of Zoroastrianism; god: Ahura Mazda; priests are called 'magi'; literature of *gatha* ('songs').
539	Cyrus II conquers Babylon	After the Persian conquest, Babylonia diminishes in importance; Jews are released from their Babylonian Exile.
336–330	Darius III is defeated by Greek Alexander	Last ruler of the Persian Empire, which, with the help of satraps from the Balkans, extends through Kush to the Indus River.
321/312–264	Seleucids in Persia	Despite Hellenism, Iranian traditions are preserved.

c. 247 BCE–226 CE	Arsakid rule	*Avesta,* foundation stone of Zoroastrianism; dualistic image of the world; development of a Zoroastrian apocalypticism; cult of Mithras.
224–651 CE	Sassanid rule	Zoroastrianism as the state religion.
7th cent.	Islamization of Iran	Followers of Zoroastrianism flee to India (Parsism; → Zoroastrianism).

1 c) *History of Reception of the Cultures and Religions of Egypt and the Ancient East*

Era 1: The Travelers of Antiquity (Greeks and Romans), fifth cent. BCE to fourth cent. CE

Since the middle of the 5th cent. BCE	Greeks discover Egypt and the Ancient East for Europe	Reception of the Ancient East and Egypt begins with Herodotus (484–425), the Ionian Greek who writes the *Histories*, with reports on Persians and Egyptians; further chroniclers: Diodorus and Strabo.
c. 46–120 CE	Plutarch, priest of the Apollo Sanctuary in Delphi	Plutarch travels Egypt, and composes books on the ancient Egyptian religion. His book on Isis and Osiris is renowned.
391 CE	Closing of all temples, demise of the ancient Eastern religions	With Christianity now the state religion, a decree of Emperor Theodosius I proscribes the temple cult.

Era 2: Rediscovery of the Ancient East, Egypt, and Antiquity in Renaissance and Modernity, Fifteenth to Eighteenth centuries		
since the 15th cent.	Flourishing of → Hermetism/Hermeticism, → Kabbalah, → astrology, → magic, and alchemy	In the Renaissance, the key figures of primordial wisdom are Iranian Zoroaster, Egyptian Greek Hermes Trismegistus (*Corpus Hermeticum*, first–second centuries CE), and Egyptian Thot.
16th/17th cent.	First scholarly travel-report on the Ancient East and Egypt	Pietro della Valle visits Babylon (1616); Jean de Thevenot (1633–1667) explores the Ancient East and Egypt; with the seventeenth century, a great wave of travel commences.
1791	*Die Zauberflöte* (Ger., “The Magic Flute”; W. A. Mozart) —Pyramids and Initiation	The opera develops ideas of Freemason Ignaz von Born (*Über die Mysterien der Ägypter* [Ger., “Mysteries of the Egyptians”; 1784]).
End of 18th cent.	Enthusiasm for Egypt (onset of ‘Egyptomania’)	Egypt attracts ever more visitors; Napoleon, in 1784, explores Egypt with military might and scholarly competency.
Era 3: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Decoding of the Languages, Excavations, Mass Tourism		
since 1810	Egypt is plundered, but systematic excavations also begin.	Adventurers, treasure-hunters, and plunderers establish, with their spoils, the Egyptian collections of European museums (Louvre/Paris, British Museum/

		London, Museo Egizio/Turin, Egyptian Museum/Berlin). Simultaneously, the excavations of ancient Egyptian memorials begin.
1809–1822	*Description de l'Égypte* (Fr.)	Nine volumes of text and eleven volumes of illustrations from Napoleon's expedition yield the beginnings of Egyptology.
1822	Deciphering of the hieroglyphics by Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832)	Champollion's achievement makes it possible to read Egyptian testimonials in the original for the first time since antiquity.
1847–1850	Finds of Nineveh and Nimrud	The Assyrian palaces become a sensation in Europe.
1851–1853	Deciphering of the cuneiform script	The accomplishments of Henry C. Rawlinson (1810–1895) and Edward Hincks (1792–1866) become the foundation of Assyriology.
Round 1900	Babylon is excavated	Pan-Babylonianism: All cultures are supposed to have come from Babylon; the Bible-Babel dispute calls the Christian Bible into question.
1922	Grave of Tutankhamun discovered	Howard Carter and his patron, Lord Carnarvon, excavate the first undisturbed burial site of a pharaoh. The opening of the tomb becomes

		a worldwide media event.
20th cent.	Myth of Egypt	Ancient Egypt is present in all media; excavations yield more and more discoveries; mass tourism in Egypt.

Edmund Hermsen

Festal Calendar of Ancient Egypt

1. *Festal Typology*

In Egypt, the following kinds of festivals were distinguished: (a) the Festivals of the Month ('Feasts of the Sky') and (b) the Festivals of the Year ('Feasts of the Course of Time'). There were, besides, (c) the Royal Festivals, and finally, (d) the daily Temple Ritual.

a) The 'Feasts of the Sky' (*ḥbw nw pt*) were festivals of the month, related to the lunar-stellar (sidereal) calendar (observation of the phases of the moon). The festivals of the month were purely temple festivals, and as a rule were observed for one day only. On the first day of the first month of Achet (July 19 in the Julian Calendar, the end of June in the Gregorian), the New Year's Feast 'Emergence of Sothis' (*prt Spḏt*) or 'Opening of the Year' (*wpt-rnpt*) was observed. Recurring lunar feasts were the 'New Moon Feast' (*psḏntjw*), which was observed on the day on which the waning moon was no longer visible, and the 'Full Moon Feast' (*jʿḥ wr*). There were still other lunar feasts, depending on region and era: under Thutmosis III, twenty-eight lunar feasts were celebrated in Karnak.
b) The 'Feasts of the Course of Time' (*ḥbw tp trw*) were Festivals of the Year that return in the cycle of the solar year, and were related to the 'ordinary year' (see Survey below). As a rule, Festivals of the Year were celebrated as processional festivals, and lasted several days. The typical time-span of a festival period comprised a *decade,* which combined an Egyptian workweek of ten days with a festival day.
c) The 'Royal Festivals' included the Feast of the Ascent the Throne, of the Coronation, and the Sed Feast. As a ritual of the renewal of the power of the King, the Sed Feast (*ḥb-sd*) regularly occured thirty years after the Enthronement, as a Festival of Jubilee, and if repeated, occured the second time three years after the first festival, for the Thirty-Third Jubilee.
d) The *daily temple ritual* represented the cultic center of the old Egyptian religion, and was performed every day in the temples of Egypt.

2. *The Egyptian Calendar*
The festival cycle referred to the Egyptian calendar, and rested on the vegetation cycle. It commenced with the beginning of the annual flooding of the Nile. Three seasons were distinguished, each with four months of thirty days apiece. In addition, five additional or 'switch' days (*epagomenoi*) occured, so that the Egyptian year comprised 365 days.

The seasons were called
- *Achet* (Flooding Season, July to October);
- *Peret* (Sowing Season, November to February);
- *Shemu* (Harvest Season, March to June).

The seasons were subdivided into the twelve months of the flexible ('moving') Year:
- The months of the Flooding Season were (1) Thot, (2) Paophi, (3) Athyr, and (4) Choiak.
- The months of the Sowing Season were called (5) Tybi, (6) Mechir, (7) Phamenoth, and (8) Pharmuthi.
- The Harvest Months were (9) Pachons, (10) Payni, (11) Epiphi, and (12) Mesore.

Many monthly names were formed from the respective festal designations.

The Egyptian calendar took no note of quarter-days, nor, then, did it have a leap year. As a result, in the course of time, the lunar calendar and the succession of years were less and less in agreement. The New Year festival drifted in the lunistellar calendar, being determined by the first rising of Sothis (Sirius), which announced the beginning of the Nile flooding. The succession of years, however, remained unaltered. Only after a 'Sothis period' of 1460 years did both New Year's days agree once more. This occurred in the 139th year CE, which was honored by the minting of a special coin. Egypt's chronology is determined by the Sothis period.

3. *Course of the Festivals, and the Festal Liturgy*
Feasts were bound up with sacrifices, and were celebrated as ritual. Every feast included a sacrificial round, at the conclusion of which offerings of foodstuffs were distributed to the population. A normal monthly festival meant 84 loaves of bread. At the Festival of Sokar, the number was some 4,000. Daily worship was completely enclosed in the Temple; thus, processional festivals were of extraordinary importance, observed as they were outside the Temple, in public. For the people, festivals constituted the sole opportunity for active participation in religious life. Thus, religious feasts tended to be popular festivals, with the crowds of people maintained gratis on both sides of the festival street, with presentations in the form of dancing, theater, and 'battles.' At processional feasts, the gods were taken from a temple in their barks. Major festivals gained even more importance and meaning in the personal appearance of the King. In addition, processional festivals provided believers with the opportunity to address with questions the sacred image of the god, which stood as an oracle in the midst of the celebration. The oracle responded

only with 'yes' or 'no' decisions, in the bending of the shrine of the bark, which was carried by the priests, forward or backward. A motion to the fore meant yes, one to the rear meant no.

At numerous festivals, such as at the feasts of Sokar or Min, reference is made to a seasonal nature cycle. Plowing, sowing, and harvest were observed with their respective special festival days. The best-known processional feasts are the feasts Opet and Tal, in the Thebes of the New Kingdom, at whose midpoint stand the god Amun, as well as the King. The chief event of the Feast of Opet was the ritual emergence of the images of the gods from the Temple of Karnak to the Temple of Luxor, some three kilometers south (Festival of the Visit). Originally, the images of the gods were borne, in their barks, by pack animals, along a processional street, with the opportunity to question the oracles, to Luxor, and then back again to Karnak. Later, the sacred images executed their duty with boat trips on the Nile. The 'Sacred Wedding' was held, of Amun and the mother of the reigning pharaoh. At the Feast of the Valley (or Festival of the Desert Valley), the same sacred images journeyed to the royal Temple of the Dead, standing opposite the banks of the Nile. The Feast of the Valley was also the Theban Festival of the Dead, at which a nightly burial was performed, in the graves of the Necropolis in Western Thebes. The Festival of the Dead was a meeting between the living and the deceased.

Survey: The Most Important "Festivals of the Course of Time" (Annual Festivals)

Date of the Egyptian Calendar	**Festal Type / Festal Deity**	**Festal Name**	**Festal Duration and Function**
Festivals of the Time of Flooding (*achet*), July to October			
Thot 1	New Year's Festival (*wpt mpt*)	Birthday of Re (-Harachte) (*mswt R^{c}-Ḥrw-3ḫtj*)	Festal duration 5 days in all
Thot 19/20	Festival of Thot (*Ḏḥwtjt*)	Festival of Inebriation (*tḫj*)	Festival of Gladness, 2 days
Paophi 15	Festival of Opet (*p3 n jpt*) in Thebes	Earlier "Festival of Ptah" *Ptḥ rsj jnbw.t*)	11 days and longer
Athyr 29	Festival of Hathor (*ḥb Ḥwt-ḥrw*)	Festival of the Lady of Dendera (*ḥb ntb Jwnf*) Manifestation of Hathor (*ḫ^{c}jt njt Ḥwt-ḥrw*)	In the Hathor Temple of Dendera the festival went on for a month

Date of the Egyptian Calendar	**Festal Type / Festal Deity**	**Festal Name**	**Festal Duration and Function**
Choiak 25/26	Festival of Sokar (*ḥb Skr*), in the late era superimposed by the Mysteries of Osiris	Consists of several individual festivals: esp. 4.22, Festival of Hoeing (*ḥb ẖbs t3*); 4.30, Erection of the Djed Column (*sʿḥʿ ḏd*)	The Sokar Festival can last, in all, Cholak 18-30; the Mysteries of Osiris were celebrated Cholak 12-30
Festivals of the Time of Harvest (*schemu*), March to June			
Pachons 1	Festival of Renenutet (*ḥb Rnnwtt*)	Birthday of Corn God Nepri (*mswt Nepr*)	Old Harvest Thanksgiving Festival
Pachons 15	Festival of Min (*ḥb Mnw*)	Stair Festival of Min (*prt Mnw r ẖt*)	Harvest and Coronation Festival, several festal days
New moon of Payni	Festival of the Valley (*p3-n-jnt*)	The 'Lovely Festival of the Desert Valley' (*ḥb nfr n p3jnt*)	Festival of the Dead, of at least 2 days' duration
Intercolation or 'Connection' Days (*Epagomenen*; Egypt. *ḥrjw-mpt*) between end of year and new year	Birthdays of the Gods (*mswt nṯrw*)	1st Connection Day: Osiris (*wswt Wsjr)* 2nd Connection Day: Horus (*mswt Ḥr*) 3rd Connection Day: Seth (*mswt Stẖ*) 4th Connection Day: Isis (*mswt 3st*) 5th Connection Day: Nephthis (*mswt Nbt-ḥwt*)	The Rites of the Arraying and Anointing of the Images of the Gods, as well as the offering of sacrifice on the epagomens serve as the preparation of the New Year's Festival, on which the Supreme God of the respective temple 'makes an appearance.'

Survey: The Egyptian Cult of the Gods (alphabetically, by selection from the Festal Calendar

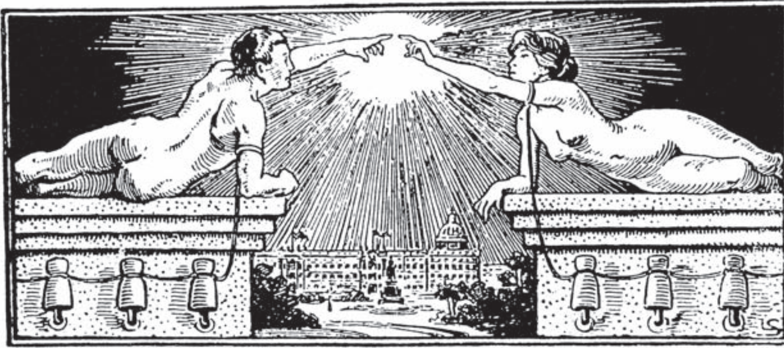
God/dess	**Presentation/ Attribute**	**Principal Place of Cult or Worship**	**Festivals**	**Functions**
Amun (*Jmn*)	Human form with tall crown of feathers	Thebes (*W3st*)	Opet Festival and Valley Festival in Thebes, festivals in Karnak and Medinet Habu	'All-God,' as the 'Hidden' God of the Wind
Hathor (*Ḥwt-ḥrw*)	Female form with cow horns and sun disk, or as a cow	Dendera (*Jwnt*)	Hathor Festival, temple festivals in Dendera	Mother Goddess, Goddess of the Sky, of Love, and of the Dead; 'All-Goddess'
Horus (*Ḥr*)	Human being with falcon-head, or falcon	Hieraconopolis (Gk., 'Falcon City,' Egypt. *Nḫn*), Edfu (Ḏb3)	Birth of Horus (Connection Day 2), temple festivals in Edfu	God of Sky and of King
Isis (*3st*)	Female-formed with throne-sign	Island of Philae, at Assuan	Birth of Isis (Connection Day 4), Mysteries of Isis	Throne Goddess, Mother Goddess, Mistress of Enchantment, the 'Many-Shaped'
Min (*Mnw*)	God with an erect phallus	Koptos (*Gbtjw*), Achmim (*Jpw*)	Festival of Min (Festival of Fertility)	'Lord of the Power of Generation'

God/dess	**Presentation/ Attribute**	**Principal Place of Cult or Worship**	**Festivals**	**Functions**
Osiris (*Wsjr*)	Human form with a crooked staff and a scourge	Abydos (*3bḏw*); later, the Nile island of Bigge (*Abaton*)	Celebration of Osiris in Abydos, Mysteries of Osiris in Choiak	God of the Dead, 'Lord of Eternity'
Ptah (*Ptḥ*)	Human form, disjointed, with cap or hood on head	Memphis (*Mn-nfr*)	Festival of Ptah, temple festivals in Memphis	God of Artisans, God the Creator
Re (*R*ᶜ)	Human form with sun disk	Heliopolis/ On (*Jwnw*)	Birth of the Sun (Festival of the New Year)	Sun God, Preserver of the World
Renenutet (*Rnnwtt*)	Cobra, or woman with cobra's head	Medinet Madi (*Ḏ3*)	Festival of Renenutet (Festival of the Harvest)	Goddess of Fertility and the Harvest, Protective Goddess of Pharaoh
Sokar (*Skr*)	Falcon, or human form with falcon head	Memphis (*Mn-nfr*)	Festival of Sokar	God of the Necropolises and the Dead
Thot (*Ḏḥwtj*)	Human form with head of Ibis, Ibis, or Pavian	Hermepolis (*Ḫmnw*)	Festival of Thot	God of the Moon, God of the Art of Writing and of Wisdom

Edmund Hermsen

Electricity

1. With the discovery of electricity and magnetism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the → European history of religion changed, too, with the new bands of attachment between the sciences on the one side and religious patterns on the other. Attraction or repulsion, energy working at a distance (or arriving via other objects), and, finally, even experimental little bolts of lightning could now be generated, and they supplied fundamentally new 'plausibility schemata' for areas until now fixedly

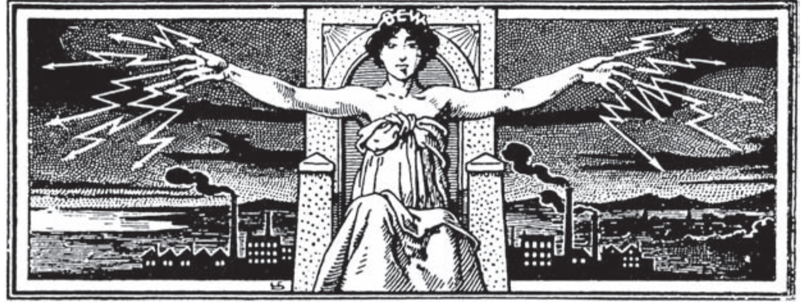


Around 1900, the image of electricity as the energy of life was captured in the gigantic halo of a leaping spark: *Attractio electrica* and life-dispensing rays unite the fingertips of the pair lying facing each other, as if in an act of creation. The larger-than-life insulators represent the controllability of the event.

occupied by religion. The thunderbolt as divine weapon and arm of punishment was the important object of an 'atomistic explanation' as early as the first century BCE, at the hands of Lucretius.[1] Fine atoms of fire squeeze out of the clouds, and this is merely a phenomenon of nature. The lightning bolt is neither a punishment, nor a sign, nor indeed an instrument of the might of the gods. Action at a distance, as theoretical groundwork of magical practice, is called in question in atomistics just as basically: Lucretius, like Epicurus, tenaciously held the 'immediate contact' as the groundwork of any and every effect.

From Antiquity to Romanticism

2. In classical antiquity, certain observations as to the power of attraction of lodestone (magnetic stone) and crushed amber (in Gk., *électron*) are set forth as argument for the ensoulment of these stones. According to Aristotle, in his *On the Soul*, chap. 12, Ionian philosopher of nature Thales of Miletus (c. 625–547 BCE) ascribed a → soul to lodestone, "because it moves iron." In early modernity, William Gilbert (*De Magnete*, London, 1600) coined the new name, *vis electrica* (Lat., 'amber force'), for the electric and magnetic phenomena that he had observed and had evaluated as an 'independent natural force,' reverting to the ancients for his designations. The (often public) experiments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—especially in a framework of *physico-theology*, as it was called—with electrical phenomena of all sorts then delivered schemata of meaning for the most varied claims and effects. Now the action and presence of God in the world were no longer developed on the ancient symbolism of light and its metaphysics, but could receive an entirely different system of relations. The systems of symbols thus designed differ from traditional light symbolism on one point, basically: they no longer appeal to everyday experiences and their plausibility, but—working with current science only—were present at the laboratory tables of gigantic scholars. Theological outsiders like Athanasius Kircher, Divisch, or Friedrich Christoph Oetinger, extensively invoked electrical phenomena of the laboratory table for the interpretation of the Bible: "The great 'electrician' Divisch reached out for the works of God, took sacred scripture as his norm, and discovered what excels all metaphysics," Oetinger notes,[2] inaugurating something like a 'theology of electricity.' Permeating the whole was a demonstrative dealing with electricity, one that bound together 'fear and method': Johann Konrad Gütle sent lightning bolts to strike little model houses, which then actually burned. But when they had a lightning rod installed, an astonished audience could witness lightning generation and lightning shield all at once.[3]



A *Diva Electrica*, enthroned, with the initials of the power plant as her divine crown and the mantle of the gods on her knees, slings thunderbolts of benediction over an industrial landscape. The result is not punishment and annihilation, but smoking chimneys and sparkling cities. For this is the might of the gods, controlled.

Physico-theologian Gütle played a typical double role in dealings with electricity: the subjection and demystification of nature were presented complementarily. Ernst Benz had shown, for this field of scientific and religious development, "how the discovery of electricity in the course of the eighteenth century [. . .] brought with it an extremely important reversal of the structure of the concept of God, of the contemplation of God in the world, and consequent upon this new idea of God, also a fully new understanding of the relationship of soul and corporality, spirit and matter, life and substance."[4]

In a framework of *Romantic science* the association of nature, life, and electricity were interpreted anew and inducted into the speculative conglomerate of galvanism, mesmerism, and magnetism. With the collapse of Romanticism as a scientific movement, this field of a direct encounter between scientific concepts and 'religion' came to an end.

3. The rapprochement of religion and 'electricity,' which had been sought for a short term in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, comes to a fairly abrupt halt with the nineteenth century. The orientation patterns and interpretation schemata changed and broadened: energy, fields, and waves were understood to deliver the new, frankly more complex phenomena of relations, interpretable by religion. Even a "modernization of magic" (H. Knoblauch) overreaches a 'theology of electricity': energy fields of all kinds successively surpass the 'magic of the material.' Around the turn of the century, with the invention of the 'electric light,' with light bulbs and street lights, one last 'thrust to mythologization' is observed, climaxing about the time of the 1900 World's Fair in Paris, and returning to images created by the ancients (see pictures). In the interpretational schema of dynamism (→ Power), the paradigm of 'electricity' in religious studies retained up to the middle of the twentieth century a certain currency for the interpretation of foreign and ancient religions.

1. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* (Lat., "The Nature of Reality"), book 6, nos. 96-422.
2. Cf. Benz 1970, 86.
3. A. Rüger, "Populäre Naturwissenschaft in Nürnberg am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," in: Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte 5 (1982), 173-191.
4. Benz 1970, 6.

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→ *Light/Enlightenment, Power, Science*

Burkhard Gladigow

Eliade, Mircea

Between Academy and Fiction

Born in Bucharest, Romania, in 1907 Mircea Eliade began to write imaginative fiction at the age of 12. In 1925 he enrolled in the department of philosophy of the University of Bucharest and his thesis of 1928 examined 'Contributions to Renaissance Philosophy' including Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and Giordano Bruno. With a licentiate degree and a grant from the Maharaja of Kassimbazar to study in India, Eliade left Romania in 1928 with the hope of 'universalizing' 'provincial' Western philosophy. He studied Sanskrit and Indian philosophy at the University of Calcutta under Surendranath Dasgupta. He traveled around India, visiting sites of religious interest, participating in the Kumbh-Mela festival at Allahabad, staying at the Svarga Ashram at Rishikesh under swami Shivananda, and returning to Bucharest in 1932. He submitted his analysis of Yoga as his doctoral thesis at the Philosophy department in 1933. Published in French as *Yoga: Essai sur les origines de la mystique Indienne* (1936) this text was revised and became one of his major works, *Yoga, Immortality, and Freedom*.

Shortly after returning to Bucharest the publication of his novel, *Maitreyi* (1933) assured Eliade's stature as a best-selling novelist in Romania. He continued to write fiction in Romanian after moving to the United States; however, he did not advertise his literary accomplishments to his Anglophone readership and his fiction remains largely unpublished in English, although there are significant exceptions, including the novel he regarded as his *chef d'oeuvre*, *The Forbidden Forest*. Eliade's fiction utilizes a dialectic of realism and fantasy, comparable to 'magic realism.' His most common technique is to write in a realistic manner but gradually to introduce fantastic elements until the world of the commonplace is transformed into some mythic realm. However, some of his work is entirely fantastic while other novels are apparently realistic, as is his *Forbidden Forest*.

Politics

Eliade lectured at the University of Bucharest from 1934 to 1938 and became involved in politics. Between 1936–1938 he wrote journalistic articles in support of the Legion of the Archangel Michael, an ultra-rightist group, founded by C. Z. Codreanu in 1927. Eliade was imprisoned as a result of this support, but was released without charges after four months. After 1938 he no longer gave any public support to the Legion. Claims have been made that Eliade ran for public office with the legionary party, and his legionary connections have led to accusations of fascism and anti-Semitism, but conclusive evidence is lacking. During the war he was appointed to the Romanian Legations in London and Lisbon and after 1945 he stayed in Paris, teaching part-time at the Sorbonne and composing some of his most influential work including *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1949), a synchronous, morphological compilation of religious motifs; *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (1949), which he considered subtitling "An Introduction to the Philosophy of History," develops his argument that *homo religiosus* experiences time as heterogeneous; *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (1951) popularized shamanism as a universal form of religious behavior; and *The Sacred and the Profane* (1957) is a response to Rudolf Otto's *The Idea of the Holy* (1917; → Holy), in which Eliade claims that the sacred is not only the opposite of the profane but is constituted by a dialectic in which the sacred is both concealed in and reveal by the profane.

History of Religions

In 1956, at the prompting of Joachim Wach, Eliade was invited to lecture on "Patterns of Initiation" at the University of Chicago, and on Wach's death in 1958 Eliade assumed the chair of the History of Religions department there. Here he founded the journals *History of Religions* and *The Journal of Religion*, and was editor-in-chief of Macmillan's sixteen volume *Encyclopedia of Religion*. He also published *A History of Religious Ideas* (1978–1985), a three-volume chronology of religious ideas, complementary to *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. Through these activities, other publications, and his tuition of a generation of successful scholars, he was, from the early 1960s through the 1970s, the most influential single figure in the History of Religions in the United States. He died in Chicago in 1986.

Eliade argued that myth and ritual allow an eternal return to a realm of renewable sacred time (*illud tempus*) and thus protect religious humanity against the 'terror of history,' an existential anxiety in the face of the absolute 'givenness' of historical time. He undermined the religious/non-religious distinction, however, by insisting that non-religious humanity in any pure sense is non-existent. Myth and *illud tempus* exist concealed in the world of 'non-religious' humanity. Eliade set himself against historicism (→ History), insisting that the → time of human experience is irreducible to 'historical' time. He defined → religion in terms of a relation to the 'sacred,' and the precise nature of this concept has been a subject of contention. Some see it as corresponding to a conventional concept of deity, like Otto's *ganz Andere*. Others see a closer resemblance to Durkheim's social sacred. Eliade *identifies* the sacred and the real, yet states that "the sacred is a structure of human consciousness." Thus the sacred is simultaneously a structure of consciousness and the source of significance, and its manifestations are seen as appearances of the holy, of power, or of Being (hierophanies, cratophanies, or ontophanies).

The Sacred

Eliade never systematized his position and there has been wide disagreement over its value, from a crucial contribution to our understanding to an obscurantist proposal of unacceptable normative assumptions. However, his identification of the sacred with the real places individual human apprehensions of the sacred on an initially equal level with respect to the real, rather than assuming any particular apprehension to have a privileged access to the real. Insofar as mythical entities and events have a real effect on the existential situation of believers, they are regarded as real/sacred entities and events. Believers are prepared by their lived experience and religious background to apprehend the real/sacred in the historical/profane. It is indispensable to Eliade's analysis that any historical entity *could* be apprehended as such a hierophany and that all hierophany must be mediated through historical realities. His conclusion is that all beings reveal, but at the same time conceal, the nature of Being. He attempted to recover particular meanings of hierophanies for those who apprehend them by applying concepts from the German hermeneutical tradition going back to Schleiermacher and Dilthey and continued by Wach and Gerardus van der Leeuw. Eliade agrees that religious data are intelligible because, as human expressions, they are coherent with our own → experience. Although he is often identified as a phenomenologist he frequently insisted that he was a phenomenologist only insofar as he sought to discover these meanings. In considering Eliade's sources and influences it should be borne in mind that his openness to Asian philosophy and his origins in the Eastern Orthodox Christian tradition clearly influence his understanding. It may well be his greatest contribution to the understanding of religions that he combines all of these influences in a pluralistic philosophy of religion that takes all cultural traditions seriously as authentic expressions of genuine existential situations.

Homo Religiosus

Writing on the subject of religion in this way it is perhaps no surprise that Eliade himself was seen as a religious figure. He argued that "to be—or to become—a man is to be religious" (*Quest*, preface), that is, he insisted upon the ubiquity of *homo religiosus* and the final impossibility of the entirely 'secular,' 'modern,' supposedly non-religious, human. Thus it is entirely consistent that he is himself religious in some way, and yet his early writings reveal a modernist, scientific bent. Although he was convinced of the importance of both traditional religions and folk traditions, he was unable to accept mysteries or dogmas surpassing rational explanation. In an interview with *Chicago* magazine shortly before his death (1986) Eliade said that "like everybody else of my generation, at 16 or 17 I lost my faith. I considered my own tradition *depassé*." Eliade's writings describe events that could possibly be seen as traditional religious experiences, particularly a mysterious room that gave access to "a fragment of incomparable time—devoid of duration" (*Autobiography* I, 6f.). Fictionalized references to other 'religious' experiences during and after his stay in Rishikesh can be found in *Two Strange Tales* (1970), but to what extent any of these are records of actual religious experiences, versus attempts to communicate Eliade's understanding of religious experience, is questionable.

The determination of Eliade's religious status must finally be dependent upon the definition of the term. If, by religious, one means an institutional affiliation or recognizable traditional practice, Eliade was not religious. If, however, one means the recognition and acceptance of independent

forces in reality beyond the known laws of physics, or if one means the acceptance of certain narratives inconsistent with a naturalist worldview as nonetheless communicative of the real, then he was religious. From late interviews it is clear that he accepted the reality of 'destiny' and other "thing[s] that cannot be explained," and from early Romanian publications it is clear that these included clairvoyance, levitation, dematerialization, and the existence of a 'post-mortem condition.' He insisted that such expressions have an experiential basis. His constant motif of 'accepting religions on their own terms' reveals an openness to non-naturalistic views that appears religious, although it should be noted that "it is not a matter here of 'believing' blindly in all popular legends and superstitions, but of not rejecting them *en bloc* as delusions." This openness to the world of the other suggests Eliade to be a 'secular mystic' in the sense that, just as the mystic remains open to the experience of some invisible world or order, the secular mystic remains open to the veridicality of the worlds of alternate traditions. Although the mystic must return to the mundane world of physical actualities and Eliade could only return to his own world (*Autobiography* I, 199), they have in common this transient openness to alternate worlds. Eliade's openness to the reality of the supernatural is homologous to his openness to the veridicality of alternative religious worldviews, as it is to his openness to the 'nocturnal' world of the imagination and the possibility shown in his fiction of the mystical in the everyday.

It is, perhaps, Eliade's reception by the reading public that can most clearly be seen as religious. As *The New York Times* put it: "Professor Eliade is known for introducing an appreciation of the similarities of thought and practice in vastly different cultures . . . [and] . . . has become something of a cult figure to many students and readers" (Sunday, February 4, 1979, 44).

'Prophet of the Age'

Despite the fact that he did not practice any religious tradition and despite the complexity of argument needed to describe him as religious, Eliade was often apprehended as profoundly religious; in fact, several critics saw him as a theologian in Historian of Religions clothing. He seems to have been received by many as a prophet of the age, promising a hope of reconciling rational understanding with traditional revelation and thus holding open both the possibility of religious revelation to modern minds otherwise closed by estrangement from their local traditions and the possibility of dialogue between those committed to a particular tradition but determined to maintain the value of religion in general. Certainly, the academic controversy that has surrounded Eliade since his death has often taken the tone of religious polemic.

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→ *Academic Study of Religion, Epiphany, Holy, Religion, Theology*

Bryan Rennie

Emblem

Etymologically, 'emblem' means 'that which has been set in' (Gk., *émblema*): the mosaic or intarsia work. As a genre in history of art and literature, 'emblem' denotes a particular combination of word and image, defined by three constituents: a motto, a pictorial image (Lat., *pictura*, 'picture'), and a text (Lat., *subscriptio*, 'under-writing') expounding the picture in its relation to the motto. In this specific form, the emblem developed in the Renaissance and the baroque period into a phenomenon of mode and style. The point of departure and model of all later emblematics is the book of emblems of Andreas Alciatus (*Emblematum Libellus*, 1531). The formal roots of emblematics lie in the analysis and interpretation, charged with fantasy, of Egyptian picture writing ('Renaissance Hieroglyphics'), of the typological (biblical) exegesis of the Middle Ages ('physiologus'), and in the Greek art of the epigram. Both the picture and the textual element of the emblem are important for their transmission of ancient

tradition. The emblem was applied in multiple areas: book bindings, medals and medallions, objects of everyday use, architecture, religious image programs, gift ointments. Through the tension between the image and the motto or expository *subscriptio*, a meditative excess or surplus arises, partly for betrayal of the motif, especially for the springtime of emblematics—in which the use of emblems was a medium of communication cultivated by humanists—but also for the introduction of emblems into occult movements and esoteric circles (→ Esotericism). The → Jesuits, especially, have used emblems in the interests of religion and theology. While in the symbol sign and signified coincide, the emblem has need of the text that reveals the meaning. This combination of word and image, constitutive of the image, is lost in today's religious (crescent, cross, Star of David) or political emblems (hammer and sickle), or commercial corporate emblems (star of Mercedes-Benz).

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→ *Art/Aesthetics, Esotericism, Hermetism/Hermeticism, Secrecy, Symbol/Sign/Gesture*

Barbara von Reibnitz

Emotions / Feelings

Conception and Foundation

1. Although feelings are once more in vogue, and psychologists currently even speak of an 'emotional turn' (Euler/Mandl 1983), scientific research into feelings and emotions is still in its infancy. This state of affairs can be seen in the fact that the concept of emotions is accompanied by considerable imprecision. And so the word 'feeling' in psychological parlance is best understood in an enumeration of particular sensations. Feelings are experiences such as joy, hatred, grief, anger, compassion, dislike, and so on. They betoken the individual's personal positions with respect to the content of her experience, usually emphasizing inclination or aversion, without, however, being characteristic of all feelings.

The terms 'feeling' and 'emotion' (Lat., *emovere*, 'move out,' 'shake,' 'deeply move') are frequently used synonymously. In English terminology, 'emotion' more often means the affect. By 'affect' (from Lat., *affectus*, 'mood,' 'passion') is understood an intensive, transitory feeling. Affects are often accompanied by strong expressions, and are tied to organic experiences. 'Mood,' on the other hand, means a vague feeling expressing a person's comprehensive sensitivity, and extending over a long period. Moods present the background against which experiences stand out like figures, and thus form a long-lasting tone.

Religious Feelings (General)

2. Since Schleiermacher (1768–1834), but actually since the late Enlightenment (the 'age of sensitivity') and the pre-Romantic era, and pietism, feeling

belongs among the determining elements of religion. Feelings, then, form one of the principal objects of the psychology of religion. Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920) held that religion is the feeling that our world participates in a wider, supernatural world, in which the highest goals of human striving would be realized. In his foundational work in the philosophy of religion, *Das Heilige: Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen* (1917; Ger., "The Holy: The Irrational in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational"), Evangelical theologian Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) has developed the *Kreaturgefühl* (Ger., 'feeling of being creature'), defining it as a sensation of impotence in the human being vis-à-vis a 'divine,' that has been experienced as revelation. The experience of the 'numinous' happens to persons, impinges on their being, above all in a sensation of the *mysterium tremendum* and *fascinosum* (Lat.), the mystery that sets them atremble, 'fascinates' and 'rivets' them, yet at the same time fills them with a feeling of love, hope, and happiness. A third element of the numinous, according to Otto, is its energy, power, and dynamism that bursts all human categories. Thus, any experience of Otto's numinous would also have the nature of a personal relation between God and the human being.

There must, then, be specific religious feelings. Helmut Bennesch, for example, ranges religious feelings under the 'cognitive' emotions, those determined by consciousness. Here he understands spiritual experiences of different characters, in terms of one's religious center and personal relationship. For those persons who believe in a personal God, prayer, for example, is an emotional reference of experience, a sensation of 'bondedness'—a *Bindungsgefühl*—that can reach from childlike surrender to a bonding with an absolute conceptualized as absolute. These experiences of 'bondedness' have found rich formation and expression. Basically, all feelings existing in the area of the profane are also known in the area of the religious, but through their religious reference are specially tinted and enriched: as presentations of heavenly gladness, fear of the torments of hell, hope of a redemption in the beyond, expectancy of a justice in the life to come that there seems not to be on earth, and banishment of the terrors of death. All religious actions, as well, such as pilgrimages, festivals, rites, prayers, sacrifices, are to some extent bound up with more or less developed feelings, so that one can speak of special feelings connected to religion. But at the same time, special religious feelings among believers are conveyed and promoted through environmental factors, such as religious architecture (Gothic or baroque churches, Buddhist temples, a synagogue, mosque, prehistoric caves), psychotropic materials (incense, alcohol), or fine arts, music, and dance. Many deities, likewise, incorporate particular feelings, such as Aphrodite does for love and beauty, and so can be interpreted, in terms of depth psychology, as collective projections of feelings (→ Projection).

In terms of a cultural comparison of religious feelings, questions arise that are difficult to solve, such as that of their cultural peculiarity—thus their *in*comparability—when it comes to the various religions, or, conversely, that of their universality. Is there a 'world of emotions' proper to each religion, that would then have to be addressed? Here, viewpoints must be researched both peculiar to each respective culture ('emic') and spanning the cultures ('etic'). There is the additional difficulty that, in many cultures, no linguistic

elements are present that would correspond to particular feelings; and many complex religious feelings are not translatable into other languages, but require a detailed commentary, such as the Melanesian *mana*, a feeling of a kind of personal → power and psychic energy. Further, particular emotions in the various religions seem to prevail over others, such as fear and guilt in Christianity, or the ecstasy of → trance in Afro-Brazilian Candomblé, so that the structure of feelings in the various religions comes out very differently, and are consequently difficult to compare.

3. Out of the inexhaustible plenitude of religious feelings, the following somewhat arbitrary selection of particular religious feelings will disregard feelings as they arise in combination.

Aggression, Hate, Power, and Anger

a) *Aggression*, like power, belongs to the concepts of the social sciences that elude a strict definition. Aggressions do injury: they can harm persons or objects, or even destroy them, as well as cause pain, disturb, provoke irritation, or offend and insult. An aggression can be open (bodily, verbal) or concealed (fantasized), positive (culturally approved) or negative (socially 'outlawed'). Feelings of hatred frequently possess an eminent importance here. Under *hate* is understood a strong, goal directed ('intentional') feeling of antipathy and hostility. An escalation is possible, all the way to annihilation ('mortal hatred'). Hate is the polar opposite of love. However, there are amalgamations, like a love-hate relationship. In the condition of *rage* or fury, finally, someone's 'blood boils,' the face becomes hot, and the muscles contract. Anger is often connected to a problem of power. In the framework of a belief in God, which ascribes human peculiarities to the divine (→ God/Gods/The Sacred), the 'wrath of God,' as found in the Bible, or in the *krodha-murti*, the wrath of the Indian gods, is often one of the prominent dispositions and an expression of the divine passion.

On the other hand, the concept of → *violence* stands for threatened or actual bodily aggression, and accompanies power. With a view to the Christian churches, it can be asked whether they ought not to reflect on the effect of the aggressive models in their texts, in their history, and in their world of art. Many medieval Christian altar paintings present bloody scenes of violence. Belligerent confrontations and pogroms between the various religious communities and sects steep the history of human religions for as long as we have had written documents. We need only recall the recent brutal outbreaks of violence between Hindus and Muslims in India, emerging from the destruction of the mosque in Ayodhya in 1992. Christian → mission, as well, was repeatedly accompanied by aggression and violence. As for missionary activity among Latin American Indians, for example, critics today refer to a 'colonization of souls.'[1] The colonial trauma of feelings is symbolically presented in Latin America, for instance, in sacred drama, where the acts and positions of the colonized are acted out and reworked in religious terms.[2]

Fear and Dread

b) → *Fear* is a feeling accompanied by a sense of constriction, an unsettling excitation, hesitancy. Fears do away, more or less, with the voluntary and comprehending guiding of one's own personality. From a biological perspective, fear denotes an affect grounded in the instinct of self-defense. Like flight and aggression, fear and hate can be released in the same affective package. Fear, then, is both product and occasion of a reaction of flight; as a permanent burden, it can lead to permanent psychosomatic injury. In his

Begrebet Angest (Dan., "The Concept of Anxiety"; 1844), Danish Christian philosopher Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) analyzes the feeling of fear in close connection with the problem of (original) sin, emphasizing its character of guilt. In this sense, fear can be called a 'Western disease.'[3] 'Dread,' by contrast, is always object related, interior. The notion, "Dread have the gods created" (Lucretius, 97–55 BCE),[4] is partially justified, as prayer forms and many sacrifices, funeral and grieving usages, attest. But dread is only one side of the Sacred, and emerges, from the ambivalence of feelings—more as reverence and awe than as dread—as the proper essence of many religions.

Guilt Feelings

c) *Guilt feelings* accompany or ensue upon a plurality of apprehensions, often one of having somehow been (found) wanting, of having sinned against one's responsibility, or of having committed a misdeed. A fundamental constellation of inner elements is required for the feeling of guilt. On the one hand, a feeling of responsibility must be constructed. On the other, this polarity calls for a self-criticism, which can be expressed as remorse, a sense of liability, and the feeling of a duty of restitution. For the discharge of guilt feelings, innate, acquired, and consciously elicited motives are discussed. In the religious sense of Christianity, this means the burden of the consciousness of → 'sin,' from which to seek deliverance by means of → prayers or → penance. In Christian theology, God is not only legislator and author of the call of → conscience, of the inner voice that knows good and evil, but also the judge, both now, and in the judgment to be pronounced over the world at the 'end of days.'[5] It may be because of this Christian background that self-incrimination is nowhere so frequent as in Euro-American space. But guilt feelings are not the sole preserve of the Judeo-Christian tradition. They are found in other religions, such as Hinduism, Confucianism, and Islam.

In his psychoanalytic composition on religion, *Zwangshandlungen und Religionsübungen* (Ger., "Compulsive Activity and Religious Practice"; 1907), Sigmund → Freud compared certain individual and collective ceremonial religious actions ('rituals') with what are called 'compulsive acts' or 'ceremonial.' The ritual action that he finds in the compulsion neurosis, as in the sacred acts of the religious rite, he sees as arising from an inner force, a 'compulsion.' The latter is accompanied by fear of the disaster or punishment, Freud says, incurred by one's omission or incorrect practice of the rite. Both sorts of behavior are then founded on a strong feeling of guilt. Whether this interpretation is applicable outside of the Christian/Jewish religious context, however, would have to be established by comparative investigations.

Joy

d) The feeling of *joy* or gladness renders us free, broad, and bright within, and bestows warmth. Joy contributes to the lightening of life, and can scarcely be overprized in its personal, social, and religious efficacy. In terms of various degrees of intensity in its experience, joy can be addressed as cheerfulness, contentment, entertainment/enjoyment ('fun'), happiness, or ecstasy (see below). In many religions, then, a dramaturgy of feelings is practiced, as in Christianity, in the 'feeling-cycle' of joy and sorrow, renunciation and joy, somewhat in the order of: → Carnival to Ash Wednesday, Holy Week to Easter. On Easter Night, joy descends on the scene in a rite of lights and a call of jubilation.

Ecstasy

e) As a feeling, *ecstasy* (Gr., 'outside- [of-self-] standing,' 'being beside one-self') denotes an extreme corporeal sensation of joy (→ Shamanism). The Neo-Platonic philosopher Plotinus (204–270 CE) originally understood it as emergence from the margins of individuality and mystical amalgamation with the transcendent One. Similar notions were developed by Hegel, and especially by Friedrich → Nietzsche, who introduced the ancient Greek mythic figure of Dionysus into the 'feeling symbolism' of modernity. In modern psychological denotation, ecstasy is an exceptional, enhanced psychic condition, with a sensation of rapture, happiness, abduction from reality, and the highest enthusiasm and passion. At times it is a matter of a condition of inebriation in which hallucinations are seen and voices heard, and there can be connections with psychotropic materials (→ Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens), → trance, → fasting, → asceticism, → music, → dance, and psychopathological conditions (schizophrenia, epilepsy). Frequently there is speech in foreign or unintelligible languages (speaking in tongues—'glossolalia'). The similarity of ecstasy to the emotional condition during orgasm is especially strong. In both conditions, individuation disappears. The history of religions is replete with the orgiastic (phallic cults, the cult of Shiva, → Tantra, → Osho Movement, the black mass; → Sexuality, → Eroticism) down to our own day.

In many authors, ecstasy and the religious experience are identical (F. Goodman), while others observe, in trance and ecstasy, basically different conditions (Rouget). In ethnic religions, and with the mystics of all times and cultures, ecstasy plays an eminent role. Ecstasy in → shamanism, frequently introduced by artificially induced, trancelike conditions, serves the attainment of contact with the supra-sensory world. → *Enthusiasm*, in the original sense of the Dionysian mysticism of Greek antiquity, is a condition in which the god seizes a person through → possession. Arabic mystics like al-Ghazzali distinguish between *wajd* (trance), *tarab* (musical emotion as profane ecstasy), and *samâ* (religious 'audition'). A modern Christian example is found in the Pentecostal movement. Since the Second World War, especially in Latin America and South Korea, but also in Africa (e.g., in Mozambique), it is among the most rapidly growing of church movements. Pentecostalists, whose divine service is characterized by exuberance and outbursts of joy, also claim gifts of the Spirit other than glossolalia, including prophecy, spiritual healing, and exorcism (→ Charismatic Movement).

Love

f) → *Love* is one of the richest and most differentiated of feelings. Love of God, love of neighbor, sexual love, love of nature, love of mother, have little in common with one another. Love can be defined as a refined feeling of connection. In many religions, such as Christianity, Manichaeism, Sufism, or Hinduism, commandments of love of God constitute a demand on the faithful. A frequently prescribed social love is the exemplary duty of children to remain close to and to care for their elders ('piety'; Lat., *pietas*). In Christianity, *agape* stands for the devoted, self-giving, sacrificial love even for the neighbor who does not deserve it, and this raised to the very paradox of 'love of enemy' (Matt 5:44). In the Western Middle Ages, love is connected with the erotic and mystical ideal of the *minnesinger*, the German poet and singer of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, and today it underlies both the concept of charitable service, and the middle-class and individual notion of love of the modern age.

Feeling and Institution

4. In many religious communities, churches, and sects, a climate of fear and repression prevails, which, in terms of social psychology, can be analyzed from the standpoint of the 'total institution' (Goffman). This term denotes religious organizations that subject their members to a single authority, cut them off more or less completely from a larger social environment, manage all of the acts of their life and need-fulfillment under a comprehensive plan, and make a claim on their entire person, thus also on their emotions. An example of the control and forming of feelings by religious groups is to be found in Christian generation of hatred in the persecution of so-called heathen and heretics, as in the thirteenth-century campaigns against the Cathari.

Feeling Disorders

5. Whether the alien-seeming emotional states and personalities, met in many religions—often perceived as 'alien' only due to an ethnocentric perspective—can be studied from viewpoints of religious pathology is a question that would have to be solved by a 'transcultural psychology' of the future. It may be instead that they ought to be considered as a particular emotion-group of personality type. As for pathologically oriented life histories ('pathographies') of important religious founders, one must agree with Karl Jaspers: "Pathographical work with missing material (as in the cases of Jesus, Mohammed) is ridiculous."[6]

Out of a plethora of feeling disorders, special attention can be called, by way of example, to the following forms, which we shall consider according to their emotional sensitivity, duration, and degree of seriousness. With *pararhythmic* (abnormal) *emotional disorders*, deviant expressions of feeling are observed in two directions: as exaggerated ('erethic'), and as feeling-paralyzed and inexpressible ('torpid'). During religious initiations, 'erethic' conditions of fear and rage, for instance, can arise (Eliade 1965).

In various psychoanalytic writings on religion, Sigmund Freud and his disciples have repeatedly brought religious behavior and experience into connection with, and compared them to, emotional disorders or neuroses (parag. 3c). By an *ecclesiogenic neurosis* in the Christian area, is understood a neurosis that stands in connection with religious education and environment, especially with respect to their hostile moral norms when it comes to the body, to feelings, and to sexuality, or that springs from a specially composed, exaggerated, or perverted faith or belief. Whether forms of neurosis acquired by religious → socialization are present in other religions as well, and how these are then acquired is a question for research in trans-cultural psychiatry and clinical ethno-psychiatry.

Finally, *sociopathic disorders* are personality disorders comporting a contempt for social responsibilities, a deficiency in feelings for others, and violent activity or heartless disengagement. They often appear under the cloak of religious → fanaticism and → fundamentalism. The 'fanatic' was originally someone whom the deity had plunged into wild enthusiasm. The fanaticism of converts is often interpreted, in terms of depth psychology, as compensation for repressed inferiority feelings or complexes.

In a wide variety of ways, *depressions* are responsible for blocked feelings, and resultant problems in the area of religious belief, to the point of loss of faith. Many depressives have the experience of a wall between themselves and God, feel damned by God, or can no longer pray. In the other direction, so to speak, dogmatic obligations of faith, and the sanctioning apparatus of religious groups, can co-condition or reinforce depressive attitudes and behavior.

Religious Feelings Today

6. From the viewpoint of social psychology, it can be established that, with its commandment of rationality, expressed in a predilection for technological thinking, the modern age has neglected or ostracized worlds of human feeling. This phenomenon is accompanied by a growing precipitate of feelings, both individual and collective, that is generating a widespread latent yearning for feeling itself—a longing that can explode in spontaneous excesses of celebration or grief (as at the funeral of Lady Diana Spencer, 1997). At the same time, this tendency to a disarming of the feelings corresponds to the mounting 'psychoboom,' to the spread of religious yearnings and sects (→ New Age), and thus to a 'psych industry' that can now flourish in a capitalistic materialistic society.

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2. Wachtel, Nathan, Les visions des vaincus, Paris 1971.
3. Künzli, Arnold, Die Angst als abendländische Krankheit, Zurich 1948.
4. Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, 5, 1161ff.
5. Pagels 1989.
6. Jaspers, Karl, Allgemeine Psychopathologie, Heidelberg, 1973 (1st ed., 1913), 610.

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→ *Fear/Dread, Love, Luck/Happiness, Mourning, Psyche, Psychopathology, Trance*

Hannes Stubbe

End / Eschaton

Actions for an End in the Biological Order

1. The expectation and experience of 'end' and 'eschaton' can ultimately be associated with *evolutionary biology*—as a consideration of the successful development of goal-directed appetites for goods necessary to survival, as individual living organisms have developed this thrust. If the quests for nourishment and territory, mating and child rearing, reach their possible fulfillment, they attain to their goals through '*actions for an end*': the quest for nourishment in taking nourishment, for search for a habitat in mark-

ing off the hunting area, and so on. Another such end is the exclusion of disturbance by a competitor. The life of one is the—possible—death of another. Actions for an end relax and satiate ('endorphin as prize of desire'), until the next necessary return of regenerative movements of quest, whose ultimate success ensures further life in the *biological* spiral cycle of cause and effect, and which postpones the death of the individual organism.

Actions for an End in the Socio-Religious Cause-Effect Cycle

2. Over against this, we find 'religiously successful' activity in ritual and cultic presentations. These bind individual teleological actions socially and submit them to the posited control of a higher power over life and death ('ancestors,' 'spirits,' 'God,' 'fate'). Actions for an end can thereby be monopolized in the hands of those regarded as the religious representatives, presenters/exhibiters, and interpreters of the higher instance (shamans, patriarchs, prophets). The 'doubling' of the individual, as vessel of a terrestrial, body-bound soul and of a second, shadow soul, dream soul, or ancestor or spirit soul, in earlier societies, led to conceptualizations of rebirth and of life continued beyond the world of the merely earthly and individual. Accounts of a 'bad' and a 'good' end relate, and religious teaching determines, whether the deceased is to be reckoned as ancestor, as restless, wandering spirit, as one of the special elect, as eternally blessed or forever damned. Practices of intervention in the beyond on the part of those living here—from magical revitalizing rituals of slain beasts in hunting societies to the Catholic absolution structure of early modernity—complement the elaboration of a world after the physical death of the individual. This manner of successful *socio-religious* rotation subjects the individual's compelling pursuit of the return of pleasure, victory, and satisfaction to a variously lengthy postponement of impulse, whether through nutritional, matrimonial, and murder taboos sanctioned by religion, or through rites of initiation and rules of socio-religious placement by age, gender, and rank.

Cyclical Cosmological Rotation of Cause and Effect

3. Conceptions of an eschatological time arose only in the centralized urban societies of Mesopotamia, Egypt, China, India, and Central America, with the broad array of their integrated inhabitants and marginal peoples. To serve the rapidly waxing governmental need for synchronization, astronomical/astrological calendars were developed (→ Astrology; Calendar). The various planetary orbits and constellations made it possible to construct cosmological beginnings and ends, within perfectly reasoned and mathematically calculable astronomical revolutions. If the presentation of cyclical planetary end-phases, objectively repeating, corresponded to an individual fear of an *bad end* or evil death, then the elite of interpreters either developed prophetical techniques and sign-systems of 'favorable' or 'unfavorable' stellar constellations (Mesopotamia, China, Rome), or fashioned rites, liturgies, and sacrificial dramas intended to forestall the virtual end of the world at the close of a cosmic cycle, and actively summon its new beginning (Egypt, Assyrian New Year's festival, Central America). Owing to its objective calculability, this sort of *cosmological cycle* provided the interpretive elite with the occasion for an extension of their demand for attention, unlimited in principle.

Eschatological End Time

4. Cyclical cosmological concepts no longer take hold of people for whom the present promises no opportunities for self-assertion.

- This constraint, under the pressure of the deadly military machinery of Assyrian expansion (eighth to seventh centuries BCE), in Zoroastrianism and the ancient Israelite belief in God and a coming Messiah, prophetically molded salvation history's novel expectation of a hero to come. This mighty avenger would end the current mortal, calamitous time and annihilate the enemy, thereby ushering a final end-time of personal salvation.
- In organic succession, a Deuteronomical theology and ethics conceived a response to the destruction (or contested reconstruction) of Jerusalem temple worship (538–c. 400 BCE): it reduced all previous narrative traditions to an *ethical-typological*, *individual-ethical*, cycle of end and eventual new departure, all proclaimed in *canonical texts.*
- One of the consequences of the religious split of the 'people of Israel' into antagonistic groups between 400 BCE and 400 CE, was the frequently widespread and anonymous circulation of the *apocalyptical texts* (Ethiopan Book of Enoch, Daniel, 4 Ezra, Johannine Revelation, Sibylline oracle). These writings paired Israel's own theocratic wishes for everlasting eschatological rule, with the promise of future immortality for the heroes of the faith, a notion taken from their Hellenistic neighbors.
- In this battle of the texts, the New Testament and Patristic writers shaped an eschatology that replaced the eschatological rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple with faith in the already begun end-time and in the Coming of Christ on the 'last day,' and promised personal resurrection to all who believed in this. Now, with the thousand-year reign of Christ and his Saints (chiliasm or → millenarianism), a final, purifying final battle, and the world judgment at the 'end of the ages,' this world, too, would altogether perish. The 'evil' would then be annihilated or finally damned to everlasting hell, and the 'good' would dwell in a new 'Kingdom' of the glory of God, which, in the faith of the Church, is already present, always and everywhere (→ Dualism).
- A similar eschatological concept of the → hereafter—without an imminent eschatological expectation, however—is also found in Sunnite *Islam.* In this case too, the martyr for the faith dies with the promise of a sure Paradise in the hereafter (blend of individual and collective eschatology), and in both religions God, against all might and powers of this world, has the last word ('eschatological reserve').

5. The present religious situation in Western societies is marked by the progressive dismantling of monotheistic, other-worldly end-time conceptions, and the weakening of the hierarchical interpreting elite: in Judaism through the founding of the State of Israel, in Christianity through the substitution of this-worldly configurations since the Renaissance and the Enlightenment (nationalism, Hegelianism, socialism, Darwinism, capitalist recurrence concepts, life reform movements and ecological movements). Nowadays we walk in an open market of tales about the end-time, the anarchic play of end-time surfers on the Internet, and the time-to-time terrorism of militant eschatological sects (Sun Temple, Aum Shinrikyo).

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→ *Apocalypse, Prophecy, Rebirth, Regeneration/Fertility, Time*

Hemma Boneberg

Endowment / Foundation

Definition

1. An endowment or foundation produces income through certain property or assets, provided by the founder, with which a long-term purpose, stipulated by the founder, is to be financed. Unlike a donation, then, an endowment is not a simple act, but a continuously repeated gift, bestowed without a time limit.

Antiquity

2. a) From ancient times to the present, comparable institutions are found in the most varying cultural milieus, as in ancient Egypt, Greco-Roman antiquity, Judaism, Islam, and Hinduism. With ancient foundations, the founder's original motive was to secure her or his memorial cult, and thus they outlast the life of the founder. Besides the simple, private, burial foundation, there were manifold opportunities to recommend oneself to the public as a 'benefactor' (in Gk., *euergétes*), whereby the memory of the founder would be preserved by the mention of his or her name at regularly scheduled contributions or celebrations, financed by the foundation.

Middle Ages

b) In Christian times, the nature of the Western endowment changed, as the new motive of love of neighbor (*caritas*) supervened. Thus, especially beginning in the fourth century, there appeared lodges for strangers (*xenodochia*), poorhouses, and other charitable institutions maintained by endowments, also known, on the basis of the pious intentions underlying them, as *piae causae* (Lat., 'pious causes'). After the early Middle Ages, when endowments were rare, from the twelfth century onward the endowment system enjoyed a strong upward swing, and, through the commitment of the rapidly growing middle class, developed into a typical urban establishment. Hospitals were especially founded, at the representation of brotherhoods—guilds, for instance—with the care of their members in mind. The foundation of universities by landlords was for the purpose of education in their respective lands. Beside these foundations, which served the public, there were a multiplicity of foundations for worship, whose purpose was the financing of regular masses for the departed; churches, houses of formation, treasuries, and great works of art, rested on this system of financing. Fundamentally, however, all medieval endowments can be regarded as subsisting for the salvation of souls, while also responsible for the *memoria* in toto. A further function of medieval endowments consisted in the financing of an association of people by whose help the founder remained in social life beyond her or his death. On the basis of this amalgamation of social, economic, political, and religious elements,

M. Borgolte calls the medieval endowment the 'total social phenomenon' that marked medieval society.

Early Modernity

c) Only with the Age of Enlightenment did the older endowment system fall into decline. Thus this system lost its religious, metaphysical basis, and its attention to the general welfare has been the task of the state ever since.

Foundation Law Today

2. The formation of today's endowment laws followed. The foundation is now regarded as an independent juridical person. After the loss of the sacred connection it had enjoyed in a framework of the public endowment, ever more secular purposes came into the foreground, resting on a sense of social responsibility, such as the promotion of education, and research or art. But unmistakably, the wish to have one's own name 'live on' became a motive for the erection of an endowment. Especially in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, massive fortunes acquired in the course of industrialization made it possible to found wealthy endowments (e.g., Rockefeller Foundation). Here we note that the alleviation of ills and grievances no longer serves as the motive of this type of large endowment. Its mission, determined by the founder, is rather directed to preventive measures, and consists altogether generally in the improvement of life circumstances, or the like, and thus can react to new social developments. Considering the state's growing fiscal difficulties in fulfilling its social duties, the endowment has acquired increased meaning as a flexible instrument of private initiative. The endowment tradition of the Anglo-American space—developed especially in the United States—which rests on the idea of philanthropy, is exemplary.

Islam

3. An example of a comparable institution from another cultural circle is represented by the Islamic foundation (*waqf*). Generally regarded as a good deed or action, the religious use of the Islamic foundation consists in the promotion of the salvation of the soul, to which in many cases the preservation of the endower's *memoria* contributes, through the establishment of a permanent prayer memorial. Traditional Islamic societies were served especially by the endowment open to the public, and might consist in the foundation of a law school, a soup kitchen, or any other end not contradicting Islam, for the advancement of the social status of the endowers and their families, as well as the cohesion and endurance of various social groups (such as craft guilds and communities with ethnic or religious orientations). The family endowment, by contrast, presented a widespread means of the circumvention of Islamic inheritance laws, as it made it possible to leave an entire family fortune to a single heir. By means of the Islamic foundation, goals of public welfare, like purely private ones, can be realized within a religious framework, and indeed in a unique way. The secularizations of the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, partly at the hands of the Islamic rulers, and partly imposed by the colonial powers, were intended to withdraw control of the foundation from the economic cycle. Until then, the foundation had been largely supported by endowments. Now its support would be freely accessible, and submitted to the support of a social and educational system under state control.

In more recent times, especially from the Islamic side, the foundation is propagated as an alternative to the welfare state. In many Islamic countries, the population explosion, together with increasing urbanization, has rendered the welfare state all but helpless in the face of the social problems emerging from these phenomena (e.g., in Egypt). Here, endowments and organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood again take over duties of the state. In the United States, a comparable role is attributed to 'faith-based organizations.'

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→ *Charitable Organizations, Death and Dying, Economy, Exchange/Gift, Money, Order/Brotherhoods*

Johannes Pahlitzsch

Energy

The concept *enérgeia* (Gk., 'efficacy,' 'activity') becomes important for religion—especially for the European history of religion of the outgoing nineteenth century and the opening of the twentieth—by way of the *Weltanschauung* of W. Ostwald (1853–1932), against a background of the momentous successes of science. In the doctrine of the *Monistenbund* ("Monist League"), which Ostwald co-founded, energy is the essence of all things. This idea is a departure, of course, from the hitherto controlling schema of interpretation of a mechanistically connoted matter. In Einstein's celebrated equation, $e = mc^2$, the relation of identity between energy and matter is reduced to a mathematical formula. The 'esoteric tradition,' which has been taken up once more—indeed, reinforced—since the 1980s, in → New Age thought, takes its point of departure in a 'cosmic energy' or in 'fields of energy,' whose disturbed harmony (such as the illness of an individual) can be reconstituted through spiritual healing.

→ *Electricity, Esotericism, Light/Enlightenment, New Age, Power*

Georg Hartmann

Enlightenment (Age of)

Concept of the Age

1. In an affirmation now become famous, Kant describes the Enlightenment as "the emergence of man from self-accusatory sheepishness." This definition of 'Enlightenment' means a change in the human being's self-knowledge and place in the universe, and has led to the conception of a new change of the ages of the world. Kant is putting all of his emphasis here on 'self-accusatory' (in Ger., *selbstverschuldet*). Every person, Kant holds, is outfitted with reason, and therefore has the duty to act 'reasonably,' or 'according to reason' (*vernunftgemäß*). Here Kant means the free and open, public use of one's own opinion and conviction.

As the *concept of an age*, 'Enlightenment' is the English expression for the French *siècle des lumières* ('Century of the Lights'; → Light/Enlightenment), and embraces the cultural achievements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in France and England. Here a change takes place that is fundamental for → modernity. Both the ethics of the present and modern democratic societies emerge from this change. Not least of all, the Enlightenment's → criticism of religion has had a share in the basic alteration of religious life. With the foundation (1459) of a Platonic 'Academy' in Florence, a revival of Greek and Roman antiquity had taken place, especially of Neoplatonism (→ Platonism). A new interpretation of the individual human being's role and capacities became central, as shown especially in liberty and freedom (Pico della Mirandola, *De Hominis Dignitate*, "On the Dignity of Man," 1486). Luther's → Reformation, as well, appealed to the *Liberty of a Christian Human Being* (1520) as the immediacy of the human being to God, where he sees a broader aspect of the new understanding of a human being's freedom in the singularity of this faith relationship. In this 'innovation,' the upwardly mobile middle class found the appropriate *Weltanschauung* for its understanding of the individual and society. The image of the auto-located human being, personally responsible ('autonomous') for his and her action and faith, permitted a concentration on the individual, and on the salvation of that individual.

Facets of the Enlightenment

2. a) *Philosophically*, the Enlightenment was essentially promoted by the → rationalism of René Descartes and his school. Rationalism turned from faith to a → reason newly defined by freedom. With this superior evaluation of reason vis-à-vis faith, there also developed a new understanding of tolerance. Deism, especially, and its conception of a 'natural religion,' began to work its effects (David Hume, *The Natural History of Religion*, 1757; *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, 1779). In deism, all religions go back to a 'premoridal revelation.' Jean Bodin (1530–1596) and Herbert von Cherbury (1583–1648) therefore sought to show that any differences in faith propositions are secondary. Bodin's "Sevenfold Circle" (*Colloquium Heptaplomeres*, 1593)—in which representatives of the various religions propose their standpoints—discovers, with the help of human reason, a kinship among the religions; it then attempts to reduce them to a natural religion lying at the basis of all. Cherbury's treatise, "On Truth" (1624; *De Veritate*), which posits the basic principles of a common religiosity, undertakes the same. In this reduction, one practices → tolerance as a principle of a religion of reason.

We find this once more in G. E. Lessing's drama, "Nathan der Weise" (1779; Ger., "Nathan the Wise").

Ethical Renewal

b) The Enlightenment thus became an era of complete *ethical renewal.* This feature was exemplified in the sketches of a new manner of religion at the hands of John Locke (1632–1714) and Montesquieu (1689–1755), in which autonomy, as the 'auto-legislation' of the individual, is given an ever more powerful denotation. Religion, too, is subordinated to the idea of the autonomy of the individual. In society, state, and religion, this orientation to reason signifies an upward revaluation of the person. This leads in turn to an ever more profound interiorization of ethics, all the way to Kant's founding of ethical action in the 'categorical imperative': "Act in such a way that the maxim of your will could at the same time be the principle of a general legislation."

Aesthetics

c) This waxing interiorization is also shown in the growing meaning of *aesthetics.* Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and Baumgarten (1714–1762) are the pioneers of a fully new understanding of the beautiful. In the spirit of Shaftesbury, who returns to Platonic and Neoplatonic concepts, for the German Enlightenment and classical period (Herder, Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing) the beautiful becomes a sign and index of the divine. Thus, aesthetics receives an elemental religious meaning: the aesthetic replaces the Holy. A doctrine of sensory perception, aesthetics is at the same time a doctrine of the revelation of the divine in the visible (→ Art Religion). The Enlightenment's predilection for pantheism and materialism is also founded in this *profanization of the sacred.*

Together with the further development and systematization of the humanistic and Reformation understanding of freedom, the profanization of the idea of salvation is the second peculiarity of the Enlightenment. This profanization results in a total emancipation of the system of values from its religious backgrounds. Here the step is taken to the self-responsibility of the human being of the modern age (→ Modernity/Modern Age), founded entirely upon that human being. Individuals no longer owe an account of their actions to any higher being.

Enlightenment after Enlightenment?

3. This rigorism led to the *end of the Enlightenment*, toward the close of the eighteenth century. Not only the abusive excrescences of the religion of reason in the French → Revolution, but also the discovery of → nature by → Romanticism, effected an enfeeblement of reason, complete with its negation in irrationalism. Beginning with Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and his call "Back to Nature," the essence of human beings was sought in their 'naturalness,' and therefore in their conformability to nature. Representing this idea are F. W. J. Schelling (1775–1854) and his philosophy of nature (to be taken up by Franz von Baader, Carl Gustav Carus, or Lorenz Oken). In the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer, likewise oriented to the concept of nature—a concept that will be essential for the cultural life of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—the independence of the reasonable subject, produced by the Enlightenment, is already fully surrendered. In their *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (1947; Ger.,"Dialectic of the Enlightenment"), Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, under the impress of National Socialism and Auschwitz, posit the process of enlightenment no longer as

a linear emancipation from human sheepishness, as Kant had had it, but as a process that includes a reversion to sheepishness. This reversion is to be expected when the destruction of the human being and nature by the human being has not come to an end. The Enlightenment is justified through retention, in consciousness, of the enlightenment achievements of the past. The same approach is adopted by → postmodernity, in that the latter is directed against totalitarian conceptions in society, science, and art. With respect to Kant's *Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung* (Ger., "Response to the Question, What is Enlightenment?"), Jean-François Lyotard composed his manifesto of postmodernity, *Réponse à la question: qu'est-ce que le postmoderne?* ("Response to the Question, What is Postmodern?"; see Lyotard 1984). In this summons, independence and openness of → discourse reappear as fundamental traits of enlightened thought.

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→ *Disenchantment/Reenchantment, Light/Enlightenment, Postmodernity, Rationalism, Reason, Science*

Stephan Grätzel

Enthusiasm

Even more than the 'enthusiasm,' as the word is used loosely, that 'arises' when a 'spirit' takes hold of an assembly or gathering, the Greek word *enthousiasmos* (*en*-, 'in,' + *theos*, 'god') describes the moment at which a god 'comes into a person.' This phenomenon can be attributed to a 'medium,' as for instance in ancient prophecy; of a poet, who senses the Muse at work within; or of the God received as wine, who alters consciousness. It does not actually refer to → possession by a demon. (→ 'Ecstasy,' for its part, indicates people's abandonment of their usual manner, so that, stirred by music, dance, and rhythm, their spirit 'emerges.') To boot, in the condition of enthusiasm, one may be capable of saying something that is not from oneself, but that emerges as God's word through a prophetess or is spilled forth in the 'speech of the angels,' glossolalia (Lat., 'speaking

in tongues'). In terms of cultural studies, all of these phenomena can be described under the heading of 'trance.'

→ *Charisma, Channeling, Emotions/Feelings, Possession, Prophecy, Shamanism, Trance*

Christoph Auffarth

Environmentalism

Environmentalism and Religion

In the United States, political conservatives who work in Washington DC sometimes complain that in the federal Environmental Protection Agency, officials approach their work with religious zeal. Christian religious conservatives sometimes object, in a similar way, to the 'paganism' and earth-reverence that they perceive to underlie environmentalism (→ Paganism/Neopaganism; Nature Piety), considering such religion blasphemous. The question such reactions pose is whether there is anything religious about environmentalism.

Environmentalism and religion are often intertwined. Some religious actors, for example, draw on their traditions as resources for promoting environmentally friendly attitudes and behaviors. Some of these actors think that their religions are naturally 'green.' By 'green' they mean that properly understood, their religion promotes environmentally sustainable lifeways. Others think their traditions may not be historically or intrinsically green, but because contemporary environmental problems are severe and urgent, their traditions and → ethics must be revised. Many laypeople, scholars, and religious leaders have been involved in such efforts. Books and anthologies have been published, sometimes by religious practitioners, and there has been a proliferation of popular and scholarly journals, as well as websites, exploring the connections between spirituality and the environment.

Scholars and Environmental Ethics

One of the most noteworthy scholarly efforts exploring the relationships between religion and ecology has been a series of conferences held at Harvard University in the United States, which led to a nine-volume book series entitled "Religions of the World and Ecology." Published by Harvard University Press between 1997 and 2004, it included what the editors considered to be the world's major religions, Indigenous Traditions, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism (as of 2005 a tenth, envisioned volume, on Shintô, had not appeared). Based on the assumption that the environmental crisis is grounded upon a defective religious perception in which people "no longer see the earth as sacred," the editors implied that earlier humans had a different and superior religious sensibility toward → nature. They set out to recover the grounds "within scripture, ritual, myth, symbol, cosmology, sacrament, and so on" to build the needed, life-revering environmental ethics. Many if not most of the scholars writing for the Harvard Series shared the objective of its editors, laboring to uncover and revitalize the environmental ethics they believed were embedded in the religions they were analyzing, or at least, that they hoped to help construct for them.

Changing Attitudes of Religious Institutions

The ferment over religion and environmental responsibility has begun to affect religious institutions, which on a number of occasions have issued official statements of environmental concern, and have been expressing increasing urgency. In this they seem to be following the lead of environmental scientists who collectively and individually have been expressing alarm about the degradation of the earth's ecosystems. Religious environmentalists have also increasingly collaborated with environmental scientists and secular "engos" (environmental, non-governmental organizations), pressuring nation states and international institutions to implement dramatic environmental reforms.

The Earth Charter

The most significant religion-inspired initiative along these lines is the Earth Charter, which expresses the conviction that all forms of life have intrinsic value and that protecting them should be considered a "sacred trust." (See www.earthcharter.org.) Developed through nearly a decade of discussion among environmentally concerned religious individuals and groups, proponents presented the Charter at the United Nations "World Summit on Sustainable Development" in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2002. They hope the nations will ratify the charter and that it would, like the United Nations Declaration on → Human Rights, intensify pressure on national and international institutions to transform economic and political systems in ways that would guarantee environmental sustainability and social justice.

It is clear, then, that some environmentalists are inspired by religious sensibilities and do approach their work with religious idealism and passion. Many of these root their environmental ethics in the world's most prevalent religions, most of which are, slowly but surely, following the lead of the societies in which they are situated, growing increasingly concerned about environmental degradation, and beginning to respond both personally and politically. This is a far cry, however, from an environmentalism that is equivalent to paganism, earth-worship, and blasphemy, as some critics charge.

Pagan Environmentalism

There are, however, at least two additional ways in which environmentalism and religion are intertwined, and these types can indeed be labeled 'pagan environmentalism.' Both forms articulate metaphysics of interconnection, a kinship ethics (which understand all life forms as related and believe that moral agents have ethical obligations to their living kin), and rely on metaphors of the sacred to express a conviction that life on earth is miraculous and sacred. Both forms consider the destruction of ecosystems to be desecrating acts. And neither insists that the sacredness of the earth depends on a divine creator or on the belief that human beings are uniquely connected to a creator or life-creative force.

Members of the first of the two groups consider themselves to be pagan, and indeed, generally reject the world's predominant religions, criticizing them for promoting religious beliefs that they believe directly produce attitudes that are either indifferent to environmental destruction or directly supportive of it. Offering instead a diverse assortment of beliefs which are usually based on pantheistic, animistic, and polytheistic perceptions (→ Animism; Pantheism; Polytheism)—and sometimes drawing on the atmospheric scientist James Lovelock's "gaia theory" or other "systems theories"

(→ Wholeness/Holism; Chaos)—contemporary pagans believe the earth and its living systems are sacred and holy.

Radical Environmental Paganism

Throughout late twentieth century and intensifying during its last few decades and into the present period, there has been a great deal of religious innovation by, as well as growth in numbers among, those who call themselves pagans (→ Paganism/Neopaganism). This includes practitioners of Wicca, Druidry (→ Druids), and many other groups. Some of these groups have not been explicitly environmentalist in character, although increasingly, they have become to embrace environmentalism. A significant proportion is, moreover, avowedly radical, viewing the world's dominant institutions (both religious and secular) as bent on destroying the earth. Such 'radical environmental' individuals and groups, including the now infamous "Earth First!" and the "Earth Liberation Front" ("ELF"), have engaged in diverse forms of resistance, including civil disobedience and dangerous sabotage, opposing the desecrating inertia unleashed from the mainstream society. Such groups represent a significant proportion of the most militant of those activists resisting 'globalization,' namely, the ongoing extension around the world of what they consider to be an innately destructive, capitalist market society. They view this process as one destructive not only of ecosystems, but also of the earth's few remaining indigenous peoples, whom they consider to be more in tune with the earth's sacred life rhythms (→ North America [Traditional Religions]).

Earth-Based Spirituality

The second type of 'pagan environmentalism' involves people who are less likely to apply the label 'pagan' to themselves or their → spirituality and environmental ethics. But they nevertheless consider the earth to be sacred, and in unguarded times will acknowledge that they are 'spiritual,' and that they have experienced a sense of peace, wholeness, and well-being, and sometimes also transformative or healing power, while immersed directly in wild nature. They, like many of the previously discussed religious environmentalists, commonly speak of "belonging" or being "connected to" nature, and conversely, trace our environmental predicaments to "alienation" from "her."

Those I am calling "pagan environmentalists" tend to speak of nature using the female pronoun, or on other occasions, use the trope "mother nature" or "mother earth." In this way they spotlight symbolically the earth's life-giving, nurturing character. In these and many other ways pagan environmentalists express a 'metaphysics of interdependence' and a corresponding, evolutionary 'kinship ethics,' in which humans have an ethical obligation to help secure the well being of all other life forms with whom they share the evolutionary pilgrimage on earth.

"Non-Supernaturalistic Nature Religion"

Some scientists who can be considered environmental pagans call themselves "religious naturalists," forthrightly describing how their sense of the sacredness of nature arose through scientific study. From this they deduce ethical obligations to nature. Some who may have never thought of themselves as 'pagan' can nevertheless be so understood through the comparative practice of religious studies. They can also be understood as practitioners of what I have elsewhere labeled "non-supernaturalistic nature religion" (Taylor 2001a, 2001b). By this I mean that in their writings

and daily lives they articulate and express spiritualities of belonging and connection to the earth's living systems, which can be considered religious, even though these people may not believe in otherworldly divinities. The roots of the term → religion has to do to with being bound to and connected to that which provides meaning and transformative power. It also has to do with whatever people hold sacred (→ Holy). With such an understanding of religion, much environmentalism, even that which might not at first glance appear to be religious, can be seen to represent a powerful new form of religion.

Origins in Nineteenth-Century Romanticism

Such non-supernaturalistic nature spirituality, tethered to environmental concern, may be relatively new in the history of religion. But it can be traced at least to the mid-nineteenth century in Europe. The German zoologist and evolutionary theorist (and contemporary of Charles Darwin) Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919) is probably best known for being the first to publish the claim that human beings descended from apes (Darwin himself avoided this conclusion in *The Origin of the Species*; → Theory of Evolution; Evolutionism), and for coining the term "ecology." But Haeckel also articulated a science-based, non-supernaturalistic nature spirituality, blending nineteenth-century → romanticism toward nature with evolutionary theory, and promoting a pantheistic, philosophical monism (→ Natural Science). In his writings, people and nature were one, and neither could be harmed without harming the other. His many, influential books—particularly in *The Riddle of the Universe* (Ger. [1]1899)—inspired nature worship and provided a basis for environmentalism, for if all life is metaphysically interconnected and, in an evolutionary sense, of one kind, namely, an organism who evolves in the same way as all other earthly organisms, then a corresponding kinship ethics logically follows.

In such sentiment Haeckel has not been alone. Many of the most prominent naturalists and ecological scientists in the twentieth century have also been engaged in non-supernaturalistic nature religion. In some cases they became outright nature mystics, who felt a deep, affective connection to nature, and sometimes (often in candid moments only with their most trusted friends and colleagues) would speak philosophically, religiously, and even lovingly about the energetic and bio-physical interconnections in the universe (→ Nature Piety).

Non-Supernaturalistic Nature Religion in the Twentieth Century

Two of the greatest and most influential mid-twentieth century ecologists, for example, Aldo Leopold (1887–1947) and Rachel Carson (1907–1964), eschewed theism for worldviews in which nature itself proved adequate for evoking, awe, wonder, reverence, and an environmental ethics that considered the natural world intrinsically valuable.

In the latter decades of the twentieth century Edward O. Wilson, who was originally trained as an entomologist but became one of the twentieth century's most influential and wide-ranging ecological thinkers, fused religion, natural science, and environmental ethics. Following Darwin he developed his theories of "biophilia" and "sociobiology," which understand our love of nature and our ethical sensibilities toward other humans and other life forms to be a direct result of the evolutionary process. Humanity's love of nature and ethics are both ecological adaptations that favor survival long term, according to Wilson. As such, they should be honored and developed. In concert with our own growing scientific

understandings, including with regard to the negative impact some human activities have on earthly life, these ethical sensibilities can, should, and indeed must lead to a robust environmentalism which respects the diversity of life on earth.

Outlook

Environmentalism and religion are intertwined in complex and sometimes contested ways, this brief introduction suggests. Some people are interpreting or developing their religious traditions in ways that enjoin environmental concern and lend support to environmentalism. Others within these traditions consider such concern a distraction from the proper religious focus of these traditions. Participants in both supernaturalistic and non-supernaturalistic forms of nature religion, which despite significant differences consider nature to be sacred in some way, consider environmentalism as an important, if not *the* most important aspect, of the ethical obligations that are a direct implication of their religious or spiritual beliefs. The trend for nature, and environmentalism, to become increasingly intertwined with religion, sometimes in ways that are contested and controversial, is likely to continue. Indeed, such trends are likely to intensify as environmental degradation and the suffering it precipitates becomes more pronounced, as the weight of scientific data indicates is a near certainty.

Literature

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→ *Bioethics, Disenchantment/Reenchantment, Ethics/Morals, Garden/Paradise, Genetic Engineering, Landscape, Natural Science, Nature, Nature Piety, New Age, Place (Sacred), Romanticism, Spirituality*

Bron Taylor

Epiphany

The word 'epiphany,' closely related to 'advent,' is used to designate the strange and unusual (if at times regular) 'appearance' (in Gk., *epiphéneia*) or 'advent' (in Lat., *adventum*, 'arrival') of a human or divine person who has been (thought to be previously) absent. It is followed by a temporally limited 'presence' (Gk., *parousía*, Lat., *praesentia*), which ends with the departure (in Lat., *profectio,* 'setting forth') or disappearance (in Gk., *aphanismós*) of the person in question. Both 'epiphany' and 'advent' can be used to describe topical conceptualizations and ritualized acts.

Gods Appear

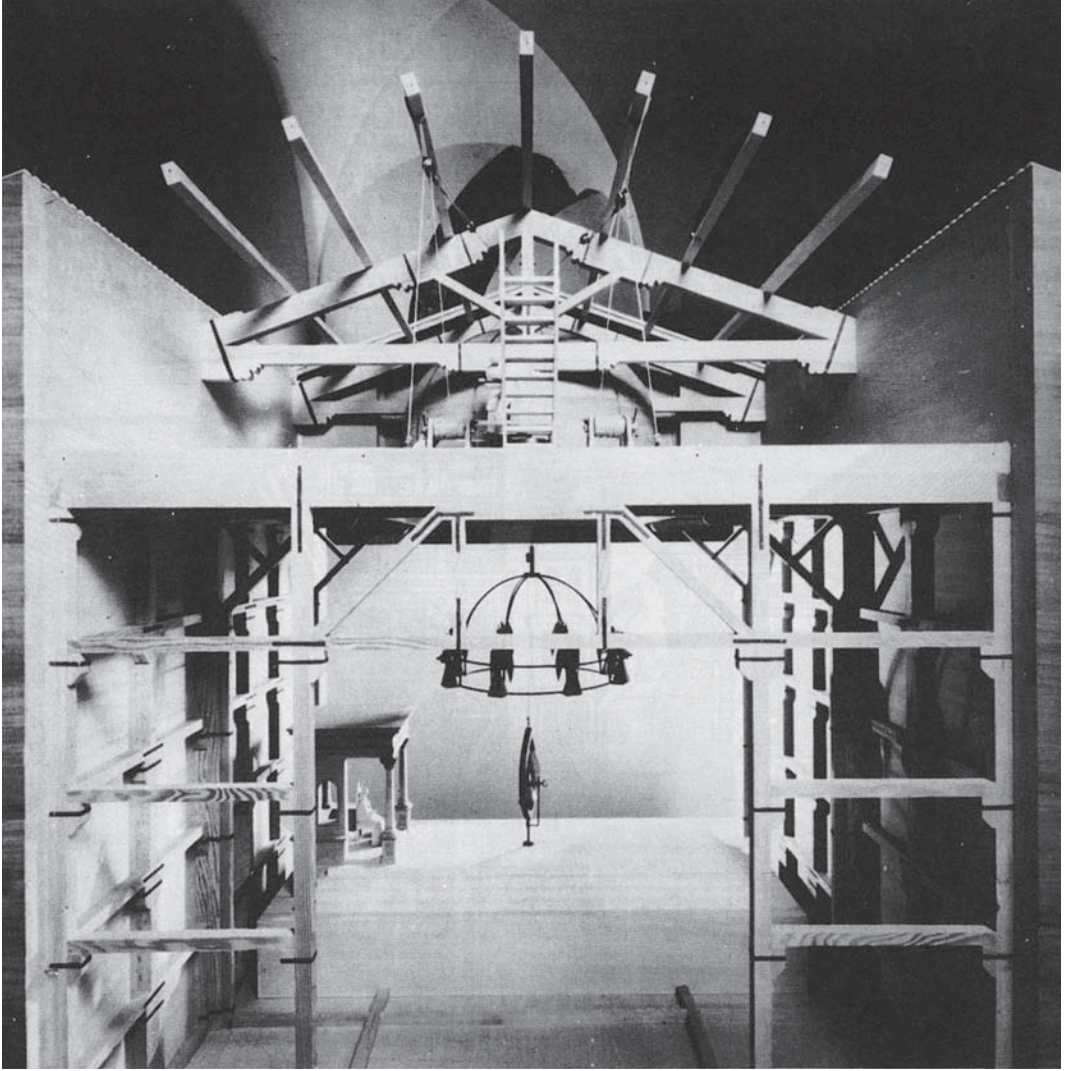
1. a) In *worship and sacred actions*, manifestations or epiphanies are systematically prepared and introduced. Bell ringing or hand clapping call attention to the deity. Its name, and either a simple "Come!" or else artistic songs of summons and prayers of invitation, implore it to come; and believers await its arrival with uplifted hands. The manifestation of the divinity can be expressed in visual or auditory signs, in unexpected noise, in lightning and thunder, or, for instance, in a breeze, any of which must be interpreted and understood. Those present react with silence, gladness, astonishment, or fear, and turn away or cover their eyes. But in ancient Greece, the theophany ('manifestation of a god') could also be introduced in another way—by the ritual adornment of a pillar or sacred pole, with masks, raiment, and jewelry, with balm, with weapons: "The act of the composition of the image in some manner ritually guarantees the

epiphany, is the epiphany" (B. Gladigow). In order to explain why a temple has been rebuilt, a cult introduced, or games scheduled, it is recounted that God himself has appeared, and has commanded it. The datum is entered in the calendar of festivals, and publicized in inscriptions; its transmittal "in the temples guarantees the conformity of the accounts of the manifestation" (H. Cancik).

b) In *Greek literature*, epiphanies are not conceived abstractly, as are other forms of divine revelation, but are perceptible by all of the senses: gods appear clearly and visibly, speak with human beings, and fill their surroundings with fragrance. But since the gods appear in human form, they cannot be distinguished from human beings at first. Repeatedly, then, there are accounts of gods who are not recognized, or who do not wish to be recognized, by human persons. Humans may be unsure whether they have a deity before them, whether they are seeing their fellow as a god and offering worship, or whether they are dealing with persons who style themselves epiphanic gods in order to deceive their enemies. Even wily Odysseus complains to Athena: "Hard it is to know thee, Goddess, for a mortal who encounters thee, however astute he be!"

2. a) In the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean region in Hellenistic times, a ritual of welcome, with ancient Eastern roots, had developed for the visits of rulers, its form suggesting connections with manifestations of gods. Within a few hundred years, it had been tranmitted to broad regions of Europe, including areas that still had little to do with a city's welcome of its rulers. In its basic structure, this ritual of the accompaniment of rulers consisted of three elements: (1) the 'arrival' of the ruler and his retinue (in Gk., *epipháneia;* in Lat., *adventus*), (2) the hurried assemblage of the population of the city before the city gates (in Gk., apántesis, hypántesis; in Lat., *occursio*), and (3) the 'attendance' of the ruler at his or her 'advance' upon the city (in Gk., *propompé*; in Lat., *introductio*). With this basic apparatus, numerous other components were joined that could vary with place and time. The same holds true for the dismissal (in Gk., *apopompé*; in Lat., *profectio*). Two further components of the ritual were occasionally also named: a preparation for the advent of the ruler with longing and expectation, and the blissful events and feelings supervening at the appearance of the anticipated one. The latter are reported exclusively in panegyric texts, however, which seek to evince the greatness of the ruler after the event.

b) *Religious interpretation in the Hellenistic age:* In Greek space, such rulers were welcomed with a solemn fetching or accompaniment, especially those who had placed the city in their debt in some special way, and upon whom the title 'Benefactor' (in Gr., *euergétes*) or 'Savior' (in Gk., *sotér*) had been bestowed. On these occasions, not only were these potentates compared with the gods, but were directly designated as a god, or, indeed, as the one God. Athenaios, then (VI, 253), describes the welcome of Demetrios Polioketes in Athens with the words: "Those joining in the procession . . . sang and danced, and repeated ever and again that he was the one true God, that the others lay in sleep, were elsewhere, or did not exist, but that he was the scion of Poseidon and Aphrodite, outstanding in beauty, and genial in his friendship toward all." A few lines later, the Athenian citizens reveal the grounds for their astonishing selection: "The other gods are distant, or have no ear, or concern themselves with us not in the least. But thee we see here present."



The angel from the → machine: epiphanic apparatus of Florentine engineer Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) for the proclamation scene of a sacred drama (in Ital., *sacra rappresentazione*) at Santo Felice in 1422. The angel of the Annunciation descended to the floor with the assistance of a copper 'mandorla,' which was secured to a cupola-like wheel-construction that could be turned. Eight

The ritual of the fetching of the ruler has been transferred by the evangelists to the Savior of Christians, and this in twofold respect: (a) While Jesus at his last entry into Jerusalem sat only astride an ass, still he was received as a king. As he approached the city, accompanied by his disciples, a large crowd met him before the gates with palm branches, celebrating him with the words, "Praised be he who comes a king, in the name of the Lord! Peace be in heaven, and glory in the heights!" and accompanying him into the city (Matt 21:1-11, Mark 11:1-10, Luke 19:28-38, John 12:12-19). (b) In one locus, Jesus's return at the end of time, as well, is presented as a fetching of the Lord. While at his entry into Jerusalem, the epiphany of Christ is stressed as that of a king, with his last return it is the involvement of all Christians at his welcome that stands in the foreground, the participation of the living as well as of those who by then will have died. At the blast of a trumpet, Christ will descend from heaven, and human beings will hasten to meet him in the

clouds, to a particular layer of air over the earth, greet him there, and then accompany him to earth, where he will establish his eschatological Reign (1 Thess 4:13-17).

Is the King Equivalent to Christ?

c) *Christian interpretation of the advent of the ruler*: Ever since the work of E. Kantorowicz (1957), the opinion has been repeatedly held that the medieval ritual of the welcome of Christian rulers was constructed in imitation of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem, so that the king being received was assimilated to Christ, and the city receiving him was regarded as a new Jerusalem. This thesis, however, cannot be maintained. Granted, the welcome of the ruler in the Middle Ages acquires strong Christian traits. But the king is greeted at the city gate by the bishop and clergy with hymns and canticles, and led in liturgical procession to the main church. This is not an imitation of Christ's reception into Jerusalem: the only elements that distinguish Jesus's entry into Jerusalem from contemporary receptions—the ass as his mount, and the acclamation, "Praised be the one who comes"—at most play an incidental role in the Christian reception of rulers; and even in panegyric texts, the entering king is compared with Christ only in exceptional instances. The imitation of the entry into Jerusalem was settled in an altogether different area, that of the annual Palm Sunday liturgy.

Stage Presentation of the King

3. In courtly ritual as well, the epiphany of the ruler could be presented on stage, so to speak. The sudden appearance of the Byzantine Emperor at the Prokypsis repeatedly stirred contemporary poets to comparisons with the rising of the sun. Besides plays on the ancient veneration of the sun, as, for example, Constantine the Great had promoted it, the Sun Emperor was especially placed alongside Christ. He had carried the divine light at Epiphanias, Byzantine Christmas, into the sacred cave at Bethlehem, and had radiated over the whole world as the 'sun of justice.' His 'appearance' in the shimmering light wrought the elevation of the Emperor into the light and to the heights above, and the ascent of the symbolism of light and sun, otherwise expressed only in word, was thus rendered a lived reality.

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→ *God/Gods/The Sacred, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Myth/Mythology*

Achim Hack

boys, dressed as angels, hung on iron rings on this mandorla, and, at the moment when, reaching the floor, the angel stepped out of the mandorla and approached Mary, flaps were opened on it by means of a strap, and burning candles were seen in the background. The picture shows a reconstruction by Cesare Lisi. (Hubert Mohr)

Eroticism

Origins of the Concept

1. 'Erotic' is derived from the Greek *Eros*, the god of heterosexual love, homosexual persons, and pedophiles, as also of the longing of love, and is frequently applied as a concept fluctuating between 'Platonic' → love and → sexuality. Plato's *Symposium* during a merry 'drinking bout' among men, presents, in seven 'poetic philosophical' discourses, and in rich facets, the image of eroticism as a motor of life. It includes the physical desire of the senses, and even the witty-and-ugly—here, that of Socrates—just as much as it does joy in human existence with all of the qualities of spirit and soul, and the inter-personal human *sympatheiai*, attaching to that emotion. Here we must understand by eroticism a love that includes sensible (bodily) attraction and lust, such as has found manifold expression, e.g. in art and literature as a mirror of life and thought, including wishful thought.

Ancient Usages

2. The polytheistic religions of the *Ancient East* and *Antiquity* knew goddesses of love: Babylonian Ishtar, Assyrian Astarte, ancient Egyptian Isis, ancient Iranian Anahita, Greek Aphrodite—mother of Eros—and Roman Venus, in whose temples sometimes sacred → prostitution was practiced, as a fertility and life ritual. Animal-human Enkidu, in the Gilgamesh epic, becomes a human being only through a nameless temple-girl of the goddess Ishtar. The erotic sculptures on Indian temples are an expression of the joy of heavenly and earthly love alike, along with magical fertility wishes.

3. The *Song of Songs*, which for centuries has been interpreted allegorically, is the earliest and most sensuous testimonial of Jewish worldly erotic poetry. Other mythologically interpreted, 'subversive,' erotic material from the Hebrew Bible, such as that of Adam and Eve, of Lot and his daughters, of Bathsheba, secretly observed by King David at her bath, of Tamar, the 'roadside whore' who seduces her father-in-law, afforded themes of ostensibly sacred origin for European painting from the Renaissance onward, and in abundance. Veneration of → Mary and the saints led to a voluptuous, eroticizing iconography of female saints in Catholicism. However, also beginning with the Renaissance, ancient material and images of the divine such as Ganymede, Bacchus, Leda with the swan, the judgment of Paris, or the escapades of Zeus, offered subjects for erotic art. Allegorical eroticism appears in the shell architecture of the rococo period, just as, for instance, in the pillars of Mary. The 'cherubs' of Catholic sacred art are modeled on ancient erotic figures.

4. In *Judaism* and *Islam*, the prohibition of images has prevented a figurative sacred art. One might see erotic symbols in the minarets of mosques, as well as in much of the geometrical and floral decoration in Islamic architecture and book illumination, including manuscripts and decorative print of the Qur'an. Islamic miniatures radiate eroticism, through their joy of coloration as well as in their thematics, for example with the illumination of love scenes in Persian epics. Islam does not know the concept of 'original sin,' although the topos of the Fall, not so formulated in the Qur'an, was adapted from the Christian asceticism from the eighth century on, and increasingly served as justification for the determinations of the religious law of Islam, which disadvantaged women. The Qur'an commands the unity of sexuality and love in marriage (suras 2:223; 2:187; 30:21), but forbids sexuality and



The portrait of Dante's great love, Beatrice, completed by English painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882) between 1862 and 1870, is both the moving image of a memory, and a vision of eroticism and religion. Rossetti, who figures as one of the Pre-Raphaelites, has built his 'vision' on the drug suicide of his wife Lizzie (in 1862), and yet, at the same time, has sketched his own, spontaneous mysticism of Eros, death, and ecstatic union (in Lat., *unio mystica*) beyond death. Lizzie-Beatrice sits in 'deep trance,' on a Florentine balcony before Arno and Ponte Vecchio, and receives the poppy blossom, flower of death and opium ecstasy—from the bill of the dove that is the Holy Spirit. The death-longing of Black Romanticism (Novalis, *Hymns to the Night*, 1800), the erotic charge of Swedenborg's piety, and personal attempts at a contact with his beloved by way of spiritism, are tied here to a very unorthodox image of longing—the figure of a Madonna, caught up in heavenly and earthly love. (Hubert Mohr)

visual eroticism outside marriage (sura 24:30-31) with commandments of chastity to both sexes and women's covering their hair and bosom. Sensual male fantasies play in the Qur'an in its concepts of Paradise, and were further developed later. The phenomenon of the occasioning of a visual, and auditory, form of eroticism, typical of Islam with its sexual segregation and the veiling of women, likewise is evident in stories from *A Thousand and One Nights* as well as the literary topos of 'falling in love with a picture.' A further instance would be the 'fashion for the veiled' propagated by some Egyptian fashion houses and stores today for young women. Beginning in the ninth century, a rich literature in Arabic, concerned with profane love, made its appearance. Influenced by Neoplatonism, it presents worldly love as a phenomenon that ennobled the individual man. Religious literature on married love, especially the "Book of Matrimony," from al-Gazali's (d. 1111) *Revival of the Religious Sciences*, places a man under obligation to afford his wife sexual fulfillment for the safeguarding of his marriage, and

imparts psychological and physiological advice to be assigned to the area of eroticism. The delights of marriage (which is in Arabic synonymous to coitus) are here defined as foreshadowing the joys of Paradise (→ Marriage/Divorce). The voluminous formative and instructive Arabic *Adab* literature, and much from the classic poetry, betrays the hedonism of courtly society in its glory days until 1258 and later. Religious and sexual references are often amalgamated here in a libertine approach. Libertinism speaks from stories of the *A Thousand and One Nights*, as well. European translations, especially that of Richard Burton (1821–1890) and German ones which are based on it, sometimes overdraw this aspect to the point of the pornographic. That in Islam—as in Orthodox Judaism—the 'homosociality' of sexual segregation has promoted the homosexuality of both sexes, is clear from the literature, and is affirmed by Arab critical social historians as relevant to this day. In Persian love poetry, often allegorized, it is only rarely recognizable whether the love object being sung in its corporality, too, is masculine or feminine, owing to its lingual character and an androgynous ideal of beauty (→ Homosexuality/Homoeroticism).

5. → *Mysticism* in the monotheistic religions applies erotic imagery in its presentations of a suffering by longing for God, as also in its portraying the healing by mystical union. In the union of woman and man, the → Kabbalah saw the union of the masculine and feminine aspects of God, and the acquisition of mystical knowledge.

6. The demonization of eroticism and sexuality was already known to classical antiquity ('beautiful Helen'). Taken to rich depths, it is known in the works of, for instance, C. de Laclos, and de Sade, in the seventeenth century, and later in the Decadence, and is seen in the arts in a preference for biblical material and figures like 'Judith and Holophernes' and 'Salome,' as well as their reception in operas and literature.

7. Psychology since Sigmund → Freud analyzes the consequences of the repression of eroticism and sexuality, along with unraveling the code of expressions of their sublimation, in both the individual and socio-cultural areas (→ Psychoanalysis). It has strongly influenced, for example, the modern literatures of Near Eastern countries. Liberal representatives of Judaism and Christianity, surely partly on socio-didactic grounds, today emphasize the erotic openness of their religion, while the political systems of the Islamic Middle East, probably still influenced by Victorian moral norms propagated by colonialism, are inclined to repress presentations of eroticism and sexuality.

8. In *Eros and Civilization* (1955), with Freud as his point of departure, Herbert Marcuse formulated theses of a harmonization of reason and Eros through economic and social progress, as well as of the vitalization of Eros, and thereby of culture, art, and human happiness, through liberation from repressive toil. These theses seem rather utopian, in view of the economic and social developments of today.

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→ *Body, Gender Stereotypes, Homosexuality/Homoeroticism, Love, Mysticism, Sexuality, Tantra I and II*

Wiebke Walther

Esalen Institute

The Place

The Esalen Institute is located in Big Sur, California. Geographically speaking, it is an ocean cliff adorned with a lodge and meeting rooms, gardens, an assorted collection of dwellings, a swimming pool and a bath house, the latter built around the land's hot sulfur springs.

Amerindians, including the Esselen (after which the Institute was eventually named), lived along this mountain coast for thousands of years before the Spanish colonists and settlers arrived in significant numbers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thomas Benton Slate homesteaded the grounds in 1882, hence the local designation of the place until the early 1960's: Slate's Hot Springs. In 1910, Dr. Henry Murphy, a medical doctor from Salinas, bought the property with hopes of founding a European spa there, a dream that could not be realized until 1937, when the Carmel-San Simeon highway was finally opened. The Murphy grounds and Big Sur itself then morphed in and out of various incarnations, attracting the counter-cultural spirits of such local literary legends as the banned eroticist Henry Miller, the Beat poet Jack Kerouac and a young and still unnoticed Hunter Thompson.

The Human Potential Movement

In the early 1960s, Richard Price (1930–1985) and Michael Murphy (b. 1930), the grandson of Dr. Henry Murphy, decided to start their own little institute dedicated to what Aldous Huxley had called "the human potentialities." Using mailing lists Alan Watts provided them, the two men sent out their first brochure in the fall of 1962, announcing both Huxley's human potentialities and their own triple interests in "psychology, psychical research and work with the 'mind-opening drugs.'" A heavy Asian accent could also be detected, as both Murphy and Price had been deeply influenced by the Indian mystic Sri Aurobindo and Buddhism, respectively. This step was the effective beginning of what would soon become the Esalen Institute, which would in turn become the epicenter of the human potential movement (the latter phrase was coined by George Leonard, another major Esalen figure, and Murphy in 1965).

History and Development

The 1960's were very much defined by the American counter culture, which flowed down to Esalen from the San Francisco Bay area, by the Gestalt psychology of Fritz Perls, by the encounter group movement, and by the presence of Ida Rolf and a whole host of body workers and healers. The 1970's saw a growing emphasis on Gestalt work, now focused around Richard Price, Claudio Naranjo, and Julian Silverman. Other major influences included the LSD research of Stanislav Grof and the science of mysticism popularized by such figures as Fritjof Capra and Gary Zukav (whose *The Dancing Wu Li Masters* actually begins on the grounds of Esalen). The 1980's saw an increasing emphasis on Soviet-American relations, which culminated in 1990, when Esalen sponsored Boris Yeltsin's trip to the U.S. With Price's tragic death in 1985 (he was killed by a falling boulder), the Institute experienced something of a visionary crisis. Still, the 1990's saw a period of expansion followed by another crisis, this one catalyzed by a literal storm: the waves, water and winds of El Nino eventually collapsed a cliff onto the baths and sent the Institute into something of a financial tailspin. A period of reorganization and revisioning followed. Today, approximately 10,000 people go through Esalen each year, many of them taking one of the over 400 seminars or invitational conferences that are offered on the grounds as part of Esalen's continued mission to identify, nurture, and realize the human potential.

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→ *California, Esotericism, Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens, Mysticism, New Age, North America, Psychoanalysis*

Jeffrey J. Kripal

Esotericism

The Concept 'Western Esotericism'

1. a) 'Esotericism' has become a highly popular term during the last three decades. Like → 'New Age,' it is a catchword for a lot of quite disparate religious or cultural phenomena, and its usage in a wider public differs considerably from that in academic contexts. Since its first appearance in the nineteenth century, a definition of 'esotericism' often refers to the meaning of the Greek *esôteros* ('inwardly,' 'secretly,' 'restricted to an inner circle') and lays the main emphasis on → secrecy and concealment of religious, spiritual, and philosophical truths. This characterization turned out to be not very helpful, given the fact that a lot of 'esoteric' knowledge has been published and openly discussed—especially (but not only!) in the twentieth century. Therefore, new approaches were suggested to what is today usually referred to as 'Western Esotericism,' because the phenom-

ena studied under this rubric stem from European and North American history of culture.

While the adjective 'esoteric' is a common term from antiquity onwards, the notion of 'esotericism' has a relatively short history.[1] In its French form *l'ésotérisme* it is first attested in 1828, in a time when in the wake of → Enlightenment and religious critique alternative religious currents began to break away from Christianity. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the idea that esotericism is something different from Christianity gained wide currency. Scholars described the esoteric as some sort of subculture, as lines of tradition that had formulated alternatives to the Christian mainstream religion from the Renaissance onwards. Like 'Gnosis' (→ Gnosticism) and → 'mysticism'—in fact often synonyms for esotericism in earlier scholarship—esoteric currents were regarded as having been suppressed by orthodox Christianity.[2] Until the 1950s, the study of these phenomena was dominated by scholars specializing in mysticism and Gnosis who regarded their fields of research as powerful alternatives to the institutionalized scriptural religions of Europe. Many of these scholars—Gershom Scholem, Henry Corbin, Mircea → Eliade, but also Martin Buber and Carl Gustav Jung—were themselves part of a counter-movement against the → 'disenchantment of the world' (on the "Eranos" circle → Ascona/Monte Verità).

The 'Hermetic Tradition'

b) It was the Warburg Institute scholar Frances A. Yates who in the 1960s decisively stimulated research into what would nowadays be referred to as Western esotericism. To be sure, scholars such as Paul Kristeller, Ernst Cassirer, and Eugenio Garin had already earlier noted that the Hermeticism of the Renaissance played a largely underestimated role in the formation of modern science and culture (→ Hermetism/Hermeticism); hence, the common notion that this 'superstition' or 'irrationalism' should not be taken seriously, for them was utterly wrong. But it took Yates's spectacular *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964) to set scholarship on an entirely different track. In this book and in an influential subsequent article, Yates turned the tables and argued that modern science was the direct descendent of Renaissance Hermeticism. For many people this was a revelation. Suddenly, a forgotten tradition seemed to become visible, a tradition that had been suppressed by theologians but in fact was a driving force behind the scientific revolution—the 'Hermetic tradition.'[3] Although her controversial thesis was hotly debated, the impact of Frances A. Yates's works on the emergence of the study of Western esotericism as an accepted branch of religious studies can hardly be overestimated.

Antoine Faivre: Esotericism as a 'Form of Thought'

2. The most influential concept of esotericism was elaborated by Antoine Faivre who claimed that the common denominator or the *air de famille* of those currents that usually are referred to as esoteric traditions should be described as a specific *form of thought* (French *forme de pensée*). Faivre developed his characteristics from a certain set of early modern sources that comprises the 'occult sciences' astrology, alchemy, and magic, the Neoplatonic and hermetic thinking as it was shaped in the Renaissance, Christian Kabbalah, (mainly Protestant) theosophy, and the notion of a *prisca theologia* ('First Theology') or *philosophia perennis* ('Eternal Philosophy'), i.e. the search for an eternal truth that was handed down through the ages

by certain extraordinary teachers and philosophers (Zoroaster, Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus, Pythagoras, among others).

In 1992, Faivre put forward his heuristic thesis that the esoteric 'form of thought' consists of four 'intrinsic,' i.e. indispensable, characteristics, accompanied by two 'relative' characteristics which are not essential but which occur very often.[4] (1) The *idea of correspondences* is a crucial characteristic, because it refers to the famous hermetic notion of 'what is below is like what is above.' In the wake of the micro-macrocosm idea of ancient philosophy and religion esotericists view the entire cosmos as a 'theater of mirrors,' an ensemble of hieroglyphs to be deciphered by the adepts. It is apparent that astrology, but also magic and spiritual alchemy partake in this kind of interpretation. (2) The concept of *living nature* views the whole of nature as a living being, permeated by an interior light or hidden fire that circulates through it. → Nature can be read like a book and interacted with through active participation, for instance in magical acts (*magia naturalis* in Renaissance parlance). (3) *Imagination and mediations* are complementary notions, referring on the one hand to imagination as an 'organ of the soul' and the importance of concentration and focusing in magical work, and to the contact with intermediary entities that serve as informants and messengers to the absolute truth, on the other. The important role of → angels, masters, or divine figures in the process of revelation can also be described as mediation. (4) The *experience of transmutation* represents the idea that adepts of esoteric tradition undergo a profound process of transformation and rebirth. Faivre alludes to the alchemical doctrine of death-and-rebirth to illuminate the spiritual processes within the adept. The two 'relative' characteristics are (5) *the praxis of concordance*, i.e. the search for reference systems that show the common denominator of all spiritual traditions (similar to the idea of *philosophia perennis*), and (6) the notion of *transmission* that favors the initiation of an adept by a teacher or a group. While Faivre admits that these characteristics may not be limited to Europe or to a certain period, he insists that only those currents are correctly labeled 'esotericism' that show *all four intrinsic* characteristics, even if in different combinations. This insistence provoked criticism of his typology, because—in terms of periods—antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modernity are somehow marginalized, and because—in terms of traditions—Jewish, Muslim, and 'pagan' esotericism indeed played a much greater role in the formation of esoteric currents than Faivre acknowledges.

Esotericism as an Element in Western 'Fields of Discourse'

3. a) With reference to new approaches to → European history of religion, an alternative conceptualization of esotericism is under construction. In this interpretational framework, Western culture is described as pluralistic. Three assumptions in particular are essential for this approach: (a) religious pluralism and the existence of alternatives are the normal case, rather than the exception, in Western history of culture; (b) Western culture has always been characterized by a critical reflection on religious truth claims and the interaction between different cultural systems (such as religion, science, art, literature, politics, law, economics, etc.); (c) competition among ways of attaining knowledge of the world is a key to understanding the role of esotericism in Western → discourse.[5] Hence, esotericism is not a → tradition of its own, the history of which could easily be told, but an element in a 'field of discourse.'

Claims of Higher Knowledge

b) On the most general level of analysis, we can describe esotericism as the claim of absolute knowledge. From a discursive point of view, it is not so much the *content* of these systems but the very fact that people *claim* a wisdom that is superior to other interpretations of cosmos and history. What is claimed is a totalizing vision of truth that cannot be subject to falsification, a master-key for answering all disclosed questions of humankind. Not surprisingly, the idea of absolute knowledge is closely linked to a discourse of → *secrecy*, albeit not because esoteric truths are restricted to an 'inner circle' of specialists or initiates, but because the dialectic of concealment and revelation is a structural element of secretive discourses. Esoteric knowledge is not per se exclusive, but hidden. In principle, the revelation of esoteric truths is accessible to everyone, if he or she but follows the prescribed ways and strategies that lead to this 'land of truth.'

Totalizing claims of knowledge can be found in religious debates—from the 'Gnostic' search for self-redemption (→ Gnosticism) to Suhrawardī's school of illumination to Abraham Abulafia's Kabbalistic fusion with the divine (→ Kabbalah) to Jacob Böhme's notion of *Zentralschau* (Ger., 'Central Vision') and Emanuel Swedenborg's conversing with the angels—but also in philosophical contexts, as the late antique Middle Platonists or the Renaissance Neoplatonists clearly reveal. Even Hegel has been described as a player on esoteric fields of discourse because he presents his doctrine as the 'end of philosophy.'[6] If we look for esoteric elements in scientific discourses, we will detect them in the work of scientists who do not restrict themselves to heuristic models or to curiosity about how natural phenomena are to be explained but who want to unveil the master-key to the world. Such an 'esoteric spin' is present, for example, in John Dee who experimented with angels in order to learn about the end of the world; in the attempt of seventeenth-century natural philosophers at the court of Sulzbach to combine Kabbalah, alchemy, and experimental science;[7] and even in totalizing claims of contemporary scientists who announce a 'grand unified theory.'[8]

Although we sometimes encounter esoteric claims of knowledge in established and well-accepted cultural contexts, they can attempt to challenge the truth-claims of institutionalized religious traditions. Hence, on the discursive level of analysis the categories of *alterity* or *deviance* play a certain role. As soon as a majority is established, various deviant minorities enter the stage, both through strategies of exclusion by the majority and the conscious decision of minorities for alternative systems of meaning. The claims of the latter to provide an individual way to 'true knowledge' further fuel the underlying conflicts. Many esoteric phenomena belong to the field of deviant religious options, for instance certain Christian 'heresies' (→ Heresy), the reception and reconstruction of Hermetic philosophy, some techniques of ritual power (Theurgy, → Magic, Goeteia), or polytheistic and pantheistic theologies that define themselves in contrast to the hegemony of scriptural religions.

Modes of Accessing the Truth

c) The next step in addressing the esoteric components of Western history of religions is to ask for the specific modes of gaining access to higher knowledge. Judging from the bulk of esoteric primary sources, there are two ways in particular that are repeatedly referred to—mediation and experience. Here, *mediation* is understood in the same sense as Antoine Faivre introduced it into academic language, albeit not as a typological

characteristic of esotericism but as a strategy to substantiate the claim for secret or higher wisdom that is revealed to humankind. The mediators can be of quite different natures: Gods and goddesses, → angels, intermediate beings, or superior entities are often described as the source of esoteric knowledge. Examples are Hermes, Poimandres (in the *Corpus Hermeticum*), Enoch, Solomon, the 'Great White Brotherhood' and 'Mahatmas' of the → Theosophical Society, or the guardian angel 'Aiwass' who revealed higher wisdom to Aleister Crowley in *Liber AL vel Legis* in 1904. From this perspective, it is apparent that the large field of → Channeling—a term coined in the context of the so-called → New Age movement—is a typical phenomenon of esoteric discourse, no matter if the channeled source is 'Seth' (Jane Roberts), 'Ramtha' (J. Z. Knight), or 'Jesus Christ' (Helen Schucman, *A Course in Miracles*).

In addition to—and sometimes in combination with—mediation we can identify the claim of individual → *experience* as an important mode of gaining access to secret or higher knowledge.[9] Again, this feature is prominent in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and subsequent literature, where a vision indicates the process of revelation.[10] The complex genre of *ascension* to higher dimensions of reality—in the Hekhalot literature, 'Gnostic' traditions, and also in various mystical contexts, through → meditation, → trance, or drug-induced altered states of consciousness (→ Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens)—belongs to the category of experience, as well. Repeatedly, the claim of individual experience of ultimate truth was a threat to institutionalized forms of religion, as the reaction of the Christian churches to these claims clearly reveal. Furthermore, the mode of experience explains (among other reasons) why in early modern times esoteric currents were more openly embraced by Protestant denominations, especially in the spiritualistic and pietistic milieus that focused on the formation of an 'inner church' through personal experience (→ Pietism), than in Roman Catholic circles. Neopagan groups with their insistence on personal experience and their refutation of 'mere belief' in scriptures and authorities are also participating in an esoteric discourse (→ Paganism/Neopaganism).

Interpretational Frameworks and Topics

d) On a third level of analysis, it is possible to identify major themes and topics that frequently are taken up in esoteric discourse. Although these themes are by no means essential to call something esoteric, they constitute a *history of ideas* that lends itself quite naturally to esoteric truth-claims. Certain philosophical ideas and cosmologies are more likely to foster esoteric interpretations than others. Especially Neoplatonic cosmologies have played a significant role in supporting esoteric claims from antiquity through today (→ Platonism), with their notions of emanation, the transcendent realm of ideas, the mythical home of the immortal → soul, etc. In general, one could say that most motifs of esoteric discourse are derived from a *monistic* interpretation of the world, i.e. from models that constitute a unity of material and non-material realms of reality and ask for their mutual relationship (→ Wholeness/Holism). This unity is a necessary precondition for doctrines of correspondences as well as for magical rituals or ideas about living nature (or *natura naturans* in philosophical parlance; → Nature). Although monistic, pantheistic (→ Pantheism), or animistic (→ Animism) lines of thought are not per se esoteric—because they do not

inevitably lead to a totalizing truth-claim—they can be seen as a natural backbone and explanation for esoteric modes of accessing the 'truth.'

Besides this general philosophical framework, in which the modes of attaining higher knowledge are located, esoteric discourse brought forth a number of recurring themes and motifs. Often, these are related to a claim of → *tradition* that is held superior to institutionalized religion. The whole issue of *prisca theologia* and *philosophia perennis* with its chain of distinguished teachers of mankind—including Zoroaster (→ Zoroastrianism; Zarathustra), Pythagoras, Plato, and others—served as a powerful tool in constructing identities beyond the revelations of 'mainstream' Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Finally, among the concrete motifs of esoteric tradition are the *secondary receptions* of Hermetic texts, most prominently the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and other literary sources such as the Chaldaean Oracles (→ Reception) or—from the nineteenth century onward—texts related to Eastern traditions (→ Orientalism/Exotism).

1. See the overview in Hanegraaff, s.v. "Esotericism," in: Hanegraaff 2005, 336-340.
2. See van den Broek/Hanegraaff 1998; van den Broek/van Heertum 2000.
3. On the 'Yates-thesis' and the 'Yates-paradigm' see Hanegraaff 2001.
4. Faivre/Needleman 1992, xi-xxx; Faivre 1994, 1-19.
5. See von Stuckrad 2005.
6. Magee 2001.
7. See Coudert 2001.
8. Cf. also the religious—or, rather, esoteric—language underlying the decipherment of the human genome (→ Genetic Engineering). The vocabulary implied here alludes both to a divine potential of creation ("genesis," "genes," "generation," etc.) and to the esoteric theme of finding the ultimate language of the cosmos (the *Ursprache*, see Coudert 1999; Kilcher 1998).
9. Olav Hammer (2001, 331-453) correctly describes the 'narratives of experience' as powerful means to 'claim knowledge' in modern esotericism. This observation can easily be extended to earlier periods.
10. For the subsequent Jewish tradition see Wolfson 1994, esp. pp. 326-392; Idel 2002. On the *Corpus Hermeticum* see Copenhaver 1992.

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→ *Astrology, Channeling, European History of Religion, Freemasonry, Gnosticism, Hermetism/Hermeticism, Kabbalah, Magic, Mysticism, Nature, New Age, Occultism, Paganism/Neopaganism, Platonism, Reception, Revelation, Sufism, Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society, Tradition, Visions/Auditory Experience*

Kocku von Stuckrad

Esotericism, Astrology, Gnosticism, Hermeticism: Time Chart

Era 1: Early Premises of Ancient Esotericism (c. 2500–300 BCE)

from c. 2500 BCE	First astronomical systematizations in Mesopotamia	Under Hammurabi of Babylon (1728–1689 BCE), a calendar reform occasions the collection of astronomical knowledge.
c. 1500–300	Astrological compendia in Mesopotamia; *astronomical diaries;* development of Zodiacal schemata; first horoscopes	Calendrical and astronomical tables are further developed, and the competency of calculation is improved. From c. 1350, the first astrolabe is on the scene. Important compendia, then, are *Enuma Anu Enlil* (omen astrology under Assurbanipal [668–1626]) and *mul. apin* (astronomical series with the orbit time of the planets, etc., with the oldest extant copy from around 700). The

		astronomical diaries of the Babylonian Royal Houses (extant from the sixth to the fourth century BCE) served later astrologists for the extension of their theories (Ptolemy). The oldest horoscopes date from the fifth century BCE.
c. 1000–300	Appearance of micro-macrocosm models	This explanatory schema, basic for esoteric thought, appeared in parallel in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece, where philosophy (Pythagoras, Empedocles, etc.) supplied it with a theoretical explanation.
Era 2: The Development of principal esoteric currents (c. 300 BCE–300 CE)		
c. 300 BCE–100 CE	First Hermetic compositions in Egypt	There occurs a first development and formation of what was later designated 'Hermetism/Hermeticism,' namely, a piety centered on the divine revealer Hermes-Thot. Here is a confluence of Egypt's ancient sacerdotal tradition and Hellenistic piety and Platonism.
c. 100 BCE–400 CE	Astrology crests in the Roman Empire	The Roman imperial era leads to an enormous flourishing of astrology. As a scientific discipline (*ars mathematica*), astrology presents the universal model for

		the interpretation of reality.
2nd cent. CE	Ptolemy	In Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100–178 CE), ancient astrology comes to a temporary conclusion. Until the seventeenth century, his works *Syntaxis Mathematica* (presumably finished in 148 CE) and *Tetrabiblos* (Gk., “Quadruple Book”) are the most important manuals of astrology and astronomy.
c. 100–400	‘Gnosticism’	During this time, in the Christian and Jewish environment, new communities propagate an interior, and exterior, path to salvation in a Neo-Platonic and theurgical context.
c. 200–300	*Corpus Hermeticum* (Lat., “Hermetic Corpus”)	Composition of the Hermetic corpus, consisting of Christian, Neo-Platonic, and Gnostic elements.
c. 100–400	Nag Hammadi Codex	Compilation of the collection of Christian-Gnostic-Hermetic tractates, consisting of thirteen codices, with fifty-one works—one of the most important sources for early Christianity—in upper Egyptian Nag Hammadi.
205–270	Plotinus	The central thinker of Neo-Platonism,

		whose philosophy stamps the history of esotericism even today.
c. 300	Zosimos	This scholar, who comes out of a Jewish-Pagan environment, is regarded as the first systematic alchemist. His instructor was Mary the Jew. His comprehensive work was widely received.
Phase 3: Late antiquity, early Islamic time, and Middle Ages (4th–12th centuries CE)		
from the 3rd cent.	Mani (c. 215–275) and Manichaeism	Important conveyor of esoteric teachings, with great influence from Africa to China. Manichaeism became a serious competitor with national (state) Christianity, then in the process of formation.
c. 800	Jabir ibn Chayyam	One of the most important alchemists of the Islamic world (d. c. 815). More than 3,000 works are attributed to him.
980–1037	Avicenna (Ibn Sina)	Islamic physician and philosopher, who, with his Neo-Platonic/Aristotelian metaphysics, influenced the philosophy of nature, alchemy, and astrology in West and East alike.

'Gnostic' groups of the Middle Ages		
c. 780–1400	Paulicians	Strongly dualistic grouping, spreading from Armenia to the Balkans.
10th–12th cent.	Bogomils	'Gnostic' community in Macedonia and Bosnia, then in Italy and France as well.
c. 1100–1229	Cathari and Albigenses	Two of the most important groups, emerging, e.g., from a Bogomilian context, in Southern France and upper Italy, bitterly persecuted by Pope Innocent III, and generally extinguished in the Albigensian Wars.
Appearance of the Kabbalah		
7th–8th cent.	Sefer Yetzirah (Heb., "Book of Creation/ Formation")	Early Jewish mystical composition, with the first mention of the 'Sefirot.'
c. 1180	Sefer ha-Bahir ("Bright Shining Book")	First basic work of the early Kabbalah.
c. 1300	Sefer ha-Zohar ("Book of Splendor")	The Zohar is the canonical writing of the Kabbalists, redacted by Moses ben Shemtov de León (d. 1305) and his circle, and spread beginning in 1275. Other important authors of the time were Abraham Joseph Gikatilla (1248–c. 1325) and Abraham Abulafia (1240–after 1291).

Phase 4: From the Renaissance until after the turn of the nineteenth century

15th cent.	Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and the Florentine 'Academy'	The rediscovery of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and its translation into Latin by Ficino can be regarded as the hour of the birth of modern esotericism.
15th–16th cent.	Cresting of the *magia naturalis*	At this time, a series of key works of the esoteric world-interpretation appears, scoring the development of science, alchemy, astrology, magic, and theosophy—for example, the *De occulta philosophia* (Lat.) of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486–1535).
1492–1666	Development of the Lurianic Kabbalah	The expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492) occasions the foundation of a Kabbalistic school in Safed (Palestine), under the decisive influence of Moses Cordovero (1522–1570) and Isaac Luria (1534–1572). This phase extends to 1666, when Kabbalistic 'Messiah' Shabbatai Zvi converts to Islam.
1550–1800	Christian adaptation of the Kabbalah	The Zohar and the Lurianic Kabbalah gains influence on Christian esotericism. Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), Knorr von Rosenroth

		(1639–1689), and others, provided Latin translations that marked the thought of so many alchemists, astrologers, literati, and philosophers, from Reuchlin to Schelling.
16th–18th cent.	Protestant theosophy	Esoteric thought and Kabbalah have come into the systems of celebrated theosophists, first of all with Paracelsus (1493–1541), Jacob Böhme, Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), and Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–1782).
Secret societies as institutionalized esotericism		
14th–15th cent.	Earliest traces of Freemasonic activity	First precursors are the artisanship legends, e.g. the Regius poem (c. 1390), the Cooke manuscript (1430–1440), and the first constitution manuscripts (from mid-fifteenth century).
1605–1620	Spread of the Rosicrucian manifestoes	Founding of the Rosicrucian myth, through the manifestoes *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614) and *Confessio* (1615/16). The normative (co-) author is Johann Valentin Andreae. Subsequently, the Rosicrucians' actual group formations arise. The aim is the 'general reformation' of state and Church.

1717	Founding of the first Grand Masonic Lodge of London (later, of England)	Legislation of statutes that are taken over by other lodges as well.
1776	Founding of the Order of the Illuminati by Adam Weishaupt (1748–1830) in Ingolstadt	Like the other societies of the eighteenth century, the Order of the Illuminati documents the close connection between the enlightened middle class and esotericism. The Order was proscribed in 1785.
1787	Founding of the New Church	The society adopts the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg, which are to be ranged among the most influential esoteric concepts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The New Church, is still active today, especially in the United States.
1868	Founding of the Fraternity of the Rose Cross	Oldest group of Rosicrucians in North America, founded by Pascal Beverly Randolph (1825–1875).
Phase 5: Modern age		
1875	Founding of the Theosophical Society	The Theosophical Society is the most important propeller of esotericism in the twentieth century. Founded by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891), Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907), and William Q. Judge (1851–1896),

		it seeks to bring knowledge of religious history into harmony with mystical and esoteric 'original truths.' From 1902–1913, Rudolf Steiner is Secretary General of the German Division of the Theosophical Society.
c. 1888	Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn	Initiatory Order with a relationship to Rosicrucians, Freemasons, and the Theosophical Society. It influenced the esotericism of the twentieth century (McGregor Mathers, Aleister Crowley, William Butler Yeats, etc.).
1896	Re-founding of the Order of the Illuminati	As 'refounded' by Theodor Reuss (between 1894 and 1896), the Order now has but a nominal connection with Weishaupt's Order. In actual fact, it is a matter of a texture of theosophical, magical, and occultist currents of the time. The Order has an involved history. After difficulties, in 1925–1928 there was another reactivation, and the founding of a 'World Union of Illuminati,' which, however, existed practically only on paper.

1901	*Ordo Templi Orientis* (Lat., 'Order of the Temple of the East')	The Order (founded by Karl Kellner) is an important collection of the esoteric minds of the time, such as Theodor Reuss, Rudolf Steiner, and Aleister Crowley (1875–1947).
1913	Anthroposophical Society	Created by Rudolf Steiner after his break with the Theosophical Society, a very influential movement particularly in Germany.
after 1960	New Age Movement	This is a mixture of extremely heterogeneous currents of the—especially North American, at first—counterculture of the 1960s, with theosophical, Asian, Buddhist, and esoteric traditions (preponderantly of the nineteenth century). Today this amalgam is often simplistically dubbed 'esotericism.' A kind of common denominator prevails in the premise that earth and humankind are in a process of transformation, seen as leading to a holistic view of reality, the development of humanity's spiritual powers, and to an incorporation of that being into nature. This has effects on religion, psychology, medicine, science, politics, art, etc.

1962	Founding of the → Esalen Institute	This center (near Big Sur, California) was begun by Michael Murphy and Richard Price. It is part of the Human Potential Movement, and connects seminar work with research in meditation, ecology, new forms of therapy, etc. It is of enormous influence in the New Age Movement.
1962	Founding of the Findhorn Community	Alternative spiritual project in residence and ecology, created by Eileen and Peter Caddy with friends in Northern Scotland. Not least of all through the work of David Spangler, Findhorn became an important point of crystallization for the New Age scene. Even today, Findhorn is of great importance for geomancy and spiritual conceptions of nature.

Kocku von Stuckrad

Eternity

As a concept of the contemporary field of signification, eternity can be conceptually apprehended through various definitions: (a) infinity from a temporal/chronological viewpoint; infinitely long duration of time; without beginning and end in time; (b) time as a whole, the sum of all time; (c) condition beyond the category of time; (d) non-fleeting, non-transitory; (e) the very long, but not infinite, period of time of a world age (Gk., *aion*). From a philosophical standpoint, the question of eternity is systematically dependent on the underlying conception of time. Eternity, infinitude in time (as well as in space) is often used as an attribute of 'the noble,' 'the lofty': for Plato, the Ideas—as the highest form of being—were eternal, since they have no need of becoming in time. In the theologies of the

scriptural religions, eternity, along with corresponding attributes such as omnipotence, omniscience, and ubiquity, is an essential trait of God.

In Christian interpretation, time is to be apprehended as a work of God, since it was produced in creation: God stands eternally as creator, beyond (or above) the category of time. In the religious models of reward and punishment in the → hereafter, the conditions of salvation or damnation are likewise thought of as eternal, as these conditions—setting aside the Christian exception of purgatory—essentially involve an existence beyond time. Aspects of a timeless existence are also found in the 'dream time' of the Australian → Aborigines, as a form of mystically parallel space-time(s).

Symbols of eternity are 'A and Ω,' the circle, and the 'Ouroboros,' a serpent that bites itself in the tail, thereby returning to its beginning. The mathematical sign for 'infinity' is basically formed of an overlapped circle: ∞.

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→ *Hereafter, Time*

Stefan Hartmann

Ethics / Morals

1. *Ethics* and *moral philosophy* are frequently employed as synonyms, to denote, systematically, the rules of ideal human behavior. Where the two terms are differentiated, the concept of *ethics*, derived from the Greek *éthos* ('habit,' 'custom'), denotes the systematic discussion and isolation of the good or commanded, in opposition to the evil or forbidden and reprehensible; while the concept *moral*, derived from the Latin *mores* ('customs'), denotes the ideal type of ways of behavior—the right 'doing' in concrete situations. Each area can be closely connected with religion, but need not be.

Examples from Recent Times

2. a) As the sheep called Dolly was cloned in Great Britain in February 1997, British researchers prided themselves on a scientific breakthrough. Their delight rapidly dimmed, however, as a worldwide wave of protest and rejection disapproved of this kind of research, and urged laws against such experiments (→ Genetic Engineering). In particular the representatives of the great world religions, among them the Pope, explained that in this case the demarcation between the technological feasible and the ethically permissible had plainly been overstepped. There was a correspondingly sharp reaction of disapproval toward the announcement by an American research team, in January 1998, of its attempt to clone human beings. In each case, it was explained that such research was ethically reprehensible, even though, for its defense and legitimization, the investigators had indicated its potential value for combating diseases like Parkinson's or Alzheimer's.



A signboard of proverbs at a park in Katmandu, in Nepal, reminds passers-by of Hindu expressions for the basis of living. Signboards erected by the Office of Press and Publication are in three languages: Nepali, Sanskrit, and English. The maxims inscribed on them are from the *Tattiriya Upanishad*, one of India's oldest philosophical writings. (Benita von Behr)

It was interesting that the representatives of religion always based their rejection ethically, and subsequently came forward as advocates of ethical principles, but cited no specifically religious arguments.

b) The Pope expressed moral considerations in January 1998, in a letter to the German bishops declaring that the practice, prescribed in Germany in parag. 219, of issuing pregnant women a counseling voucher entitling them to a legal → abortion, was also being carried out by church counseling offices. From the Pope's standpoint, ecclesiastical institutions were thereby participating in the morally irresponsible killing of unborn life. Notwithstanding all of the arguments of the bishops, the Pope insisted in this question that fundamental moral principles unambiguously deduced from the teaching of the Church be uncompromisingly upheld.

Both examples indicate a close connection between religion and ethics/morals. But they also underscore the independence of the area of ethics/morals: the arguments themselves are presented with strong ethical/moral grounding, and the relationship to religious stipulations is underplayed as far as at all possible.

Ethics: Deduction of the Good and the Commanded

3. a) Central to the philosophical concept of ethics is the thought that the content of the good can be specified in such a way as to constitute an adequate premise of the ideal type of the behavior of the good human being. Thus, ethics becomes a norm, for human behavior that is clearly defined and unambiguously specified vis-à-vis evil or the prohibited. This norm is intended to provide orientation with respect to newly appearing problems, and to offer reasonable solutions. Here it is presupposed that the human being is good in principle, and can be restrained from doing evil through the corresponding orientation (positive philosophical anthropology). Plato, appealing to Socrates, indicates the principles of the true, the good, and the beautiful as the foundation of such a philosophical ethics. Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics supports the same content.

Human Worth and the Concept of the Natural/Unnatural

b) The world as a whole, like the world of the human being, can produce an order of conclusions, with the help of reason, on the basis of its inner lawfulness. This world ought to be laid out systematically, in such a way that all concretely existing problems of human behavior can be inserted into this systematic order and thereby solved. The fundamental principle in such an arrangement is that the whole always takes precedence over its parts. This premise is valid for nature just as for society and for individual people. With regard to society, it generates the concept of the *bonum commune* (Lat., 'common good'), to which individuals must subordinate their private interests and their opportunities for self-determination. For the individual, this means that the good of the whole human being is to take precedence over measures serving a particular individual good. More recent discussion shows that, when the nature of the human being is understood purely biologically, the application of contraceptive measures is an unacceptable intervention in the nature of the human being, while the application of the natural phases of infertility (Knaus-Ogino method) is acceptable. A second approach maintains a broader concept of nature—one that implies that medical intervention from without is not necessarily defined as unnatural or against nature, provided that it serves human personhood, in which case means of contraception are acceptable. Two key criteria, then, can be held: the concept of human worth, and the concept of natural/unnatural. Here, 'casuistry'—theoretical case solving—is a legitimate and useful tool. In ethics, it is a matter either—as in the case of hedonism (→ Luck/Happiness)—of the establishment of universal principles of the good, or—as with the case of cloning—of a general kind and manner of how to address and solve newly arising problems.

Self Determination and Responsibility

c) Here every ethics proceeds from the premise that human beings may themselves determine their action. The 'Silver Rule' ("Do not do unto others as you would not have them do unto you"), the simplest kind of ethical imperative, has only this sense and meaning; and the case with Immanuel Kant's 'categorical imperative' is no different—"Act in such a manner that you could at any time impose the principle of your action as a universally valid law."[1] The nonobservance of an ethical imperative, then, may be requited with punishment, whether by human society, or by a metaphysical agent. On the other hand, were the human being to be altogether determined, there would then be no responsibility, and no guilt: punishment and repentance/expiation would have no meaning or sense (→ Determinism; Fatalism). Accordingly, the free → will of the human being is a necessary premise for the possibility of ethics. The extent to which this freedom of activity is concretely at hand is disputed. Lack of insight, powerful compulsion or psychic drive can all contribute to a limitation of personal responsibility, and therefore of the capacity to incur guilt. Modern → psychoanalysis, as it happens, has gained important knowledge and understanding of these features. Punitive processes increasingly take this circumstance into account. In the history of religions, a combination of determinism and ethics has occasionally been sought—as, for example, in Calvinism, whose premise is that, while human beings are indeed predetermined in their action (predestination), still they do not know what God has determined, so that the possibility of an ethics remains.

Validity of Norms and Values

d) All classical orders of value have their point of departure in the notion that values and norms have objective validity, for society as for the

individual. Ethical conflicts therefore arise only when distinct ethical principles (e.g., saving the life of a pregnant woman who is critically ill, or the life of her unborn child) lead to a dilemma requiring a choice in behalf of the one or the other. Ethical discussion in such societies is therefore often casuistically decided. The universal validity of the values and norms themselves is not in question. It is otherwise in societies of a pluralistic *Weltanschauung*. Here the autonomy of the person functions as a criterion in matters of ethics and morality. In this case, there is a question of positing the norms, and grounding them oneself, in order to apply them as a matter of obligation. The per se evidence, the non-negotiability, of the order can therefore no longer be invoked in its favor. Concretely, this means that the decision is reached by votes cast in parliaments or supreme courts, in all questions of ethics and morality on permissibility and impunity (which are not the same!). A return to metaphysical principles for the validation of norms is not an option. For a practical norm, or law, the question arises whether means and ways can be discovered—and whether the validity of such a law may or even must be established—in order for its applications to be permissible and possible in a global and cross-cultural context. This feasibility must be established even against the individual interests of such powers and states that call into question or reject the per se evidence of the validity of the universal norm (→ Human Rights).

Morality: Right Doing

4. Human beings' right activity is a question of ideal behavior in all of life's situations and conditions. All cultures and religions have directives for action prepared for the implementation of this principle. For all the difference in their doctrinal content and systematic foundations, these directives are very extensively comparable to what the Judeo-Christian tradition conveys and transmits in the second Mosaic table: "Honor your father and your mother. [. . .] You shall not murder. You shall not commit adultery," and so on (Exod 20:2-17). However, the manner in which father and mother are to be honored can materialize very differently from culture to culture. By the Commandment, "You shall not murder," the Bible forbids, for instance, the unjust killing of human beings. But the same Bible also knows legitimate forms of killing:—capital punishment, or the killing of soldiers in military actions. From the very beginning, Christian tradition (Matt 5:21-22, 5:27,28) placed value on right behavior not only as a practice to grasp, but as the right attitude to demand, as well. In this way, Christianity powerfully contributes to the internalization of norms and values, and helps to develop—conscience as the inner instance: conscience is not thus integrated in the religiosity of all cultures as it is in the Judeo-Christian tradition. The reference to conscience is not without problems with respect to the universal validity of norms. Conflicts can arise between the demands of one's own conscience and officially valid norms. Christian tradition knows this series of problems very well. It became matter for discussion in terminology that included 'invincibly erroneous conscience' and 'situational ethics.' But a comprehensive answer was never given to the question of whether a person sins or not, when declining to follow his or her conscience in order to abide by the will of God. The classic example is the story of Abraham, who intends to sacrifice his son Isaac at God's command, even though to do so would violate his conscience (Gen 22). Opposed stands Jesus's appeal to the conscience of those who were about to stone the adulteress ("Let anyone among you who is without sin be the first to throw a stone at her"; John 8:7). In the

theory of → drama, from antiquity onward, the conflict between conscience and law, or inclination and duty, presents the most important example of tragic conflict (for instance, Sophocles's "Antigone," or J. W. von Goethe's "Iphigenia in Tauris": in order to fulfill her duty as priestess, Iphigenia would be obliged to sacrifice her own brother). Here we have an expression of the relation between morality and religion, just as we have had, above, with ethics and religion.

Ethics, Morality, and Religion

5. a) For many centuries, Western ethics has been the special domain of philosophers, of whom most were also theologians. Thus, these thinkers conducted their ethical reflections in close connection with → theology. An exemplary case is the theology of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), who understands the ethical philosophy of Aristotle as coinciding with that of Christian faith, since Thomas interprets God as the Good *simpliciter*, the *Summum Bonum*. In this fashion, he integrates Aristotle's ethics into *Christianity* (→ Scholasticism). Accordingly, Thomas's ethics and theology has God bestow the Ten Commandments because, content-wise, they correspond in principle to the Idea of the Good. Applied to newly arisen problems, then, Thomas holds, it is possible to deduce God's will and direction from a systematic unfolding of the Idea of the Good. Such a possibility and opportunity fail, however, when, as did the Christian Nominalists of the late Middle Ages, one so expounds God's freedom that the divine decree could have been different from, indeed the opposite of, what it has actually commanded. Here, other patterns of explanation must supervene. This discussion, arising out of the conflict over 'universals,' can be readily seen in connection with the corresponding one maintained, in *Islamic theology*, between the two dominant schools of Sunnite Islam. According to al-As'ari (d. 935)—founder of the school that bears his name, the As'ariyya—instead of "You shall not lie," God could have issued the instruction, "You shall lie." No one can prescribe God the divine commands and prohibitions. However, God's freedom does not mean that good and evil have no intrinsic qualities, and are arbitrary instructions handed down by the divine free will. Rather, it means that the ultimate truth of good and evil is known only to God. The underlying thought is that, being omniscient, God needs no directions from anyone as to what to think. Al-As'ari would find anything else blasphemous. Applied to the human being, this means that this theology is dependent upon the divine word as ultimate authority. The second great Sunnite school, the Maturidiyya (after the founding figure, Al-Maturidi) takes a different position on this question. Here, the human being understands with reason whether something is good or evil. But the foundation of why good is to be done and evil to be shunned is received from revelation.

Social Ethics and Government Morals

b) Another form of disconnection between ethics/moral philosophy and religion emerges from a basic premise maintained by certain religions. Thus, as *religions of redemption*, → Buddhism and → Christianity focus primarily on the redemption of the human being, and offer appropriate orientation. Whether, as in the Pauline letters in the New Testament, this orientation is granted exclusively by God's gracious condescension, or whether, as in many forms of Mahayana Buddhism, it is founded in the love of the Bodhisattva for human beings and concern to save them, in either case human beings' concrete activity in behalf of redemption plays

a subordinate role. The history of both religions shows that this distance from ethical principles and concrete moral instructions could not be long maintained. As soon as these religions became *state religions*, whose formative effects must operate in all areas, they were propelled into the realism of all of the concrete functions of a social ethics and government morality. To this purpose, Christianity, once it became the establishment religion, very quickly borrowed its basic tenets and practical instructions from → Judaism and the Stoic-Cynic philosophy. Theravada Buddhism, in those lands in which it was the only establishment religion (for example in Sri-Lanka and Thailand), adopted basic ethical principles and moral instructions from → Hinduism and local traditions. Of course, where Buddhism was not responsible for government morality (e.g., in China, Korea, and Japan), it concentrated exclusively on redemption and left the ethics and moral philosophy to other institutions (e.g., Confucianism and Shintoism). The concrete result is that, in Japan still today, Shintoism or the secular state prescribe the governmental regulations for abortions, while Buddhism grants a generous forgiveness to women who have secured an abortion, and through the loving concern and mediation of Bodhisattva Jizu, assures for the fetuses who have been killed in this way the prospect of a blissful rebirth, as soon as these mothers have turned, in complete trust, to that bodhisattva. Grace and salvation at the hands of the bodhisattva become so visible in their format of purity, that, in this kind of Mahayana-Buddhist religion of grace, any aftertaste of guilt and atonement is circumvented. Religion and the promise of salvation are thus completely divorced from ethics and morals. This separation does not mean that human deeds are entirely irrelevant. They still attest to good or bad *karma*, but they do not rigidly cling to its effect, since the bodhisattva, who is familiar with the illusory character of *karma*, interrupts the karmic chain of reality with work and effect.

c) The relationship between religion and ethics or morality, then, can surely present great variety within a single religion. The history of religions affords abundant further evidence, from different traditions and cultures, of what is here presented by way of example. Seen typologically, the models are even more diverse than these variants. For example, there are societies that sanction the rules of human association with an appeal to God or a sacred order, and thereby withdraw the element of human partiality—religions whose operation is entirely and exclusively moral, as is often the case with 'tribal' religions.

All of these models have one thing in common. They begin with the solidly ordained framework of a valid order that, as such, neither stands available, nor underlies changes of principle. Everything that is or can be, is settled in this framework—never beyond it. Hence all of these models have a static element.

Ethics and Morality in the Age of Globalization

6. The more recent debate over ethics/morals and religion moves in a field of tension between (1) a relativization of values through modernization, and (2) the accompanying globalization, with its call for a global consensus on universally valid values. The proclamation of human rights in the French Revolution (August 26, 1789), which stands in an → Enlightenment frame of reference, may be seen as a first expression of this consensus. Of similar significance, however, is the "United Nations General Declaration on

Human Rights" (December 10, 1948). In nineteenth-century historism, with its faith in progress, as also in the biologistic debate on the 'cultural evolution' of humanity, the relativization of a value system is shown to be the product of a historical development, in outlines like → Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morality.* In recent times, the biologistic approach is discussed in connection with questions of → bioethics. Attempts at a global consensus on basic values, one beyond cultural relativism, find their expression in, for instance, German theologian Hans Küng's "Project World Ethos." Küng believes that the "Declaration on Human Rights" represents progress in the sense of human beings' cultural development. The "Declaration on a World Ethos" seeks to take this into account, and to note progress in humanity's ethical consciousness—progress that the religions can positively support and help to convey. The fact that representatives of all of the great religions—however varying their number—have signed the "Declaration on a World Ethos" shows that, while setting new standards, the principles therein formulated have definitively surpassed none of the norms of the great traditions.

The relativization of the values transmitted by the classical religions, in the wake of the modern development of industrialization, globalization, and so on, brings these religions themselves more and more frequently into conflict with that development, as has become clear from the discussion on → genetic engineering, → abortion, and so on. Accordingly, the suitability of the norms and values held so high by the religions is called into question down to its very principles. Now its further suitability is anything but secured. In the future, ethics and morality will possibly have altogether different content from that so far known through the history of religions and cultures, as well as through the secular world. The quest for orientation has restarted. What satisfactory standards it will find is unknown.

1. Kant, Immanuel, Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten, 1785. In: Idem, Werke, ed. W. Weischedel, 4:51.

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→ *Abortion/Contraception, Bioethics, Christianity, Conscience, Evil, Genetic Engineering, Guilt, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, Luck/Happiness, Psychoanalysis, Sin, Values, Will (free)*

Peter Antes

Ethnicity

Ethnicity as a Pattern of Explanation

1. a) Since the 1970s, 'ethnicity,' with all of the catchwords it comports—awareness, group, conflict, cleansing, religion—has served as an explanatory variable for descriptions of relations between groups in multi-ethnic national states. It also functions in the attempt to meet the set of problems attaching to the formation of a state and/or nation, or to processes of globalization. In these cases, ethnicity offers a theory that seeks to explain the conditions and factors of the informal and formal development of groups. Consequently, ethnicity is concerned with interior and exterior 'line-drawing' processes among groups, processes that are based on the mechanism of various ascriptions to self and to others, and thus based on the contrariety of 'we' and 'they.' The members of an 'ethnic' group (usually) believe in a common origin, inhabit the same territory, and present themselves with flexible and 'coincidental' characteristics ('ethnic markers'), such as language, religion, clothing, nutrition, rituals, symbols, and a particular set of everyday practices. The mechanism of ascription leads, of course, to the formation of stereotypes of images of self and those of strangers (→ Prejudices/Stereotypes). One's own group is outfitted with 'good' characteristics, and the others with 'bad,' if not downright inferior, ones (→ Collective Representations). Additionally, processes of group formation can arise through struggles over social resources, such as education and training, a political voice, work, or natural resources, as well as arising in the independence movements of regions within a nation. Thus, ethnicity can be understood as a symbolical order pertaining to groups, which offers not only a behavioral orientation, but also special, interiorized categories of thought and perception, as well as a field of possibilities of (self-) identification. The essential thing is that ethnicity is in no way a universal or nature-given principle of the organization of groups; rather it is a construct that attempts to explain or justify the formation of groups.

Theoretical Positions

b) The theorizing of the central concepts 'ethnic identity' and 'group' divides in two directions. The *primordialists*, or objectivists, take their point of departure in the notion that (1) cultural techniques and images of the world (language and religion) received in infancy, and (2) the culture as bound to its origin, connect the members to one another in feelings and cognition. The *situationalists*, or subjectivists, reject the former approach as being deterministic and static. They claim instead that group identity is dependent on situation, and that it therefore emerges from the process of demarcation vis-à-vis other groups, a process determined by the moment at hand. Consequently, groups can be formed of members of differing cultures, languages, and even religions, and need not, as it might seem at first glance they must, be homogeneous. This approach includes even small associations or groups with other interests, such as profession or sport. The two positions connect loosely with each other in the discussion on 'ethnic' phenomena.

Ethnicity and Nation

2. a) The 'United House of Europe,' under the symbol of the blue star flag, has a few faults in its architecture. Nations like France, through 'internal' homogenizing efforts, and both the propagation and the exclusive use of the state language, French, are attempting to assimilate non-French

cultures, lest it find itself awash in foreigners. The steering from above by government apparatus, along with re-conceptualized so-called 'commonalities' such as language, are dubbed *nation*, as contradistinguished from *ethnic group*. The nation is seen as a substantial social organization, and one that claims, for the (homogenized) group, a supra-temporal, if not indeed static, character. The French language is presupposed as a given, French history 'builds' a community bound to the apparatus of state. Further, the 'united' nation is seen as a bulwark facing 'outward,' against other nations. However, this perspective does not solve the problems of a multicultural community (→ minorities, → diaspora, → exile, worker → migration), or of the interplay of European nations. This shortcoming is shown by the Muslim satellite cities (ghettos) around Paris, in which mosques provide the only retreat and refuge for the 'others,' in this case Arab-African cultures. Religion, as an 'ethnic marker' in advanced industrial nations, is an essential conflictive factor. Stereotypical opinions of the scarf or veil, the opposition of Christians to the erection of mosques, and the wholesale assumption that every politically active Muslim is a fundamentalist, are examples of a fear of being overwhelmed by foreign religion, culture, and society. The process of a demarcation between 'Islam' and 'Christianity' unifies both the practicing members of the faith community and the non-religious, formal members thereof. Religion is then regarded as a symbolic order, and political unit, against the 'others.'

Ethnicity and Regional Movements

b) The belligerent confrontation between Northern Irish Catholics and Protestants is an example of regional independence struggles. Annually, the traditional procession of the Protestant Order of the Orange through a Catholic area provides new fuel for conflict. In the name of the Catholic confession, Sinn-Fein members not only battle with bombs for their other demands, but require that the Irish flag be hoisted next to the Union Jack on the parliament building, and that Gaelic be recognized alongside the commercial language, English. These demands are intended to clarify Catholics' regional awareness under British rule, not only symbolically, but actually. Such a use of religion serves to legitimize political demands on the part of an 'ethnic minority' (→ Northern Ireland).

Ethnicity and Tribalism

c) European explanations of conflicts and wars in Africa are mostly devoted to indictment of so-called 'tribal culture' ('tribalism'). The colonial invention of 'tribes,' as the basis of a unified, readily governable administration, consisted in a multiplicity of newly created units whose members frequently were brought together from altogether different cultures and language groups (→ Colonialism II). In order to facilitate administration, the colonized were organized (and Christianized) in *pueblos*. It is fallaciously argued in many places that it was precisely 'tribal conduct' that prevented their incorporation into states, along with generating bases of hostility among tribes for the 'wars' developing out of conflict over land. There are concepts of tribalism, or indeed of a 'racial' membership in 'ethnic groups' or 'ethnic religions' (a substitute for the older notion of 'nature religions'), that are idealized. The currency of these idealizations in no way alters the fact that human beings organize in marital and age classes, trade and professional groups, groups determined by proximity of residence, and groups formed along lines of extended family relationship (lineages and clans). These come first, before the group called the 'tribe.' Here the concept of 'ethnicity'

emerges as an element of explanation and can just as well be replaced by an alternative, such as 'collective identity' (→ Collective Representations), which then must be defined exactly, and not introduced slogan-wise in journalistic jargon for political ends and group interests.

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→ *Apartheid, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Collective Representations, Colonialism II, Conflict/Violence, Diaspora, Ghetto/Ghettoization, Group, Minorities, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Race/Racism*

Annemarie Gronover

Eugenics

The Concept

1. The concept 'eugenics' was introduced in 1883 by F. Galton, who borrowed it from the Greek *eugenes* to designate the science of "all influences that tend in however remote a degree to give to the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable than they otherwise would have had."[1] Galton had developed his fundamental ideas on this notion as early as 1865 in reference to the theory formulated by his cousin Charles Darwin, according to which the evolution of all features of animals and human beings including talents and character traits is dictated by the laws of heredity, variation and natural selection. Galton explains the notion of original sin in biological terms as an adjustment problem which posed itself in the course of mankind's rapid rise from a low level of development.[2] In the interest of his own nation and the well-being of future generations, he advocates selective promotion of an intellectual elite to be achieved by using scientific insights to control reproduction and by regulating marriage (through intervention of the state, internalization of norms, etc.). What Galton envisaged was that eugenics should be "introduced into the national conscience, like a new religion."[3] As the traits he specified are in Galton's view hereditary, he, like many of his contemporaries, called for intensified research on the laws of heredity.

A distinction is made between '*positive eugenics*,' in the form of programs aimed to improve the human genetic material, and '*negative eugenics*,' which focuses on preventing undesirable genetic material from being

passed on. The boundaries between the two are difficult to demarcate, however.

'Racial Hygiene'

2. In Germany the favored term was '*Rassenhygiene*,' which had been coined by A. Ploetz. To be sure, Ploetz distances himself from the concept of race in strictly anthropological or, for that matter, national terms and uses it in the sense of 'the human race' in general,[4] but at the same time the Arian race constitutes for him "the cultural race *par excellence*." "Promoting it means promoting humankind in general," he writes.[5] In the case of a conflict between racial and individual 'hygiene' the former was to have priority, for as he posits, it serves to perfect humanity. Ploetz rejects the idea of annihilating or ostracizing the diseased, however, as in his view practices of this kind result in a weakening of social virtues which are necessary for the preservation of society. Instead he recommends shifting the process of selection from the level of the *individual* to that of the germ cell before sexual union.[6] Many proponents of 'racial hygiene' saw civilized communities threatened by devolution or degeneration, identifying their social institutions, laws, and health care systems as the source of such a threat since they helped weak individuals to survive who would have otherwise become the victims of natural selection. The common feature of eugenic approaches was the subordination of the individual under the common good and the view that it was imperative to take the good of future generations into consideration. In several countries, societies for eugenics or 'racial hygiene' were founded which published journals to argue their cause. Among renowned biologists critical voices were heard, however. O. Hertwig raised various objections to the eugenic utopias that envisioned societies based on controlled breeding.

In Germany and other countries there was vehement controversy over the question as to whether 'racial hygiene' should benefit humankind as a whole or whether there were preferred races whose improvement should be preferentially promoted. Thus the National Socialist form of 'racial hygiene,' as it was anchored in the "Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Progeny" of July 14, 1933 and expressed by the Nazis' annihilation policies cannot be equated with eugenics in general. Moreover, favorable views of eugenics were held by many different political parties and ideological communities.

Evolution and Progress

3. One reason for the appeal eugenics has had since its emergence is that it would seem to fulfill a desire for moral reorientation by virtue of the fact that it is associated with the notion of scientifically founded control of human evolution in the service of progress. This desire has manifested itself in various attempts to formulate an evolutionary ethics, the founding of societies aimed to promote ethical culture, and the emergence of the German Monists League (*Monistenbund*) (1906). Such developments came about parallel to, and often in close connection with, efforts to promote eugenics and were an international phenomenon. Universal conceptions of humankind, society, and nature based on evolutionary theory often tended to replace religion and can be seen as a reaction to the dwindling of the authority previously enjoyed by the church and political institutions. Proponents often overlooked the fact that the goals ascribed to human evolution were derived from extra-biological values (world views, political, ethical and aesthetic value judgments, and the like).

The Ethical Dimension Today

4. The eugenic notion that human evolution should be controlled continued to be popular after World War II, as the famous Ciba Symposium in 1962 showed.[7] Today the controversy over eugenics has been re-ignited by progress in human genetics and the ability to diagnose embryos and fetuses *in vivo* (prenatal diagnosis) and embryos *in vitro* (preimplantation genetic diagnosis). When there is an indication that an embryo or fetus has a disability, a woman can decide in favor of abortion or, as is the case with preimplantation genetic diagnosis of embryos *in vitro*, opt for embryonic selection, which entails transferring one or more selected embryos to the uterus. After the cloned sheep Dolly was born, the potential for human cloning became a conceivable future reality. In light of the increasing capacity to manipulate human reproduction, some fear that we are on the way towards establishing a new, albeit 'liberal' form of eugenics—unlike the kind practiced in the past.[8] It is necessary to examine this argument closely, and in doing so, aspects of health care policy-making should be taken into consideration. In general one should bear in mind that classic eugenics was always oriented towards the improvement of the gene pool or the common good, not to that of the individual, as is the case today. Genetic counseling and diagnosis for individual couples is carried out in the interests of the mother or the family and the child, not with an aim toward improving the gene pool or the human race. One must ask what the long-term eugenic implications might be if genetic testing for those with a predisposition for untreatable diseases is introduced and reproductive decisions are made on the basis of certain tests which are dictated by cost-benefit considerations. The question as to whether abortion (→ Abortion/Contraception) is justified in the case of birth defects requires a weighing of values which must take into account the socio-ethical question as to the status of disabled persons in our society. It is difficult to draw the line between disabilities that are to be viewed as diseases, and those that are deviations from the goals set by families and societies, which put not so much a physical as an emotional strain on these groups of persons.

1. Galton 1883, 24f.
2. Galton, in: MacMillan's Magazine 12 (1865), 327.
3. Galton, in: Sociological Papers I (1905), 50 and II (1906), 52-53.
4. Ploetz 1895a, 2.
5. Ploetz 1895a, 5.
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→ *Abortion/Contraception, Bioethics, Ethics/Morals, Genetic Engineering, Nature, Race/Racism, Science*

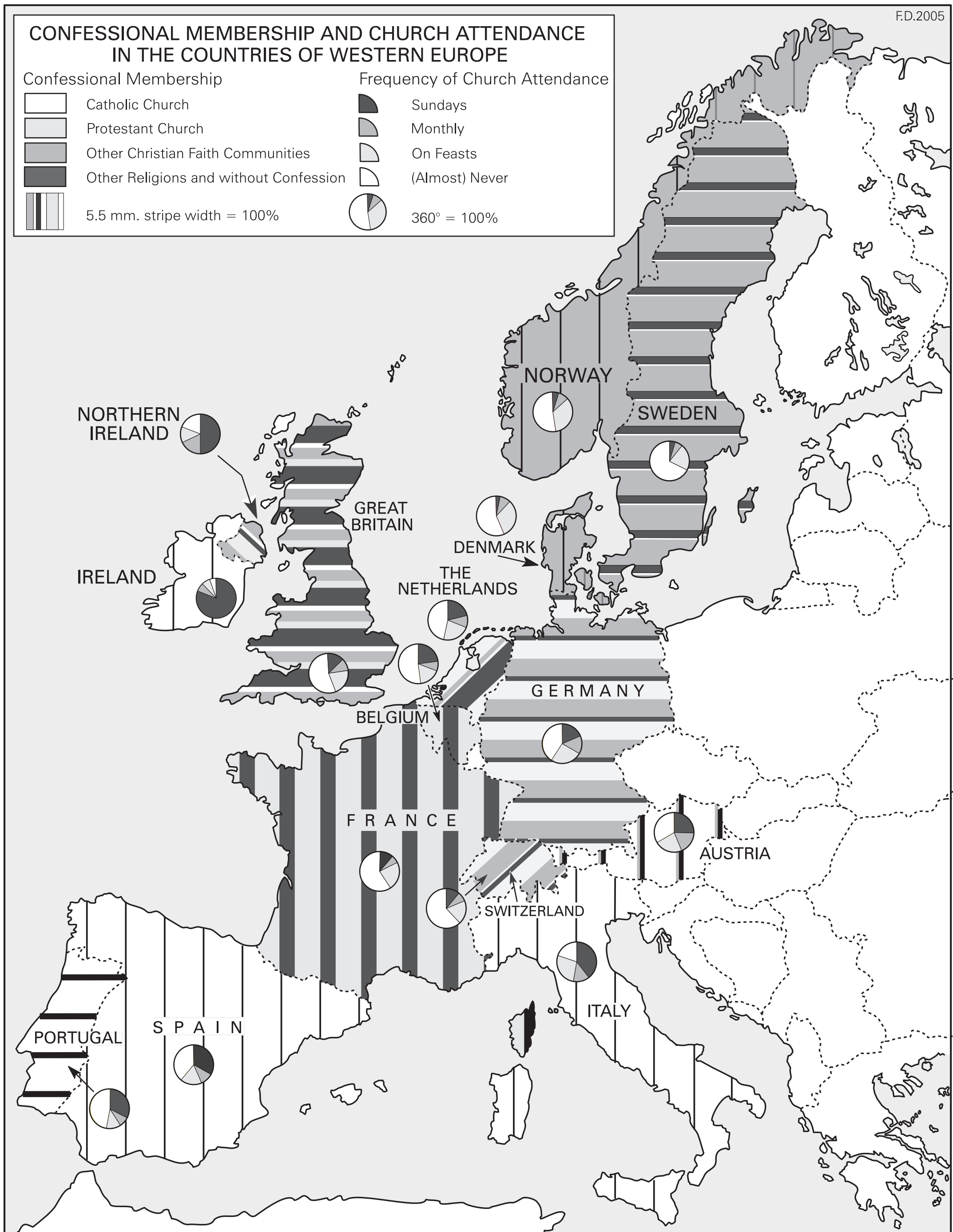
Eve-Marie Engels

Europe I: Western and Northern Europe

1. For the vast majority of persons in Europe, religion scarcely plays an important role in everyday life any longer. In many places, thin little bands of mostly older people show up on Sundays in greatly oversized old churches. → Christmas and Easter are still the most important feast days of the year, but at the focus of these festivals stand the obligatory exchange of gifts and the sumptuous meal in the family circle, no longer the religious celebration of a community. Scholarship usually explains the dechurching of Europe with the → secularization thesis: with the dissolution of the traditional village communities, and the advancement of modern conditions, religion has gradually come to die out, at least religion in its 'churchly' form. A glance beyond the borders of Europe into the Islamic world, or Anglo- or Latin America, as well as a discerning consideration of the religious situation in Europe, nevertheless, show that modernity and piety in no way need be incompatible. A country's current religious situation evidently depends not only on the degree of its modernization, but also on the peculiarity of its current religious communities and on the tenacity of their rooting in society.

Confessional Organization

2. The part of Europe called Western Europe, in lands impregnated with its culture, embraces essentially the areas of the one-time Celtic and Romanic, as well as the Teutonic, cultural circle. At the same time, this region forms the historical heart of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. Despite multiple redundancies and overlapping, there remain clear areas of agreement between the old colonial spaces of an ethnic culture—today's national regions—and the confessional religious articulation of the lands of the Romance languages. Since its arrival and spread in the first centuries CE, the dominant religion here was Catholicism. The population of the Scandinavian lands, as well as of the northern and eastern German regions, converted all but completely to Lutheran Protestantism. The southern and northwestern Teutonic/Germanic areas form a transitional zone, an area of mixture between the Catholic and the Protestant spheres of influence. Generally speaking, for sketching borderlines between Catholicism and



F.D.2005
CONFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND CHURCH ATTENDANCE
IN THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE
Confessional Membership
Catholic Church
Protestant Church
Other Christian Faith Communities
Other Religions and without Confession
5.5 mm. stripe width = 100%
Frequency of Church Attendance
Sundays
Monthly
On Feasts
(Almost) Never
360° = 100%
NORWAY
SWEDEN
NORTHERN
IRELAND
GREAT
BRITAIN
DENMARK
IRELAND
THE
NETHERLANDS
GERMANY
BELGIUM
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
SPAIN
PORTUGAL


F.D.2005
Trondheim
Coronation Church, Tomb of Saint Olaf
FINLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Archbishopric
Turku
Uppsala
Archbishopric and Theological Faculty
Edinburgh
Seat of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches
Saint Patrick
Lough Derg
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
DENMARK
Jelling
Roskilde
Lund
Jelling Runestone ('Baptismal Stone of Denmark')
Birmingham
Coventry
Grave of Lady Diana
Althorp
Westminster Abbey
London
Stonehenge
Canterbury
Saint Thomas à Becket
THE NETHERLANDS
Amsterdam
Blocksburg
Brocken
Berlin
Brandenburg Gate
Catholic University
Louvain
Externsteine
Wittenberg
BELGIUM
GERMANY
Cologne
Leipzig
Battle of the Peoples
Herrnhut
Ancestral Seat of the Herrnhut Brethren
Episcopal See of the Old Catholic Church
Bonn
Wartburg
Pantheon
Paris
Trier
Pilgrimage to the Holy Rock
Bayreuth
Wagner Festival
Carnac
Chartres
Cathedral
Birthplace of Joan of Arc
Domrémy-la-Pucelle
Valhalla
Munich
Goetheanum, Anthroposophy Center
Zwingli's Reformation
Altötting
Marian Pilgrimage
Tibetan Buddhist Temple
La Boulaye
Dornach
Zürich
Oberammergau
Passion Play
Alesia
Rikon
Maria Einsiedeln
Marian Pilgrimage
Taizé
Genf
SWITZERLAND
Alpbach
Calvin's Reformation
Val Camonica
Santiago de Compostela
Pilgrimage to Saint James
Aostatal
Waldenses
Ascona/Monte Venta
FRANCE
Padua
Saint Anthony
Marian Pilgrimage
Lourdes
Marranos
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Sainte Maries-de-la-Mer
Montségur
Castle of the Cathari
ITALY
Loreto
Marian Pilgrimage
Fátima
Marian Pilgrimage
El Escorial
Pilgrimage of the Sinti and Roma
Montserrat
Assisi
Saint Francis
Monastery and Tomb of the Spanish Kings
Pilgrimage to the Black Madonna
Rome
Vatican
Montecassino
Benedictine Abbey
Córdoba
Former Mosque (now cathedral)
Lanzarote
SACRED TOPOGRAPHY AND CENTERS OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN EUROPE
Catholic
Lutheran
Reformed
Anglican
Christian (other)
Jewish
Islamic
Buddhist
Hindu
Sikh
National Memorials
Alternative Culture, Art, Popular Culture
Prehistoric Places of Worship
0
250
500 km

Protestantism in Europe, one can observe, that, on the one hand, even after the time of the Reformation, Catholicism remained the stronger power where Christianity had spread very early, and in a gradual process of diffusion. These are the birthright states of the Roman Empire, as well as the regions that included a significant proportion of Celtic population (→ Celts) at the time of Christianization: Ireland, the Flemish area, and the south-German, Bavarian, and Austrian regions. On the other hand, in the purely Germanic colonial territories, which had been incorporated into the regions of the power of the Roman Catholic Church only relatively late, and partly under military compulsion, the Protestant 'riddance of Rome' movement prevailed. Whereas in most European areas of political rule, confessional unity remained extensively intact into the twentieth century, in England and the Netherlands a confessional pluralism formed as an immediate result of the Reformation: in the Netherlands, the Reformed Church of the Calvinists, in England the Anglican Church (Church of England), became the most important religious communities. Considerable parts of the population remained Catholic or professed in one of the numerous smaller Protestant faith communities. Germany and Switzerland were divided into Protestant and Catholic 'lands' or 'cantons.' Only in the twentieth century did a mix of the two confessions appear within the individual regions.

3. The close attachment that had prevailed between political and ecclesiastical rule in Europe since the times of Christianization remained in place after the Reformation. It was the sovereigns of the various regions who decided whether their subjects would remain with Catholicism or profess Lutheranism. The secular lords acquired influence over the occupancy of episcopal sees and other positions of church leadership. The church, for its part, supported political power structures, and itself pursued the politics of power and the economy on the highest level. On the basis of this constellation of political power, the two most significant social movements of European modernity, the → Enlightenment, and the socialist movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (→ Marxism), declared war on religious and secular rule alike. Not only the negative image of the church prevailing in broad circles of the population since that time, but also a current sense that what religion has to offer, and its moral demands, fail to correspond to the needs and moral conceptions of these movements. These antagonisms have contributed to the distance taken from the church by more and more persons in the wake of the dissolution of traditional milieus of life. On the other hand, on the basis of the long historical tradition of unity of state and church, a combination of membership in the social community system and formal membership in the church, to the very present, has frequently been felt to be something that goes without saying. The overwhelming majority of people in Scandinavia, West Germany, or Austria remain members of the church, 'because that's the way it's supposed to be,' although a large minority have all but broken off any contact with the church community. How brittle loyalty to the church can be in countries formerly under state churches, is shown with particular clarity in the example of East Germany. As the churches became an object of hostility under the socialist regime, and church membership no longer entailed social advantages, as it had in the past, but now brought disadvantages, the churches were abandoned in quick waves.[1] Today, only some one-third of East Germans belong to a church.

Enlightenment and Socialism

Scandinavia and England

The Evangelical Churches of Norway and Sweden, and the Church of England, have always retained the official status of *state churches*. This means that they are financed by state funds, that the organs of state government have legal access to intra-ecclesial decisions, and conversely, that the most highly placed hierarchs have influence on state policy. The bishops of the Church of England are named by the English Royal House, at the proposal of the Prime Minister; and in the other direction, the Anglican bishops occupy a fixed number of seats in the upper house of the English parliament.

In the other countries of Europe, meanwhile, state policy and the affairs of church are much more strictly divided from each other. Many traditions and institutional policies, however, such as the system of cooperation between the state financial administration and the church, in the levy of the church tax in Germany and Austria for example, point to the enduring legacy of a state church.

France

In *France*, the interlacing of absolute royal government and church rule had been especially significant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Since the French → Revolution, however, both state 'ecclesiality,' and the Church's positions in society, have been gradually sapped of their strength. Of the Catholic countries of Europe, it is in France and Belgium, today, that → secularization has advanced the furthest. *On the Iberian peninsula*, Christians, Islamic Moors, and Jews lived in peaceful coexistence for centuries. But this state of affairs prevailed only until strong ties were established between Royal Crown and Catholic Church, after the annihilation of Moorish rule in the late Middle Ages and the formation of a centralist realm. The church and the backward, patrimonial feudal system in Spain and Portugal, were able to maintain their position of social power, in reciprocal support, well into the twentieth century. Only with the end of the military dictatorship in the 1970s was politics opened up, along with a massive questioning of church moral teaching, and the place of the church in society. Attendance at divine service fell off sharply, while the number of those leaving the church has thus far remained within fairly modest bounds. *Italy*, with its church state, the Vatican, forms the center of 'Roman' Catholicism. Hence, Italians, more than persons in other countries, may look on the Church as 'their' Church. Thanks to its geographical proximity to the power center of Catholicism, Italy is the country of a particularly visible and palpable exercise, in its positive as well as its negative aspects, of political power on the part of the church. Italians are more finely tuned to the Vatican's dealings and machinations. On the other side, Italians know the church as an institution that represents the interests of the people—in earlier times as counter-power to worldly princes and foreign rule, today as counter-power to the state. Accordingly, Italians have an ambivalent attitude toward it. The film series, *Don Camillo and Peppone*, (after Giovanni Guareschi's novel, 1948) brought this to expression in characteristic fashion: Communist Peppone and pastor Don Camillo strive doughtily with each other, but ultimately recognize each other's finer qualities.

Spain and Portugal

Italy

Ireland

The religious situation in *Ireland* is basically different from that of other Western European countries. Here, secular rule and church were always divided spheres, and the clergy never adopted the status of a feudal ruling class. Instead, in an exemplary manner, it sought to realize the Christian

ideal, and thus—since the Middle Ages—the Church has enjoyed special credibility, and a special bond with the people. The population's positive attitude toward the Church intensified even further, when, after the establishment of English rule in Ireland, the Irish Catholic clergy fought on the side of the people for the preservation of national identity and for political liberation (→ Northern Ireland). For this reason, the popularity of the Catholic Church has remained high.[2]

Catholic and Protestant Piety

4. The great Christian churches claim to be a religion for everyone. Nonetheless, both Catholicism and Protestantism specially tailor themselves to the life situations and religious needs of certain social milieus. This does not only hold true for the present: it was already the case in earlier times. Traditional *Catholic popular piety* is impregnated with the mise-en-scène of land and farm, in village communities. In such societies, religion fulfilled the function of ensuring the cohesion of the community through common rituals and universally binding norms. Religious ritual gave to the daily round, the cyclical course of nature, everyday life, or out-of-the-ordinary occurrences in the course of life, a socially transmitted meaning, thereby constituting a central aspect of the regulation of community life. In view of the manifold lethal threats to which people were exposed in earlier times, an important purpose of magical usages in popular religion also lay in averting distressing strokes of fate, or rendering them more endurable. The veneration of protective patron saints, especially Mary, is still a key component of Catholic popular piety[3] (→ Veneration of Saints; Mary). The *piety of Protestantism*, by contrast, in the time of its appearance and early development, was directed in particular to the life situation and religious needs of the upwardly mobile middle class. The latter is no longer dependent on the benignity of nature to the same extent as the land and farm population. What is decisive for the social success of the individual here is his or her particular achievement, and, increasingly, formal education. In this social class, piety gradually takes on a completely new form: the cult of sacraments, and magical healing, is rejected. Habitual, regular community rituals are not dismantled, it is true, but they lose meaning for individual belief. At divine service, the presentation of religious doctrine and morals in simple graphic or scenic forms accessible to all is replaced by a sophisticated theological discourse whose medium is the → sermon. An internationally equalizing 'study' emerges, whose result is that the proportion of the population attending Sunday services, even as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, was only some thirty percent, while the overwhelming majority of Catholics regularly attended divine service. This difference is partly reducible to the fact that, among Catholics, attendance at divine service is regarded as a religious obligation, while in Protestantism this is not the case. In fact, it can be observed that, owing to the respective peculiarities of Catholic and Protestant piety, different social groups are involved, and these have different attitudes when it comes to proximity to or distance from the Church. Even today, Catholicism has remained most vital in rural regions, especially among the agricultural population. The active members of Protestant parishes, on the other hand, are recruited disproportionately from the educated middle class, and the number of those who attend divine services is extremely small among farmers and working families.[4] Among the traditionally state confessions, most of the members maintain their membership in the church, even though they no longer personally identify to any extent with the church. At

the same time, the *piety of smaller Christian confessions*, as for instance the Methodists, Presbyterians, or → Baptists, as well as the Calvinist Reformed Churches in The Netherlands, is more strongly marked by confessional traits. Members of these faith communities do attend divine services and gear their lifestyles to the moral ideals of religion; those who no longer identify with the goals of these churches withdraw from the community altogether. In *The Netherlands*, where a religious pluralism has been in place for centuries (despite the power of the Reformed Churches), a confessing community with a religious *Weltanschauung* is particularly well-rooted. Today, the secular sphere has taken over from the religious. Until mid-twentieth century, church participation was very high; since then, large numbers among the younger generation have made a radical break with the churches, to turn to the new emancipation and liberation ideologies of the student, youth, and peace movements.[5]

New Religious Movements in Europe

5. Since piety in the great popular churches is oriented to the religious needs of an average member, there are, and have been, *church renewal movements*, which repeatedly attempt to realize certain religious ideals better than this is possible in 'mass piety.' In recent decades, there have arisen, especially, two types of intra-church renewal: (1) 'basic Christian communities,' signalized by emphasis on social and political engagement, and (2) charismatic renewal groups, which stress an intensification of spiritual experience, along with 'fundamentalist' adherence to and observance of the religious moral precepts. These two types of church renewal movements attract only a small number of church members; nevertheless, owing to their religious activism, they have significant influence on the church. An important segment of the religious landscape of Western Europe today is formed by the *religions of foreign workers and immigrants* from former colonial countries (→ Migration; Diaspora; Ethnicity). We may name, here, as larger groups: North African and Turkish Muslims in France, Italy, and Germany; Hindus, Sikhs, and Buddhists, from India and surrounding countries, in England and The Netherlands. The maintenance of their religious traditions is an important means by which immigrants keep their identity in a foreign cultural space. Since, as a rule, these religious communities understand themselves as ethnic communities, and since they continue religious traditions that—as, for instance, the veiling of women (→ Veil)—are difficult for modern Europeans to appreciate, they are perceived by many natives as foreign bodies, rather than as an enrichment of Europe's cultural and religious multiplicity. In recent decades, a number of *new religious movements*, either 'imported' from other parts of the world, or arising in Europe itself, have come in competition with the established churches. New religious communities have thus far found only a small membership, their proportion in most countries being less than one percent of the population. This is due not least of all to the fact that Europe—unlike, for example, the United States—offers small faith communities scant social acceptance, decrying them as → 'sects' or 'destructive cults' (→ Anti-Cult Movements). In comparison with these groups, the lectures and courses of the → New Age scene involve a larger number with manifold self-experience and auto-therapeutic methods. Various studies have estimated the proportion of New Age activists at some four to five percent of the population of Western societies.[6] The number of those who occasionally read relevant bestsellers or try esoteric

salvation experiences or meditation techniques, may be essentially higher. Although the New Age movement cannot be designated as one of religion in the strict sense, still, esoteric practices (→ Esotericism) and the cultic milieu in which they appear do fulfil functions somewhat similar to those of religion and church.

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→ *Catholicism, Europe II, European History of Religion, Popular Culture, Protestantism*

Franz Höllinger

Europe II: Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and Balkans

1. With Greece as an exception, Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and the Balkans comprise the countries under Communist rule until 1989–1991. The 'category' indicates not only their geographical situation, but also and especially their common post-Communist quality, one not attaching to the countries of Western Europe. Since 1989–1991, after decades of Communist oppression, the three great religions of these countries' history—Christianity, Islam, and Judaism—are experiencing a process of transformation, in an era of freedom, democracy, and unrestricted capitalism.



At the ceremony of the re-consecration of a church in the vicinity of Kiev, in Ukraine, people press among the beams of construction scaffolding. During Socialism, many churches were used for secular ends—for instance, as a museum or a swimming pool—and then were repossessed as houses of God. (Benita von Behr)

2. In the countries of Central/Eastern Europe and the Balkans, except for Albania, the *Christian churches* form the largest religious communities among the faithful of the population. Historically, Christianity developed in the form of (1) the Orthodox national churches, (2) the Roman Catholic Church, and (3) the Protestant churches.

a) *Common predications:* The Communist era was one of antireligious propaganda, and the repression and persecution of the Christian churches. Many of the faithful and their leaders had to suffer constraints, disadvantages, and harassment, often even martyrdom. At the same time, there was also collaboration with the state on the part of church leaders, so that the churches themselves became a part of government repression. For instance, priests who were doing successful youth work, upon the state's being informed of this by their superiors, were liable to punishment. On April 29, 1988, as part of the implementation of his policy of *glasnost* ('openness'), *perestroika* ('reconstruction'), and democratization, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev made an overture to Russian Orthodox Patriarch Pimen, proposing a new Russian religious policy: he called on the churches to collaborate in *perestroika.* New religious laws in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans gave the churches a new legal base, granting them religious freedom, and attempting to regulate church-state relations. In countries like Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, together with Ukraine, church groups committed to human worth and freedom played an important role in the democratic revolution that led to the collapse of the Communist governments.

After forty, or even seventy, years of state repression, the churches now confront a new beginning, as they see the renovation of chapels,



The map indicates the religion, or Christian confession, that has the most members in the respective countries. Absolute numbers must be interpreted cautiously. For example, people who list themselves as 'Orthodox' in Russia do not necessarily mean that they are practicing Orthodox Christians. They may mean that they see the concept 'Orthodox' as a name for their national identification as Russian. Catholicism can have the same function for a Pole, or Islam for a member of an ethnic group that is traditionally Muslim.

churches, and monasteries. Thus, despite Moscow's financial straits, the Church of the Mother of God Our Lady of Kazan at the corner of Red Square, and not far away the Chapel of the Iberian Mother of God, and on the banks of the Moscow River the Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer, have all been splendidly rebuilt. In Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, the Atheism Museum has been rededicated as the Church of Saint Casmir, Patron of Lithuania. Many church advocates set great hopes on state reparation and the restitution of church property. But many buildings have for years been used for other purposes, and a speedy restoration is often difficult. The enormous growth rate in the number of new members originally reported by church offices has presently stagnated. Initial sympathy for the churches as the persecuted institutions that once dared to resist Communism is once more declining. Nonetheless, in many places, new parishes are coming into being on the basis of new membership, and living an active community life. There are other ways in which the churches are once more becoming familiar. State television networks run religious presentations, church publishers print newspapers and books offered for sale in secular and Christian bookstores alike. In Russia, the priest is once again summoned to bless a new shop or restaurant. In Romania, religion classes are guaranteed under the auspices of the state in public schools. Various national governments foster the establishment of special pastoral ministries (prisons, etc.). In Russia and Poland, military chaplaincies are already in place.

Restoration or Reform?

But the new freedom places the churches before a new question: *restoration or reform?* More is at issue here than merely the manner of transmittal of the faith to new believers. The question concerns especially the very understanding of the institution of the Church and its position in society. The *restorative* forces in the churches simply wish to recoup what was lost in the anti-religious time of Communism. In Russia, these elements simply call for the restoration of the Church of pre-Communist, Czarist times, with its intimate alliance of throne and altar, Church and nation. With its doctrines, religious forms, and traditional involvement in national policy, the Church ought to be restored to its old brilliance and power. Included among the goals of the restorative forces are the revival of hierarchical authority, pure doctrine, old cultic usages, and old instruction. Inner uniformity, inflexibility, partition from secular powers and other denominations, popular mysticism, politico-religious ideologies like pan-Slavism and anti-Semitism, and, to an extent, even state support for its own privileges, are demanded as the Church's right. This restorative outlook can arouse powerful new hopes, in many churchgoers and new believers alike; in others, however, it arouses anticlerical feelings and reactions. The *reformative forces* see the churches' new departure in the post-Communist era not simply in a restored Church, but in a Church reformed in head and members, with the opportunity and capacity to make its teaching and spirituality available. They therefore seek new pathways, in community building, in catechesis, and in a vernacular liturgy. They look for enlarged democratic structures, equality of woman in the churches, ecumenical cooperation, openness to a pluralistic society and secular culture, more sensitivity for society's social problems, and the development of concepts for the future of humanity. Reformative circles are to be found mostly among youth and the educated, and mostly in cities.

National Orthodox Churches

b) *Confessional differentiation:* The Balkan countries, Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia have jurisdictionally independent ('autocephalous') *national Orthodox churches.* This structure underscores the unity of nation (ethnic group) and church. Thereby, of course, the various churches are divided from one another; at the same time, through their unity in liturgy, spirituality, and theology, the individual churches experience a sense of oneness in the common Orthodox Church family. But the collapse of the Communist states has led to special problems. The *Patriarchate of Moscow* must accept the fact that the creation of independence in the republics of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Estonia, and Latvia has yielded autonomous Orthodox churches in these countries. Since the 'Russian Orthodox Church Abroad,' like the 'catacomb church' on Russian soil, has founded its own communities, priests and monks in these areas offer persons the opportunity to detach themselves from the Patriarchate. In the *Serbian Orthodox Church*, after 1991, in the conflict over the separation from the former Yugoslavia, the tight bond of ethnic group and church promoted the sharpening of that confrontation. In 1992, in the *Bulgarian Orthodox Church*, and in 1997, in the *Georgian Orthodox Church*, allegations of collaborationism lodged against their respective patriarchs, Maxim and Ilia, produced divisions in these churches.

Catholics

In Poland, Lithuania, Slovenia, and Croatia, *Catholics* constitute the large majority of the believing population, with *Poland* especially counting as the Catholic country in Central and Eastern Europe. After the Second World War, many Poles came to see the Roman Catholic Church as the symbol of national feeling, and of opposition to Russia. It enjoyed a high moral authority in society, and even, to an extent, with the Communist government. The bishops were often not only representatives of the Church, but genuine advocates of the people. The election of Pole Karol Woityla as Pope John Paul II in 1978 likewise strengthened the Polish church. The labor movement *Solidárnosc* (Pol., 'Solidarity'), appearing in 1980 under its chairperson Lech Walesa, was strongly supported by church forces and had its martyr in Chaplain Jerzy Popieluszko, murdered by the Secret Police in 1984 and now venerated throughout Poland. Even since the political shift, Polish Catholicism has been impressive in its large number of priests and seminarians, its well-attended Sunday liturgies, and the traditional collective usages of piety. Pilgrimages from all parts of Poland to the 'image of grace' of Our Lady of Czenstochowa, as well as to other regional places of pilgrimage, are demonstrations of Catholicism's awareness of its power.

Still, in a free and democratic Poland, Catholicism as a whole is losing the unity of a sealed phenomenon, and is beginning to differentiate. There are Catholics who wish for a Catholic political state, but the majority support the liberal democratic system. For many church representatives, the Church is thought of as a political force that ought to intervene in politics directly. Others insist that the Church's work of formation enables Catholics to live Christian values as their own, personal responsibility, in an open, pluralistic society.

Protestant Churches

In the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary, in which the Reformation succeeded, various *Protestant churches* are of significance. Debrez, in Hungary, is called the 'Calvinist Rome.' When the Baltic provinces separated

from the Russian Empire in 1917–1918, and formed their own states, the 'Evangelical Lutheran Church in Estonia' and the 'Evangelical Lutheran Church in Latvia' appeared. These churches played a demonstrable part in the national rebirth of their countries at the close of the 1980s. They still represent a strongly national standpoint, as is shown by their emphatic participation in the dedication of national monuments and buildings. In all of the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Protestant churches are minority churches, small or miniscule.

Islam

3. During Communism, *Islam* was exposed to atheistic propaganda, and, in part, strongly repressed. Albania, the only state in Europe with a Muslim majority, declared itself in 1967 the 'first atheistic state in the world.' All of the mosques were closed, and all religious activity prohibited. In Bulgaria, Muslims had to give up their Islamic names for Christian ones. Here, state pressure led to several waves of emigration.

After the political turning point of 1989, all of the states in Eastern Europe passed laws granting Islam freedom of belief. *Albania* has entered the Islamic Council and reached out to the Arab countries. In *Bulgaria*, Muslims have succeeded in having the legal fiction of their Christian names revoked, have had their property restored, and have created an Islamic identity there. In *Romania*, Islam is a minority religion struggling for survival. In *Hungary*, there is a little community of diplomats and students only in Budapest. In *Greece*, Muslims of Turkish extraction live in western Thrace, and Pomakish Muslims are to be found on certain islands, as well as in the regions bordering on Bulgaria. In the states of the *former Yugoslavia*, there are Muslim majorities in → Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. Muslims are at times exposed to great propagandistic pressure. The majority of Muslims do not seek a separate Muslim state, but a peaceful coexistence with other religions in democratic, free states. With all of the importance that they ascribe to the preservation of their religious identity as Muslims, they nevertheless wish to maintain their connection with Western culture. Some examples of this openness are their attitudes in favor of the unveiling of women, free converse of woman in society, Western European dress, and so on. Theirs is a 'European' Islam, freer (e.g., in the area of the prohibition of alcohol and pork, or times for prayer), and partly syncretistic (veneration of Mary, prayer alcoves with icons, Christmas tree). But a continuation of belligerent conditions could once more restore Islam's severity and intolerance, as strict Islamic governments like those of Iran or Saudi Arabia attach supplies of food and weapons to the maintenance of religious usages. In *Russia*, after the Russian Orthodox Church, Islam is the largest faith community. Moscow has one of the largest Islamic communities in Europe. Along with Kazan, Moscow is now an important center for Muslims of European Russia. Islam in Russia has different faces. There is the conservative Islam of Dagestan and the northern Caucasus. An important role in the social and spiritual life of various Muslim peoples is played by a number of Sufi brotherhoods (→ Sufism). As early as the nineteenth century, the Tatars along the Volga, in Crimea, and other parts of Russia produced an important Islamic reform movement, the Dshadid (Arab., 'new,' 'modern') movement. It had elements of enlightenment, attention to formation and education, and even nationalism. For generations, the Muslims along the Volga have been solidly rooted in European Russia. They, like many Muslims of the

metropolises as well, see themselves as 'Russian Muslims,' in a multi-religious, post-Soviet Russia. Other Muslims, on the contrary, such as those in the Czech Republic, manifest from religious motives autonomist and separatist tendencies, but scarcely fundamentalist ones. The Muslim republics have constitutions geared to the secular national state, neutral in matters of religion. The majority of the population does not seek a state, social, economic, or cultural system resting solely on Islamic foundations, although they cultivate Islamic popular customs like circumcision, matrimonial and funeral rites, pilgrimages to local sanctuaries, and veneration of the saints.

Judaism

4. For centuries, scattered over a broad geographic space, *Judaism* was a living religion in Europe. In countries under German occupation, the genocide (→ Shoah) mounted by → National Socialism destroyed religious Judaism, along with a great proportion of its specific customs and usages. Under Communist rule, local persecutions and anti-Semitic and economic pressures led to the emigration of many Jews. The political shift of 1989 brought the right of free practice, but a once state-sponsored → anti-Semitism still exists in many places, in private and popular form. Nationalist circles especially, like the Russian *Pamyat'* movements, bend anti-Semitism to their own ends, recirculating fantasies of infiltration, theories of international conspiracy, religion-rooted stereotypes, even the myth of ritual murder. As a result, the emigration of the Jews is not yet finished; indeed, since 1990 it has received new impulse. In many places, Jewish communities are dying of old age. Their activities are often promoted only from without, out of folkloric interest, or in a German attempt to 'make up' for the Shoah. In many countries of Central and Eastern Europe, then, Judaism is on the verge of extinction.

However, despite all discrimination and persecution, a vigorous Jewish life continues in Hungary and Russia. Indeed, *Hungarian* Judaism is 100,000 strong. Most communities there are Ashkenazi and of a conservative orientation. The splendid Dohány temple in Budapest was restored in 1990. The library and archives of the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary are of inestimable value for Judaic studies. The Jewish religious community in *Russia* is the third largest in the world, after those of the United States and Israel alone. The Jewish community there is estimated at 1.5 million, although many Jews are non-religious. Despite secularization, however, there is a Jewish renaissance. Numerous Jewish culture centers and museums have been opened, synagogues and Hebrew schools are under construction, religious literature is being printed once more. There are Talmudic schools in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Buddhism

5. The Kalmuks first brought *Buddhism* to Russia in the sixteenth century. Still today, Elista, capital of the Kalmuk Republic, north of the Caspian Sea, is the center of Tibetan Buddhism in European Russia. In 1991, it received its first visit by the Dalai Lama.

New Religious Movements

6. In the former Communist countries, decades of atheistic education have produced an extensive de-Christianization, as well as a general absence of institutionalized religion. As early as the 1970s, an increased interest in religious, mystical, and esoteric literature can be observed. The

political shift of 1989 at first built up interest in religion, but this profited institutionalized religions only partially, and rather sparked the many *new religious movements and groups* (→ New Religions). These, with the help of extensive financial means from America and East Asia, pursue intensive advertising, in newspapers, with placards, and in some radio and television broadcasts. The → Hare Krishna Movement (ISKCON) under Brahma Kumaris, Moon's → Unification Church, Transcendental Meditation, and the Church of → Scientology, deserve mention. In Ukraine and Byelorussia, there are groups practicing Neopaganism, as well, part of whose support comes from nationalistic parties. Given the fact that Lithuania was Christianized as late as 1385, non-Christian identities are particularly strong in this country (as is → shamanism in Hungary), being easily combined with national identities.

Coexistence and Competition

7. The aim of the new religious laws of Central/Eastern Europe and the Balkans is to create a religious pluralism, and to foster a peaceful *coexistence of religions*. In Czechoslovakia and Hungary, where a variety of Christian churches have been present since the Reformation, a pluralism of confessions is relatively unproblematic. The collaboration of the churches, with one another and with ecumenical entities of Europe, is institutionalized. The situation is more problem-fraught where a majority church is established, and the identity of the ethnic group or nation is impregnated with its own Christian tradition. The Russian Orthodox Church feels threatened by the missionary work of other confessions 'in its canonical territory'—in the region for which general Orthodox church law has made it responsible for centuries. Thus, it speaks of 'proselytism' (→ Proselytes), and even calls for a precedence to be accorded it and acknowledged by the state, with state restrictions on new religious groups. The Ecumenical Council of Churches and the Conference of European Churches therefore seek to establish a binding code of conduct, with correlative goals: on the one hand, a recognition of freedom of religion as a fundamental right, and on the other, an ecumenical sensitivity that, through an offer of cooperation, might dismantle Orthodoxy's fears of proselytism. Local conflicts inhere in the relation of the Orthodox churches to the Roman Catholic Church on account of the united or *'Uniate' churches* (originally a pejorative Russian expression, still often felt as offensive)—the churches that, while retaining their ecclesiastical structures and Slavonic rites, have come into a union with Rome. Despite all local tensions, however, the Vatican and the highest church leadership of the Orthodox indicate a readiness for further dialogue.

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→ *Bosnia-Herzegovina, Europe I, European History of Religion, Orthodox Churches*

Franz Schnider

European History of Religion

The Project

1. a) The project of a European history of religion is new. It is to be distinguished from two other perspectives on the same object. On the one hand, there is church history that finds religion, by definition, in the Church, with extra-ecclesial religion taken for heresy, paganism, and secularization. In such a view, any 'religion' is an illegitimacy. The counter-thesis presents Christianity as a late and foreign, Eastern, religion, which has suppressed "Europe's own religion" (Sigrid Hunke)—the Celtic, Teutonic or Germanic, Slavic religion. Attempts to 'Teutonize Christianity' in the early half of the twentieth century, for instance, sought to construct a new 'faith' under the traditional name.

Foreign Stereotype

b) First of all, however, it is important to notice how these self-concepts arise. They are generated by their antitypical image—by the negative, foreign stereotype, as found in → anti-Semitism and → Orientalism. The typically European is that whose absence is pilloried in 'the others': these are said to lack Enlightenment, an effort at active domination of the world, a middle class democracy, or the will to peace.

European Religion, Not Christianity in Europe

c) Thus, one is confronted with the task of perceiving the peculiarity of religious impress, and the effect of religion, on the developments emerging in Europe as 'European history of religion.' It is not limited to the geographical space, 'Europe.' In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the United States has become one of its essential repositories. This fact has shifted the accents. To boot, 'the religion' of Eastern Europe (Orthodoxy) has long since developed very differently.

European history of religion arises in confrontation with other cultures. Consequently, it is not limited to Christianity. Judaism and Islam share essentially in European history of religion. Indeed, since the destruction of Jerusalem (70 CE), Judaism has been almost exclusively a European religion.

2. a) In 1989, the clear division of the Western world into two political blocs collapsed. Nevertheless, no single world of democracies and a free market economy has emerged. Rather, it has become evident that the power blocs had only covered over cultural differences. Each culture has its own tradition, and its own respective history in contact with other cultures. In the process of creating and avouching its own identity, religion has once more engaged in a key role. Here it is not China, or 'Islam,' imagined as a unity, assaulting the peaceful West.[1] Rather it is the reverse. The West has erected its sovereign place, stamped by religion and history (the compulsion system of the 'world economy'), and is constantly reinforcing it. Raw materials are purchased for a pittance, resold as expensive technology. Coca-Cola, Adidas, and the Kalashnikov are overcoming the world, and with them, if often merely formally, the spirit and mentality of the Western world. But the process is not proceeding as expected, to the final Europeanization of the world.

Europeanization

b) After the Second World War, the founding of a world parliament, the 'United Nations,' and the proclamation of → human rights (1948), generated the expectation that the achievements of European enlightenment were the goal of progress for humanity as such. Even the U.S. engagement (1917) in the First World War had been founded as a 'Crusade for Democracy.' "Project World Ethos" (Hans Küng; → Ethics/Morals) does take in elements of other cultures and religions, but it binds them into a religion of humanity originally defined by the European Enlightenment.

c) The '*sense of mission*,' with which *imperialism* grounded its violent world-colonization, belongs to the legacy of European development. One would like to remove them from this history as spurious usurpers. It is true that missionaries long raised their voices against imperialism.[2] The actual result of this protest was that colonial rulers called special attention to their task of education and upbringing, sought to justify force and violence as a way to progress, and integrated the missioners into the project. From the viewpoint of Christianity, force is 'unchristian.' But this is only an ideal norm. In practice, representatives of Christianity have always been able to justify war, and not only as the lesser evil, but as a rescue of God's religion that 'He' has required—indeed as an act of love.[3] With their patented sense of mission—as progress, youth, (arms) technology, hygiene, fertility through artificial fertilizer and poison, liberation from fear through religion—Europeans have attempted to justify their nationalism and imperialism. Accordingly, the task of scholarship and understanding will not be to describe the religious norm, but to follow the growth of the religion of Europe.

Western Rationalism and Enlightenment

3. a) The European self-concept posits rationalism as the central peculiarity of its culture. Unlike other cultures—we are given to understand—that of the West has overcome the irrationalism of the religious image of the world. Thanks to the progress of scientific research, the world has, at least in principle, become transparent through and through.[4] Now the world can be planned, nature can be dominated, rule can be controlled. In the secularized world, religion, too, understands itself in secular terms, and claims to be able to offer a rationally comprehensible, 'demythologized,' portrait of God, without hell, miracle, and devil. After all, authentic religion must compete with propositions of meaning that precisely reintroduce what has been

expelled. 'Barefoot prophets' not only live in and on this European modernity, but renounce its demystification, and, out of archaic, exotic, and religious elements, 'tinker up' an image of the world for exclusive, private application.

b) Max → Weber has attempted to sketch a clarification of the 'how' of Western economic superiority and special development. His point of departure is the question of the appearance of → capitalism. Unlike Marx, Weber does not understand this economic form as the highest stage of development, for all cultures to attain. Weber's observation that capitalism is to be found only in Christian nations, that it is specifically Western, and that, even more specifically, it is Protestant, leads him to the conclusion that the religions are the deciding factors in economics and, beyond that, in culture. In other cultures, religion has been constraining, holds Weber, whereas, in European and Europeanized cultures, it became the mainspring of the eventual generation of capitalism. The Reformation, especially through the Calvinists, instilled the everyday attitude that produced a religious motivation for modern factory work. Religion, then, Weber explains, is no longer the festival that interrupts work, the hiatus that renders work tolerable. Rather, it is in labor that religion sees the attitude pleasing to God. Profit from an economic activity is neither spent in order to celebrate festivals, nor squandered in the attempt to better one's social position. It is reinvested in labor. Here, in Weber's view, is the origin of the amassing of capital. Another element is the 'lifestyle' of a calling (the trade or profession to which God 'calls' a person), which finally leads to the modern specialist. Weber sees both as already prefigured in the medieval monastic culture. The asceticism of the monks leads to renunciation of consumption on religious grounds. The regular plan of work in alternation with prayer times complements the rationalization of work. Rationalization, then, means two things: (1) division and computation, in both work in the area of economics, and in the availability and practicality of processes of planning in the area of the fiscal economy; (2) dominion over the world by way of the understanding. Thus, Weber links materialistic motivations with idealistic ones, and sees this as basic for a description in terms of cultural science.

In Crisis

c) European history of religion is no longer validly assessed as a 'progress' that would justify a claim of superiority over other cultures. Philosopher of apocalypse Marx's prophecy of the collapse of the Old World, and the coming of a New, outlines a counter-world bereft of continuity with the Europe of today. Weber's desperate fear of being imprisoned in the 'steel-hard shell' of the modern age, understands the modern age as a consequence, but not the goal, of a specific European religious development. Protestantism is only the primordial 'spirit,' not the implacable reality, of today's capitalism. One here recognizes Weber's interest in defending Protestantism after the collapse of the faith and belief in progress.

Nationalism and Imperialism

d) The comparative method aims first of all at an appraisal—at the superiority of Europe, and at the dynamics of Protestant nations. This method sprang up in connection with the justification of European domination in the form of nationalism and imperialism. As early as the beginning of the 1900s, Europeans knew of the wealth and the great achievement of other cultures. Turkish loot, Chinese porcelain, American potatoes and tobacco,

offered testimonials of superiority to which the structures of the 'Goths,' the gothic, were barbaric by comparison. It was altogether comprehensible, for this thinking, that—since Christianity arose only later—the oldest religion, and therefore the most original and nearest to the truth, the 'light from the East,' would be that of → Egypt (→ Esotericism), Persia (→ Zoroastrianism), or India. Franz Bopp had demonstrated that India was the original source for language, and his pupil F. M. Müller sought, with the publication of *Sacred Books of the East* (in 50 volumes, 1879–1894) to establish the same for religion. Even here, however, the new spirit can be felt: the oldest writings did not contain the most primitive religion—they, not to mention the East Indians of today, had already misunderstood it. Only the European scholar could reconstruct the most primitive religion: an immediate veneration of nature—a (naïve) religion of the sun. As Europeans ply the unexampled reduction of other cultures to the status of colonies, right to the last cranny of the world, so they also dispossess those colonies of their heritage. Europeans plunder their precious riches and drag them to museums. The ancient and reverend cultures of the East are branded 'decadent' and 'senile.' The racial doctrine underpins Eurocentrism.

Christianization

4. a) *Christianization, Christianity's monopoly, and the alternatives:* Not only is Christianity Europe's dominant religion; it long held the rank of an actual monopoly. Europe as the 'Christian West,' and the Middle Ages as the 'age of faith,' however, are the historical projection of nineteenth century Catholicism, which rebuked the Reformation for having destroyed this unity. But did Europe become Christian only with the reforms of Luther and Loyola,[5] so that, up until then, pagan religions lived on, under a Christian veneer? Both theses rest on the premise that religion in the Europe of the sixteenth century be regarded as the normal instance. The confrontation of confessions in the Reformation and the Catholic reform is a special case, which has nevertheless molded European history of religion ever since: it creates a permanent challenge, subjecting each person's life to constant and enduring control. Judgment in the beyond shifts to judgment here below; the personal God, who promises grace, vanishes. Into God's place—immutably, implacably—steps a cold universe, with its natural laws. Life is lived under the ongoing threat of an imploding castigation, to be meted out by merciless judges: conscience, the 'inward judgment' that nothing escapes, especially unconscious sins, with their boundless potential; social control through a community that observes itself mistrustfully; an Inquisition that launches investigations on mere suspicion, until it has created the condition of a 'guilt' from scratch.

Religion as a Norm

b) Religion as confirmation of identity stands over against religion as a norm impossible to observe. The forms of everyday religion, available to any individual in other religions, for the defeat of fear, insecurity, misfortune and disease, are deprecated in Europe as → magic, and come under religious censure. What in the present has been scornfully referred to a 'supermarket of religious items' or earlier, with Max Weber, a 'department store of *Weltanschauungen*,' is emancipation from a religion sheerly of norms to follow—a religion determined by a stranger, and yet one that must become the religion of the individual's own identity. The function of religion that comes to a head as a norm, identified with the institution of the churches, sees its meaning dwindling; in its place steps the normal case

of a hodgepodge of official religion: religious, magical, esoteric, or medical means against crises. Owing to its earlier function, official religion comes to wield only limited influence.

c) At its pinnacle, in the sixteenth century, religion received an entirely different function. It is no longer a self-evident part of the world in which one lives, into which the child is born. One must prove oneself for it, by dogged determination and 'belief.' The annoying obligation of sacramental confession renders Catholics dependent on the benevolence of the priest; Protestants are answerable to their conscience. Neither dare be sure of themselves, neither dare know for a surety that they live 'aright.' 'Certitude of salvation' is the earmark of a sect.

Fear as the Religion of Europe

d) One might ask whether, especially in the time of the persecution of witches (→ Inquisition; Witch/Persecution of Witches), and in the nineteenth century, the essential attribute of religion is not fear (Kierkegaard, Dostoevsky).[6] By way of reaction, on the one hand anticlerical movements were formed that sought to undo religious harnesses; on the other, through a self-conscious middle-class, concepts emerged that refused to submit to the arbitrary intent of a God of grace and reprobation. Lightning was no longer a chastisement from God, disease no longer the deed of the devil and his tools the witches. In place of the expectancy of Christ's return as Judge, the open, salvific concept of the 'future' came, and flung the religious model wide open.

Education, Knowledge, Rule

5. The normative model rests in good part as well on the institutionalization of the church, which confronts the community through the professional priest (→ Priest/Priestess). He is placed over the community from without, he receives his authority through his formation. Since the Reformation, the priest has been legitimated through the education he receives at a central ecclesiastical place of training: he is an academician, a stranger in the local community. The alternatives to the monopoly of the Christian churches materialize with the same authorization: through formal schooling. That schooling rests on the (non-Christian) wisdom of antiquity.

Writing

a) Education in Europe is something special. Alphabetical writing renders its command possible in a relatively brief time. Knowledge and education become accessible to the many. Writing offers a publication beyond the here and now. As the audiences of ancient urban culture collapsed and scattered, the archive of their writing abided, cared for in monasteries by clerics. But this archive is not available (as it is especially in Judaism) to the general public, to be used for the religious life of the individual. It is in the care of the monopoly of interpretation of the professional priest. With the new medieval urban culture of the twelfth century, the wide field of communication became public once more, religion was discussed with the aids of the 'logic' of antiquity and contemporary Islam; by contrast, the laical appropriations of the Cathari, Hussites, and poverty movement were rejected, and subjected to 'theological' censure. Thus, religion could not develop in correspondence with societal change. Its development was submitted to a twofold limitation. (1) It was limited by a closed sacred text, transmitting a historically past condition of society that might be expounded for the present only by specialists, who protected the text. (Domestication in the area of religion was rendered difficult for the laity,

on the level of knowledge and faith alike, through the prohibition of exposition and explanation.) (2) On the level of ritual, it was limited by the sacred, exclusive language (Latin), together with an aversion from ritual on the part of academically formed theologians (the Protestant 'God's word' over mechanical ritualism, and magical conceptualizations of the operation of the sacraments).

'Heathen' Wisdom

b) On the other hand, education transmitted a polytheistic alternative, in the form of the wisdom of antiquity (→ Esotericism). That which, in the Christian world of conceptualizations could not 'be,' could be discussed by using the images of ancient mythology. The knowledge and wisdom of polytheistic antiquity was a binding canon for anyone with a voice in society, even—and this as early as the Middle Ages—for theologians. Beginning in the nineteenth century, it was broadly disseminated through the academic formation of the humanistic secondary schools, and in translations in the new mass media as well (published collections). This propagation rarely produced a concrete religious community, as, for example when, in the workers' movement, academicians Marx or Feuerbach harnessed the ancient critique of religion in order to found another sense than that of established bourgeois religion, and to proclaim the God *in* nature, who does not threaten as Judge (→ Pantheism).[7] 'Paganism,' the 'heathenism' of the modern age, cannot hark back to a continuing, constantly flourishing religion, however much it may pretend to do so (→ Paganism/Neopaganism). Besides the historical argumentation ('the older religion'), the authority of the sciences increasingly enters the scene, which set the eternal laws of nature over against a historically developing religion. Paganism and → atheism seem rather a complement to official European religion (defined in Christian terms), and to the forms of social reality that emerge from it. They are not subject to the control of the theologians, but can be understood as self-determined appropriations of religion.

Knowledge and Power

c) A generally accessible education or training also means its separation from power. In other cultures, the sage, and the writer as counselor, lives in the presence of the ruler. In Europe, instead, the ruler's (the ruling) knowledge is separated from the general education. In particular, law is accessible only to specialists. It is of no use, even today, to communicate, for example, Anglo-Saxon law between two contenders or opponents. Rather, by way of the adoption of Roman imperial law and the Latin language in the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, church and state have cancelled the possibility of a communal self-determination in the settlement of a dispute, committing that determination to jurists (as functionaries of the ruler). Similarly, the pastor becomes the functionary of the ruler, instead of being responsible to the community.[8] But neither the jurist nor the pastor disposes of the ruler's (the ruling) knowledge and wisdom, for this is so splintered that even bureaucrats no longer see, beyond their special purview, the functioning of power.

Complexity

d) European modernity is so complex, society is divided into so many zones, each of which sets its own goals, that comprehensive models of interpretation quickly bump into walls—collide with boundaries. These limits hold true even for religious interpretations. Fundamentalism, for example, attempts dualistically to dam up the complexity of the outside

world, experienced as so anarchical, through a univocal ordering of the private world. But people have no need whatever of a uniform, homogeneous, non-contradictory motivation. Thus, in their diverse social roles, and for life crises and perspectives, they can represent diverse religious conceptualizations as well; it has been researched in the example of Christians who believe in reincarnation. We see, then, that self-determined religion, with all of its ambiguity and contradiction, is much closer to the normal case among religions than is a strict conformation to a normativity controlled from without, as such conformation was lived by the confessional Christianities of the sixteenth century.

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→ *Christianity, Colonialism, Disenchantment/Reenchantment, Dualism, Enlightenment, Esotericism, Europe I and II, Human Rights, Rationalism/Irrationalism, Reason, Reception, Religion, Science, Tradition*

Christoph Auffarth

European History of Religion: Time Chart

In terms of the indication of the entry above, European history of religion is bound up with an urban public character. Its orientation is to ancient discussions and methodical approaches of the logic of a quasi-Aristotelian method of 'theo-logy,' and the logic of the majority of religions. This situation was reached with the twelfth-century 'Renaissance.' In contrast, the antiquity of the Eastern Mediterranean extends to the demise of urban culture with the capture of Constantinople ('Byzantium') in 1453 (→ "Antiquity," Time Chart).

Era 1: Europe appropriates the culture of Islam and Antiquity. Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries.

1095 until 15th cent.	Crusader Movement	After brief successes, armed pilgrimages and solidly established colonies, along the route to Jerusalem fail, but create multicultural situations. The peaceful symbioses in Spain and Southern Italy are destroyed.
1098	Cistercian Order	Robert of Molesme founds the Benedictine reformed monastery of Cîtaux in Burgundy. Bernard of Clairvaux forms (from 1115) a dynamic ascetical, puristic, reform movement that seizes all of Europe. Important agricultural schievements (fish-cultivation, fish-farming). Appeal for crusades and the persecution of heretics.
12th cent.	Medicine, Law, Economics are professionalized	The Italian city-states create schools of higher education for the new educational elite, these schools being mostly the

		legatees of Muslim and Jewish science and scholarship.
1215	Fourth Council of the Lateran	The multiplicity of the churches is centralized around the Pope in Rome. Inner unity rests on the exclusion and battling of 'heretics,' especially of the Cathari of Southern France. With a view to an effective juridical pursuit, from 1231 onward, the investigations of the Inquisition render the latter a special legal instance (1252, Bull *Ad exstirpanda* of Pope Innocent IV).
1216	Mendicant orders	Franciscans and Dominicans radically oppose the wealth and exploitative behavior of the churches and monasteries.
1276	Censure of Paris theology	The new science of 'theo-logic,' based on the logic of ancient philosophy (Aristotle, conveyed by Islam), is harshly reined in. All professors must recant propositions.
Era 2: The apocalyptic age. Fourteenth–sixteenth centuries		
1347/54	The Black Plague	Every third person in Europe dies of the epidemic. Epidemics of 'St. Vitus Dance,' and other religious crisis cults, such as flagellants, spread.

1430–c. 1680	The 'great fear': heretics, lepers, Jews, witches fall victim to a collective craze of persecution	The cities and villages of Europe manifest a growing social aggression, and this not only (although especially) against marginal groups, who are qualified as 'agents of the Devil.' The Office of the Inquisition, summoned to the task, further develops their procedures for trying heretics. Once erected, the Inquisition becomes self-propelled, culminating in the seventeenth century.
1453	The Turks conquer Europe	In 1453, Constantinople falls, followed in 1526 by the near capture of Vienna, which barely escapes once more in 1683. The defenses mounted generate Christian Europe's 'hostile image of Islam.'
1492	*Reconquista—Conquista:* Europe conquers the New World	In Spain, the crusade movement has wiped out or expelled the Jews and Muslims. Spain and Portugal plunder America (→ Central America; South America).
1517 (31 October)	The Ninety-Five Theses of Theology Professor Martin Luther against the sale of indulgences	The criticism of 'haggling over the goods of salvation' quickly becomes a fundamentalist criticism of 'real Christianity'—Christianity as it actually exists. The critique covers rituals, dogmas, and institutions,

		and seeks to 'go back' to the 'word of God' as contained in the Bible.
1525	Revolution of the underprivileged, and Reformation	In a continent-wide revolution against the nobility, cities and legislatures succeed in their combat for their rights. In the German 'Peasants' War,' however, theologians leave their base in the lurch, and 'provisionally' leave political control to the secular governments of the country.
1520s	Wave of apocalyptic fear: 'Great Flood' over Europe	The unexampled media event of Halley's Comet, and the expectation of a Great Flood, has Europe holding its breath.
1530	Reformed Churches: the *Confessio Augustana*	The 'Protestants' of 1529 receive the opportunity to formulate ther arguments. Almost in agreement with the old believers, two distinct confessions take shape nevertheless: the Catholic and the Evangelical churches. Then, from the latter, emerge the Lutheran churches as national churches, and the Reformed and the Baptist as independent communities.
1545–1563	Council of Trent	The Catholic Church reforms itself, in contradistinction from the Evangelical

		churches. The religious culture of the Baroque appears, marked on the Catholic side by the Marian cult and the Jesuits, on the Protestant side by orthodoxy and the 'citizens' religion' in the cities and courtly centers (culture of music: Heinrich Schütz, Pachelbel, the Bachs, and others).
1571	Battle of Lepanto	In the long run, Islam (Turkish Ottomans) is able to conquer the Balkans, but not Vienna and Central Europe. The boundary remains stable until the Balkan Wars (1912/13).
Era 3: Religious wars and religious peace: 17th–18th centuries		
1618–1648	Thirty Years War	The confrontations in the area of religious politics in the wake of the Reformation reach their climax: all Europe is embroiled in a confessional war, waged preponderantly in German countries.
1648/49	Peace of Westphalia	The Peace Congress lays down rules that facilitate the coexistence of the confessions without constant danger of violent confrontation. The ruler determines a region's religious confession, as has already been established in 1555 (*Cuius regio, eius*

		religio Lat., '[He/she] whose region, his/her religion'). Over the long term, a 'taming' and de-politicizing of the Christian churches, just as of religious practice in (Central) Europe generally. State control and power.
1685	Edict of Nantes revoked	In France, at first the Evangelicals (Huguenots) had been ruthlessly persecuted (1572, St. Bartholomew's Massacre); then, by the Edict of Nantes (1598), they had been tolerated. Finally, Louis XIV revoked the tolerance. A wave of Protestant refugees enters Holland and Brandenburg/Prussia.
1689/90	Pietism	The Leipzig clash over Pietism; the Evangelical piety movement (Halle, Herrnhut, Swabia) enables the laity to live a biblicist (community) life, works of charity, and, especially, schools.
1780/90	Religious freedom in enlightened absolutism	Many royalty of the time of the Enlightenment, such as Frederick the Great in Prussia and Maria Teresa and Joseph II in Austria, grant religious freedom: citizenship is no longer conditioned by membership in the religion

		of the majority. In return, the state reserves a right of supervision over religious institutions.
1815	Emancipation of the Jews as full citizens	After the progress of the Haskalah (Enlightenment) in Berlin, and the religious freedoms laid down in various catalogues of 'basic rights,' Jews acquire full citizenship in most countries.
Era 4: State monopoly, and free room for the churches of the 19th cent.		
1776	American independence	America is the asylum for all who are out of step with the institutional churches. The 'pursuit of happiness' is guaranteed by the American constitution; church and state are separated.
1797–1805	Awakening movement in the United States	The 'Second Great Awakening,' with its positive anticipation of the Reign of God ('pre-millenarianism'), marks American religion.
1789–1794	French Revolution	At first promoted by the clergy as well, the French Revolution now includes traditional religion among its targets. A new calendar replaces the *Anno Domini* calculation. Feasts in honor of the 'Supreme Being' replace the old religion, and the place of the Church is

		expropriated by the state. 'De-Christianization' of the state.
1803/06	Secularization	In the German Empire, that principle of the French Revolution is realized that, except in the case of freedom of religion, the absolute authority of the state brooks no exceptions.
1815	Holy Alliance	Catholicism marks the Restoration against the French Revolution and Napoleon. In the cultural area, Romanticism redevelops Christianity—and especially its 'irrational,' emotion-fraught, 'mystical' side—as the subject of art (Nazarener), literature (Novalis), and philosopy (Görres, Chateaubriand).
1840/42	Opium War	Great Britain compels China to open its markets. Against the wishes of the Beijing government, Britain introduces the opium trade on a massive scale. Resistance is violently crushed by way of superior weaponry: the beneficiary is 'free trade,' and therewith the economy of Europe and America. Imperialism.
1848	Interior mission	Through a policy of social action (Wichern, Bodelschwingh), the

		Evangelical churches, along with the exterior mission to the 'pagans,' set themselves the goal of winning over laborers uprooted by industrialization. Anti-capitalist self-help through a neighborhood movement (as in Raiffeisen).
1858	India incorporated into the British Empire	Insurrections erupt against the economic imperialism of the East India Company: the British government intervenes with military force and makes India a crown colony.
1870	First Council of the Vatican	The 'infallibility' of the Pope is proclaimed. The 'Ultramontanists' compel the Catholics of Europe to launch fundamental opposition against the modern age (democracy, anti-capitalism).
1871–1887	*Kulturkampf* ('Cultural Struggle') in the German Empire	The Protestant Prussian majority persecutes the Catholic clergy. As a countermove, Catholicism forms a Party of the Center.
1878	Social state and prohibition of Socialism	Simultaneously, the German government proscribes political socialism, and introduces health and income insurance for situations of need.

1883	Congress of Berlin	Climax of imperialism: in order to preclude future conflicts of interest, the European nations divide up the world.
1893	World Parliament of Religions	In a framework of the Chicago World's Fair, the first to be held outside of Europe, American Christians invite the other religions to present themselves.
1910	Mission Conference of Edinburgh	The multiplicity of mission societies organizes for world mission. The 'young churches of Asia' receive a voice for the first time.
Era 5: Authoritarian nationalism combats religion (1917–1945)		
1917	October Revolution in Russia	At the end of the First World War, the revolutionaries destroy the monarchy and the Orthodox Church, which has been loyal to the state. A programmatically atheistic state emerges, but its anti-Semitism is as foundational as that of the former Tsarist Russia.
1925/27	Ecumenical Movement	In view of the weakness of the union of the peoples, the Evangelical churches seize the initiative, and seek to found understanding and diplomatic cooperation among the nations.

1933	Catholicism: *Reichskonkordat* (Ger., “Imperial [Church] Concordat [a solemn agreement] with the [German] Reich”)	The Catholic Church, represented by Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII), procures itself a solid recognition of its position in the authoritarian state vis-à-vis the duty of political activity, and thereby opens the way for the National Socialists.
	Protestantism: Imperial Church or church autonomy	The Evangelical Churches split into a central *Reichskirche,* marked by conformity to the state (‘German Christians’), and the ‘confessing churches’ organized by territorial Synods in Barmen and Dahlem (1934).
1936	Nuremberg Laws	‘Racial division’ cannot be suspended even by religious conversion and citizenship. Anti-Semitism is the foundation of a nationalistic *völkisch* (state) religion.
1936–1939	Spanish Civil War	The Catholic Church extensively sponsors the reactionary, authoritarian Franco regime. Anti-clerical excesses on the part of the Republicans (desecration of sacred places; murder of clerics) become the order of the day.
1943–1945	Auschwitz	Annihilation of six million (East) European Jews in the shadow of the Second World War.

Era 6: Globalization. 1945 through today

1945	Atomic bomb over Hiroshima	The apocalypse receives a new name. It seems that human beings themselves can destroy the world. From now on, resistance to a military as well as a 'peaceful' use of nuclear energy more and more unites church, Communist, and environmentalist groups.
1946	Americanization of Europe, and the 'Christian West'	With the new purposes in mind, Germany is no longer seen as conquered and to be destroyed, but to be bound together and built up in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. Americans gain a certain influence over Europe. Anticommunism characterizes the Federal Republic of Germany even in the area of the religious. The crisis of meaning that marks the postwar era leads to the temporary revival of a Christian orientation of values and policies, under the banner of a 'Christian West.'
	Church meetings	The great Protestant lay movement becomes an independent avant-garde vis-à-vis the established territorial churches. From 1961, the 'Jewish-Christian dialogue' moves in

		the fundamental reorientation of a 'theology after Auschwitz.'
1961	Independence of Tanzania: Third World and Third Way	The colonial powers abandon the direct rule of their colonies, but retain economic power. Nyerere of Tanzania seeks a third way, using a 'partnership' model. Search for an African religion. Revitalization of traditional cults.
1962–1965	Second Council of the Vatican	The Catholic Church bids farewell to antimodernism and opens to democracy, the laity, economic renewal, and the religions. But far-reaching changes are soon withdrawn.
1968	May Revolution in Paris and throughout Europe	Sharp politicization, under the flag of a utopian Socialism (Anti-Americanism, uprising against the still authoritarian-minded elite of the war generation). An insurrection against the 'establishment' adopts the goal of maintaining churches through Marxism, and sponsors religious criticism even of the traditional churches.
1973ff.	'Return of Religion'	Scored by the shock of the limited resources of the earth (oil crisis), the ecological movement forms, partly by way of a (Christian and extra-Christian)

		sacralization of nature. The limited success of politicization leads others to a new interiority. A new, individually oriented spirituality forms under the idea of a → 'New Age,' denoting a new and better world era (in the astrological calendar, the Age of Aquarius).
1989 1991	Rushdie affair; second Gulf War against Iraq	The → fatwa of leader and spiritual head of the Iranian Revolution Ayatollah → Khomeini against Indo-English author Salman Rushdie (*The Satanic Verses,* 1988), and the 'crusader disposition' of the warring parties on either side, ring political Islam and the diaspora community of Muslim economic migrants to the consciousness of a European 'publicity'—a visibility and public image. In the 1990s, a hostile image of Islam replaces the fear of Communism.
1989/1990	Peaceful revolutions in Eastern Europe; German unity	The collapse of the Communist national parties, on the one hand opens Eastern Europe to Western culture, but on the other leads it to a 'reconsideration of traditional values.' This reconsideration extends to the area of religious values, as well as, for example,

		in the strengthening of a political and societal role of the Orthodox Churches.
1991–1994	Balkan Wars	The consequent dissolution of the Yugoslavian Federal State takes the form of bloody 'ethnic cleansings,' as religious traditions (of Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croatians, Muslim Bosnians) become the instruments of power politics. A heretofore multicultural and multi-religious society is destroyed.
2000	Christian churches on the defensive: Individual meaning and private religion; new fundamentalisms	Institutionalized Christianity has lost its special moral, social, and political meaning in many of the states of Europe. Individual meaning, on the one side, and charismatic or rigoristic minority groups, on the other, seem, in a way, to accede to their legacy, if indeed not altogether adopt total secularization of lifestyle and life content.
September 11, 2001	Attack on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington	With their suicide attacks, Islamic terrorists batter the Western World's sense of security and superiority—its tokens of military and economic invincibility.

Christoph Auffarth

Euthanasia / Assisted Suicide

Social Context

1. Concrete, conscious dealing with dying raises social, ethical, and political questions. Institutions like clinics, nursing homes, or special establishments for dying (such as hospices) are interpreted in the public debate over assisted dying/euthanasia as proof of a social ousting, as well as a tabooing of death (→ Death and Dying). The marginalization of the aged and infirm here includes social death. The key question where the individual is concerned is whether she or he has a title to, or can be seized of, a right to self-determination in the process of dying, as to the point in time, the place, and the kind and manner. Physicians, jurists, and theologians are all called upon to generate ethically responsible, activity-oriented concepts calculated to guarantee a death worthy of human dignity, and to ensure the protection of the individual from abuse.

From 'Good Death' to 'Bad Genes'

2. a) The word 'euthanasia' (Gk., 'good, beautiful death') has an ambivalent history. It has had the denotation, for one, of an easy death (without antecedent chronic illness and pain), a swift death at the hand of an enemy, or a noble death in battle; for another, it has meant the dignified death, corresponding to the ideal of the Stoics, where the Stoa vindicated every person's right to suicide as a central theme of their ethic, which was geared to the freedom of the individual. In the sixteenth century, the concept of the *euthanasia medica* ('medical euthanasia') was coined by Francis Bacon, who designated the palliation of suffering in dying as a medical obligation. As for the philosophical and cultural thinking of the Enlightenment, of utilitarianism, and of social Darwinism, the opening of the twentieth century saw the appearance in the United States and England of the 'euthanasia societies,' which sought in vain the legalization of 'mercy killing' for persons suffering from incurable diseases. The discussion was later appropriated by the National Socialists in their disguise and cloak of 'the elimination of unworthy life,' of life not worth living, with the concept of 'euthanasia' (→ Eugenics). Today as well, in Germany and elsewhere the entire discussion stands in the ghostly shadow of the National Socialist euthanasia program ('Action T4') and systematic murder in special 'killing installations' (→ Handicapped). For the current discussion of death with human dignity and a 'good death,' the expression 'assisted dying' is available as a neutral alternative to 'euthanasia.'

Forms of Assisted Dying

b) For a designation of the boundaries between legitimate and punishable activity in connection with assisted dying, the following facts of the case are normative. They offer an only seemingly settled boundary, however, since their demarcations overlap:

- Assisted dying as *support in dying* means 'good dying' in the sense of protecting the subject from dying forgotten and alone, but without offering any intervention in the process of dying.
- *Easing of death* means the application of means to palliate or eliminate pain, with a possible curtailing of life only as a side effect.
- A renunciation of technologically possible prolongations of life, as often practiced today by turning off the breathing apparatus or the like, is designated *passive euthanasia*, while *active euthanasia* means an easing of dying through the undertaking of intentional, direct means (e.g., by

providing the subject with a poison). This can be either at the wish of the patient ('killing on demand') or without his or her consent ('killing aforethought').

Positions of the Scriptural Religions

3. On the problematic of assisted dying, there is no consensus in any religion, let alone any concurrence of religions. A principal function of a religion is the incorporation of death (→ Death and Dying) as a dimension of life, and a preparation of the death (→ Ars Moriendi). The respective religious anthropologies, as well as the conceptualization of → suffering, are normative for the discussion on assisted dying. Thus, the traditional position of the scriptural religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) is that human life is willed by God and therefore may be ended only by the divine disposition. However, today these religions come into the social field of tension between the individual's wish for a good death and the pressure of new medical technology, which might comport the feasibility of a prolongation of life and of a determination of the moment of death. Ethical determinations usually lag behind practice.

All religions prohibit a compelled euthanasia, which is only ostensibly a manner of 'assisted dying.' Permitted and ethically justified—by Christian theologians—is assisted dying, without the shortening of life, by the introduction of palliative and anesthetizing means, as well as a 'passive assistance at dying.' The permissibility of an active assistance at dying, on the patient's demand, also called 'mercy killing,' is disputed, since it may enter into conflict with the divine decision over life and death.

In *Judaism*, the traditional conduct with regard to life and death, geared to the biblical text, is undergoing a new exposition. In Israelite law, 'active assistance at dying' is prohibited and strictly rejected. It has not been clarified, however, whether forms of 'passive assistance at dying' are likewise forbidden to physicians. The Halakha (basic principles of Jewish law) defines active assistance at death as murder. An Orthodox minority is in favor of a prolongation of life at any price, owing, not least of all, to the perpetrations of the Third Reich in this domain. The majority of Jewish ethicists, however, in consideration of the fact that human life is not unbounded, are opposed to procedures that prolong life artificially.

In *Islam*, as well, several schools of thought (traditionalists, fundamentalists, reformists, secularists) make an effort to abide by acknowledged sources in the Qur'an, and at the same time to do justice to social circumstances. The Qur'an prescribes a basic respect for life: "And kill not one another" (sura 4:29). God alone ranks as Lord of life and death, so that no one else has the right to the disposition of the life and death of others. The Islamic prohibition of killing by suicide, abortion, or euthanasia, is indeed normative, but in some cases (when occasioned by a judicial decision, a military operation, or war) such acts are declared justifiable (sura 6:151).

Today's Discussions

4. The developments and possibilities of modern intensive medicine have sharpened and broadened the question of euthanasia in past years. With late euthanasia, the problem in the foreground is that of having or not having the right to *die* (e.g. with comatose patients). Particularly in the Netherlands, where active euthanasia is legally permissible—after close consultation between physician, patient, and relatives—the issues involved are debated controversially. With pre-natal euthanasia (on the hypothesis that the prenatal life is that of an actual person), the problem in the

foreground is having or not having the right to *live*. Prenatal diagnostics, therefore, has brought medicine to the point that a probably handicapped child can be aborted at any time before birth, without legal penalty, if the mother so desires ('medical indication'; → Abortion/Contraception; Bioethics; Eugenics).

Peter Singer's *Practical Ethics* (1979; ²1993) has further sharpened the discussion. It is alarming that, for Singer, it is eugenics that stands at the center of the argumentation, and that, for him, the biological species of the conceptus plays no role. Ultimately this means that a healthy dachshund is to be preferred to an extremely → handicapped baby (e.g., profoundly retarded). Singer pleads for a utilitarian preference: in the balance between life and death, the decisive criterion in the case of a foreseeably handicapped child is the expected quality of life, which he generally denies profoundly handicapped persons. Therefore it is not reprehensible to kill a child with Down Syndrome, if there is subsequently a chance of conceiving and bearing a healthy child.

Even with late euthanasia, Singer pleads for an active form when the person concerned wishes it. Nevertheless, precisely this demand for the self-determination of one's death repeatedly becomes a disputed case. Research has indicated that persons in the process of dying only very rarely wish an active shortening of their life. Here a new understanding of dying comes to bear, which regards death as a *process* that usually begins before the onset of a serious disease and ends only with cellular decay. In these terms, the concept of brain death, as articulated by physicians, is only an intermediate stage in the process of dying, and is a more or less technical concept devised to expand the opportunities for organ transplantation.

The person who experiences her or his death as *alienation*, and determined from without, should learn another view of death—death regarded as belonging to life. This learning is the aspiration of the hospice movement, now broadly established for the purpose of assistance (Lat., 'standing at')—standing at the (side of the) dying person or the death.

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→ *Abortion/Contraception, Ars Moriendi, Bioethics, Death and Dying, Ethics/Morals, Eugenics, Race/Racism*

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Everyday Life

Research into the Everyday

Everyday life, or 'the everyday,' as it might be called, usually refers to daily life and living. As the subject of research, however, 'everyday/daily life,' or 'the everyday' does not present itself as an evident fact; rather, it is the object of quite varied research interests. Developed by Marxist sociologists in recent decades for the dynamization of political praxis, the concept of the 'everyday' has had a powerful influence on the humanities. Originally, the 'everyday' was simply the opposite of 'great events,' and an argument for a polemicizing partiality for the 'objects of history' (Lefebvre). It was then taken up by other disciplines (anthropology/historiography), so that its area of validity was expanded from that of the current societies of the industrial states to other societies of past and present (Borst; Kuczynski). As a key concept, the 'everyday,' despite its imprecision, wrought a fertile exchange of the results of investigation and methodological approaches (C. Geertz). Subsequently, there emerged a new self-understanding in the range of cultural studies, and research took new directions. Examples of the subjects of these new directions would be the history of the social, the everyday, and mentality in historical science, or in anthropology of Europe and empirical research in folklore. This development shifted the target from a political change in 'capitalistic' (Lefebvre) and 'patriarchal' society (feminist research), to an acknowledgment of the everyday as relevant to → history. An original concentration on labor and its conditions was then broadened to include the totality of life relationships of all social groups. With the explanation of → society as a result of constructions, the everyday was also seen as the result of processes of the bestowing of → meaning. Despite the extensive research that has been done, connections between the *everyday and religion* have not yet been adequately analyzed. These connections should be compiled, and a definition for the concepts 'everyday' and → 'religion' given that includes empirical religions and societies. (1) With a point of departure in a *mutual relationship* between the everyday and religion, various levels of religion and the everyday are demonstrated: *religion as a system of the ordering of the everyday* that responds to the basic questions of the respective societies and deduces behavioral norms and ethical values, as well as legitimates → government; (2) *piety as religious practice*, with rituals and ceremonies that, along with other instances (such as → law), regulate a common life in society, and render collective bestowal of meaning possible; (3) religious *proposals of activities and interactions*, by which particular persons can undertake individual meaning-formation, and repeatedly produce → security through integration; (4) *religious → experience*—that is, not the everyday 'extraordinary' that cannot be reduced to the religious 'virtuous' (Weber), but rather, in polar tension, is to be regarded as contouring and constituting the ordinary vis-à-vis of the everyday. (5) In all of these areas, the everyday is exalted by religion, and religion, contrariwise, is concretized by the everyday.

The Everyday and Religion

1. a) *Research:* While remaining rather marginal for theology (Fahlbusch), religion, along with relations of political power, was acknowledged by the social sciences as determinative of the everyday (K. Schreiner). Parts of the old folklores, as well as of social and everyday history, took religious practice



An everyday Italian scene in Milan: Archangel Michael on a transparency on the window of a pickup truck. Ever since the Book of Daniel (10:13) and the battle with the dragon in Revelation (12:7-12), Michael has been seen as the quintessential champion of good against evil. In his mythical function as Commander of the Heavenly Host, he repels all attacks on God and the faithful. From this role proceeds his everyday task, in the Christian tradition, especially in the Mediterranean region: Michael's image functions as a magic shield, against the threats of daily life, against diseases, and even against the 'dirty tricks' of today's traffic. (Hubert Mohr)

in pre-modern societies as 'folk piety,' as the religiosity of the 'little folk' (R. Narr; M. Scharfe; R. Schieder; R. v. Dülmen; N. Schindler). In this narrow notion of the everyday, festal times were set over against repeated activities (labor), which ascribes to the feast day numerous fields of religiously grounded activities. Anthropology (I.-M. Greverus; W. Kaschuba), along with religious folklore (W. Brückner), nevertheless broadened everyday history (Münch; Lüdtke), sexual history (L. Roper), history of mentalities (H. Medick), and, again along with, recently, history of everyday culture (R. Dinges), the concept of the everyday itself, inasmuch as they saw everyday and festal times, experiences, and ways of life as complementary and interrelated. Sociologists of religion turned their concentration away from the 'disappearance' of the magical in the world of work (M. Weber) to the once more workable pattern of pre-modern societies (P. Berger; T. Luckmann; N. Luhmann; H. Tyrrell). Thus they transformed concepts of → Enlightenment and → secularization as a segment of history. In the conditions of the order of the everyday, the not-everyday experience of the 'extraordinary' was included (H. Adriaanse; I. Mörth; A Schütz; B. Waldenfels). This multiplicity, with which 'everyday,' or 'daily,' has always been conceptually filled, evinces the concept, as a researcher's view, that can not only be reduced to partial areas, but that is programmatically directed toward human life in common across the board.

Definition

b) 'Everyday' or 'daily' comprehends all activity directed to the safeguarding of the survival of individual persons and groups (e.g. protection of nourishment/peace), to produce and stabilize individual and collective identities (e.g. tribe or occupation), to effect, fasten and maintain social relationships (e.g. family, or societies), as well as to introduce personal or collective interests in the general process of the pursuit of interests (politics). This definition is very comprehensive and transcends individual current or historical societies; a concretization of action and activities that belong to the everyday can be conveyed only for respective empirical societies, or for their partial systems. The same holds for the denomination demanded by Norbert Elias of the 'not everyday.'[1] *Religion*, as an umbrella concept for the formation of meaning in societies, refers to all conceptualizations and expectations of gods, God, a supposed or experienced Absolute, vis-à-vis or in relationship to an inclusive ethical consensus of general certitude.[2]

Religion as a Salvation System

2. *Religion as a salvation system* corresponds with the structure of the everyday; concepts of meaning (images of God) and political constellations (systems of government) are interrelated. This is shown by alterations in societies' everyday life after a change of religion/confession/concept of meaning (→ Reformation; Revolution), or when one religious culture is destroyed by another from without, as by conquest, colonialism, or mission.

Pre-Modern Societies

a) In pre-modern societies, the order/ing of the everyday, the 'typifying of the relevant' (Adriaanse) emerges on the basis of religious meaning-connections (T. Luckmann), which legitimize → government internally, as well as develop, in correspondence with the increasing differentiation of the society at hand, institutions for the exercise of government/rule (god-king/queen, priest/ess, church). Sacred and profane spheres are separated.

The sacred order includes the administration (church) of salvation, as well as its transmission (blessing) and denial (interdict), and the formulation of clerical regulations. The profane order (e.g., laws), grounded on religion, structures the central areas of everyday life, such as space, → time, sexual relations, as well as the disposition of property and work. The transposition of orders into the acts or actions of individuals and groups ensues through functional elites (e.g., pastors or officials; → Specialists). Everyday government—thus, the representation of government by its 'officers' in the broadest sense (e.g., ruler, magistrate)—and the 'ceremonial' (e.g., enthronement, presentation, installment of legislators, administration of oaths of office), rest on religious traditions (E. Kantorowicz). In corresponding fashion, the governed too base their everyday—their actions of acceptance or resistance—on religion: for instance the laity's demand for participation in the formulation of normative stipulations (e.g, in the Peasants' Uprising, 1524/25). When subjects (e.g., Baptists) select a different religion from that of the general consensus (→ Heresy), the result is that the government itself is called into question, just as their recalcitrance in the observance of everyday traditions may indicate that the government has dissolved (e.g., → relics, → exorcism, or → pilgrimages, in → Protestantism).

Modern/Postmodern Age

b) The transitions from pre-modern society to modern, and finally to postmodern, are fluid (→ Modernity/Modern Age; Postmodernity). In modernity, the increasing mix of religious systems into one and the same political space (tolerance) was followed by constitutionally guaranteed religious → freedom. The latter was connected with the severance of the churches from normative competency (→ Secularization), and from ethics, as the basis of political and social activity (Forndran). It is true that this measure deprived religion in the modern age of its formerly obvious status for the structuring of the everyday. However, its canon continued to have an effect in the general ethical consensus (e.g., in the switch from a religious to a political public festal culture, or from a religious to a scientific explanation of the world). It is also the basis of the regulatory function of positive law for society that by now has become exclusive. Nevertheless, the meaning and importance of religion diminished for the personal and corporative formation of meaning ('ideologizing,' politicizing). In the postmodern age, an ethical consensus that would be normative is increasingly rare (P. Berger). Neither is an ordering of life any longer at hand that would be founded in religion and possesses uniform validity for all persons of the same political unit.

Piety: Religious Practice

3. "Society is not simply given. It exists only when it is conceptualized, and this concept made binding and reinforced in collective rites."[3] Everyday activity is thereby always testimony. This principle holds in the same fashion for the logic of activity of societal groups, milieus, and institutions. Prevailing interpretational patterns and meaning connections are, on the one hand, transmitted socially and historically, and at the same time are differentiated by group interests (hierarchies of meaning). This tension requires a systematic distinction among the societal constitution of meaning and the "mental representation of this meaning structure in the awareness of the acting subjects."[4]

Pre-Modern Societies

a) In pre-modern societies, the prevailing religion, in rite, habitus, and gesture, provides a collective framework of activity for the formation and demarcation of → identity. Appropriation of the respective 'right manner' occurs by way of presence at → rituals, and the listening to instructive texts. Archaic religions, for example, practice the visiting of fields, ritual dancing, and the narration of myths; the Christian churches perform divine services, and teach in sermons and edifying literature. The distinct societal positionings, respectively, are thus conveyed, endorsed, and established through everyday activity. Status (→ Prestige), rank, and family and group honor are represented in rite and ceremonial, and transmitted to the next generation (e.g., social life, acceptance, confirmation or departure). At festive occasions and religious presentations, social 'positioning' is formed or inherited, for example by way of possession of ecclesiastical chairs, position in processions, or the outlining of corpse-visitation.

Modern/Postmodern Age

b) In modern societies as well, the stability of the social system is guaranteed by the evening-out of interests among social groups and coalitions. A 'secularization of piety' emerges, while rituals continue nevertheless to be transmitted on the basis of ethical → values generated from religions. Once the regions of 'life' and → 'work' are increasingly differentiated from the traditional ensemble of existence-guaranteeing acts and activities, social alliances, too, are ordered to these two areas of being: familial everyday and club membership on the one hand, trade unions and factories on the other. The distinction of pre-modern society into sacred and profane spheres is now re-inscribed as 'private' and 'public.' In postmodern society, granted, external pressures are disappearing, in private and public spheres alike. However, it is more and more incumbent on the individual to preserve association and draw boundaries vis-à-vis others, and to guard unity as a subject with regard to the most widely differing 'roles' in the partial social areas. Correspondingly, one can observe a 'sacralization of the subject': 'being present' as experience becomes a virtual 'having-been-present' as imagination (Soeffner; Albrecht), such as in the → television society (news, soap operas).

Offers of Action and Interaction

4. Feelings of self-worth and subjective consciousness arise largely in socially determined frameworks of activity (status, gender, family status, stage of life). A place corresponds to them in the course of daily life. In religiously structured societies, individual persons take their orientations in their respective subjective evaluations of religion. Their integration into the social environment or their separation (spiritual or confessional minority) likewise emerges from religious convictions. The planes of daily life and religion flow together in → 'rites of passage' (van Gennep), connected with passages (physical transformation: birth, maturity/adolescence, motherhood, and death). Social processes of transformation correspond to them "in the function of ordering one's life history":[6] baptism/birth certificate, initiation, pairing, parenthood, and divorce/widowing. By way of the ritual accompaniment of these transformations, the individual person is bound to social groups, where their execution bases their social and legal positioning (maturity). Furthermore, daily life calls for socio-psychological 'transformations' as well. The general order, disturbed by individual transgression (→ Sin), is reestablished by temporary exclusion, contrition, → penance, and ritual pardon. This process holds as well for rehabilitation after economic

'sins,' such as competition. Government, even in self-styled secular societies and states, organizes and regulates its control over individuals through these rites of → initiation (registration, right to inheritance). In all of these processes of transformation, the existence of individual persons and thereby also the endurance of their social group are endangered. Thus, one assures oneself of help from higher authorities. The same is valid for conditions that require healing (→ Illness/Health; Conflict/Violence).

Pre-Modern Societies

a) In pre-modern societies, historical and present alike, 'religion for the individual' has 'the quality of security.'[7] The everyday is structured through religion, which is understood as representative of the all-embracing divine/cosmic order, and a 'vessel of unassailable and obvious stores of knowledge.'[8] It embraces the activity of members of 'elite' groups and classes, as well as that of the 'little people.' Daily life, happiness and misfortune, or uncertainties, are not the same for all persons, however. In their various stages of life, men and women run their respective risks, and are confronted by their respective needs (H. Wenzel; P. Dinzelbacher; → Security). The need to be rescued is essentially determined by their economic needs (nutritional security); governors or farmers, merchants or scholars, have different risks to secure against, and this is reflected in the action and interaction spectrum of the everyday (R. van Dülmen; N. Schindler). The activities of common → eating and → drinking are obligatory, even in our own day: the Lord's Supper for church communities, fertility festivals for agricultural society; drinking bouts for the guilds and brotherhoods in cities, social gatherings for college students. In terms of the securing of existence (nourishment) and reconciliation (salvation), there is the need to span several generations, as well as to include the departed through memorial rites (→ Monument/Memorial Places). Independently of class, education, and gender, persons need not only what the religion of common consent can provide, such as prayers, pilgrimages, institutes. In order to reach security, they turn outside the prevailing religion, as well, to magical practices (conjuring, → amulets). The strategies of individuals for managing the problems of everyday life overlap their position in the social and political systems, through which the division into a religion of the elite and a popular piety is called into question (K. Schreiner; W. Brückner). → Magic, as a help to avoid misfortune and means of defense in times of uncertainty, is therefore by no means contradictory of religion, but is an accepted practice of daily life, even within religious institutions.

Modernity/Postmodernity

b) In modern societies, it is the task of all individuals, in reflection upon their → biographies, to produce their own achievements of integration—that is, to discover a pattern of interpretation for their own lives, one that could integrate the most varying experiences.[9] The subject can select from a multiplicity of value concepts for her/his definition, but his or her activity is tied to prevailing norms. The individual's freedom from religious pressure, then, consists not in one's activity itself, but in the choice of frameworks of values.

Religious Experience

5. Everyday → experiences reveal tensions between normative prescriptions (commandments and laws) and social reality, and generate irritations that call for adjustment. As creative event, experiences of the 'extraordinary' characterize a different area of reality from the empirics of the everyday. To

be 'beside oneself,' outside oneself, as it were, and to 'come back into order,' as an experience of 'seizure,' calls the reality-status of the normal world into question, and leads to altered outlooks on daily life. It can be 'summoned up' from without (→ Mysticism; Trance), or be assimilated within, but, either way, it is inevitably pre-formed through received images and texts, and is interpreted and communicated in the same. Such 'boundary crossings' or transcendence of the usual are introduced as a rite of collective experience: for the interpretation of daily life, for the adaptation of stores of knowledge to altering relationships (I.-M. Greverus), and for the settlement of conflicts, for example in → shamanism. Personal religious experience, then, presents itself as a subjectivized form of religion that of course is not equally possible for all persons. It is connected to the perception of divergences, to readiness for uncertainty (avant-garde), and to formation of meaning by the extraordinary. Activity emerging from the personal process or from conscious inactivity (quietism, pacifism) works back once more into daily life. This achievement of integration can materialize in any of several manners: as adaptation of one's perception of social reality to norms, or 'flight to another world' (repression); as alteration of social reality (social engagement or commitment); as drafting and realizing counter models to adaptation to the norms (real utopia, counter-worlds). By calling into question previously 'obvious' realities of the everyday, an alteration makes possible the experience of the 'extraordinary' in two directions: for the *individual* as reintegration, for the *totality* as adaptation of order and social reality (vivacity, liveliness). The transfer of the extraordinary into everyday life is difficult in all societies. Granted, in pre-modern societies the religious order does include the 'extraordinary' in the cosmos; nevertheless, it is excluded from normative competence in an orthodox manner. In modern societies, with their particular orders, the delicate equilibrium (R. Waldenfels) is disturbed by the 'extraordinary'; there follows an exclusion, and, being regarded as 'private,' the extraordinary is thrust out to the fringes as 'not real.' In postmodern society, the possibility of an experience of the 'extraordinary' erodes, in the measure that a discussion about and a conversation on these experiences no longer takes place. Thus, piety does remain possible as an experience, but is no longer to be expressed in the religious 'images' of one's own culture. Or at least it is to be expressed in alienation through religions of other cultures or in the forms of secular meaning concepts (fashion).

Disenchantment of the Daily

With the everyday of the capitalistic economy in view, Max → Weber characterized the consequences of a monopolization of magic by religion as a '→ disenchantment of the world.'[10] A study of the correlation between religion and the everyday makes Weber's 'disappearance of magic' look to have been replaced by an ongoing process of a transformation of the religious.

1. Elias, in: Hammerich/Klein 1978, 22.
2. Berger, Peter L., Der Zwang zur Häresie, Freiburg 1992, 41 (see Berger 1979).
3. Durkheim 1975, 99.
4. Schöll, Albrecht, Zwischen Revolte und frommer Anpassung. Die Rolle der Religion in der Adoleszenzkrise, Münster 1992, 305.
5. Luckmann, in: Gabriel 1996, 27.
6. Wohlrab-Sahr 1995, 9.

7. Berger 1992 (see note 2), 39.
8. Gestrich, Andreas, "Alltag im pietistischen Dorf. Bürgerliche Religiosität in ländlicher Lebenswelt," in: Die alte Stadt 1 (1993), 47-59, p. 48.
9. See Wohlrab-Sahr 1995, 16.
10. Tyrell, Hartmann, "Potenz und Depotenzierung der Religion—Religion und Rationalisierung bei Max Weber," in: Saeculum 44 (1993), 300-347, p. 306.

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→ *Biography/Autobiography, Civil Religion, Confession, Crisis, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Friendship, Funeral/Burial, Death and Dying, Economics, Illness/Health, Initiation, Life Cycle, Materiality, Perception, Popular Culture, Publicity, Sexuality, Rites of Passage, Ritual, Tradition, Work*

Barbara Hoffmann

Evil / Evil One

Evil

1. The linguistic use of the word 'evil' spans a spectrum of meaning, extending from an undifferentiated everyday meaning (unhealthy, threatening, or dangerous), to a religious classification (anti-salvific), to a metaphysical explanation of the world in terms of a good and bad principle (evil). It is always elucidated in antithetical correspondence with a counter-concept of good, and always stands in connection with a general explanation of the world. Altogether generally, what is called 'bad' or 'evil' is that which factually harms. In a more specific sense, an 'evil' person or thing is one that may only seek to harm, so that evil becomes the *drama of freedom*

(Safranski). In philosophical connections, including those of a worldview, the viewpoint of *salvation irrevocably lost* often comes into play. In the conduct of practical living, of course, it is necessary to practice a culture of the conquest of frustration, sickness, and death. The religions offer pathways of understanding and practices of living, in which evil is taken up and manipulated or processed. Of course, productive behavior with evil always means playing with fire.

Decision in Favor of the Good God

2. a) European and North American culture stands in the tradition of a monotheistic, homogeneous view of reality. This view generates what is called the 'problem of evil': if God is good, whence comes evil? Is it caused by the 'fallen' human being, does it lie anchored in the essence of the human being (selfishness, pridefulness, disobedience), or does it attach to the responsibility of the free human being? Can evil be overcome in a messianic future? In the Christian conviction, Jesus's death (→ Cross/Crucifixion) has overcome evil by salvific suffering and vicarious expiation. The classic conception of the Western Church remains the one defined by → Augustine. Evil is the 'deprivation of good,' and therefore ontologically empty. At the same time, a key role falls to a person's guilt before God, and the course of the history of the world is explained as a struggle between two 'world empires' (→ Dualism), a battle to be decided only in the apocalyptic terror of the end time. The binding bracket of these elements is the doctrine of *original sin*. On the basis of the sin of Adam, all persons stand in debt before God. The ultimate question of the depths of God, along with the question of the right to protest against God (from Job to a 'theology after Auschwitz'), remains unanswered. Doubts of faith in a God of goodness have never stilled, as the world that God created knows evil.

The 'Devil'

3. Confrontations with evil have failed to overcome irrational elements appearing in dealing with evil. Thus, belief in 'evil become a person' has always existed (called 'the → Devil,' 'Satan,' or 'Beelzebub'). Belief in the devil is certainly not based on the Bible, and yet has flourished in every era of Christianity. Belief in → possession and in the personification of the Devil (from Hitler to Stalin to Saddam Hussain) is still alive: projections describe resistance as useless, and excuse collaboration. Of course, if it is a matter of the devil speaking, this must be recognized as metaphorical. The same is to be said of magical practices expected to serve for the defeat of evil in unholy places.

The history of evil in European culture is two-faced. On the one side, strong humanizing tendencies operate in that history (human worth and value). On the other side, these tendencies have led to contradictory outcomes (devaluation of persons, extermination of groups of persons, misogyny, production of new evil and cruelty). The concept of condemnation lay in the illusion that evil could be definitively overcome in the name of God.

Religious Cultures

3. Evil is variously experienced in different religions. It can be limited to the experience of natural catastrophes, illness, or death, it can be concretized in certain traits of gods, and it can become the object of magical practices (cf. the religions of India). It is sought in the balance of reality (Chinese religions). Buddhism unmasks suffering as a sphere of the seeming: evil is

overcome by a surrender of the self, by emergence from the eternal cycle, by a return into Nirvana. In the monotheistic religions, this world-fleeing solution is the most important 'opposite pole.'

Progress

4. In twentieth-century Europe, religion has lost its monopoly on the interpretation of evil. First of all, this change has led to enormous progress in, for example, the formation of theories that include those of psychology, the behavioral sciences, and sociology. At the same time, experiments have outstripped all hitherto known norms. The most varied theories have taken them in earnest (critical theory, Hannah Arendt, Erich Fromm, quests for a 'post-Auschwitz' thinking). Evil is intensively the burden of literature and other arts, not least of all the medium of → film. We have had "Bloodfeast" (H. G. Lewis, 1963), "Night of the Living Dead" (G. A. Romero, 1968), "The Exorcist" (W. Friedkin, 1967), "Dawn of the Dead" (Romero, 1979), "Apocalypse Now" (Coppola, Conrad; 1979), "The Silence of the Lambs" (J. Demme, 1991). Small religious groups take evil as their theme, and succumb to its fascination: in inversion of value systems (→ Satanism), in apocalyptical suicide (People's Temple in 1978 in Guyana, Sun Temple in 1994–1995 in Switzerland and Canada), or in mass murder (Aum sect in Tokyo, March 1995). It belongs to the therapeutic task of religion to process the experience of evil. Religion must overcome the fascination of evil, while at the same time experiencing it intensely. As the "culture of behavior with the unmanageable" (Kambertel), then, authentic religion "demands of the human being the avowal of helplessness, finitude, fallibility, and duty" (Safransky). Cultures can resist only what they do not ignore, but accept as their own problem.

New Fascination

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→ *Collective Representations, Conflict/Violence, Demon/Demonology, Devil, Dualism, Ethics/Morals, Magic, Sacrifice, Shoah, Sin, Taboo, Terrorism, Violence, War/Armed Forces, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Hermann Häring

Evil Eye

General

1. The expression 'Evil Eye' (Ital., *malocchio, jettatura*; Span., *mal de ojo*) denotes the belief that human beings, as well as many animals, can by their glance or gaze exercise a harmful influence on animate and inanimate objects. The notion was widespread in antiquity itself: the power of the Evil Eye was ascribed especially to the gods who, through the insalubrious power of their jealous eye, were thought to be in a position to bring whole realms down in ruin. This concept is found ever since, in nearly all cultures. It is most widespread in Indo-European space, as well as in Islamic countries, and the areas that they have influenced or colonized. The only change through the centuries has been in the evaluation of the Evil Eye: in antiquity, it was still seen as an unquestionable phenomenon of nature, while at the beginning of the Enlightenment of modern times, it was increasingly the property of popular belief.

The Eye as a Window to the Soul

2. This faith conceptualization is based on the notion that the eye is a window to the soul of the living being, through which true feelings and intentions come to light. We still acknowledge this today, so that, for example, people are seen to be really laughing only when their eyes laugh too. What is perceived through the eye can generate negative feelings, such as jealousy, in the person doing the perceiving. The object of the evil wishes provoked by this feeling, to the point of actual cursing, then becomes the subject of their dire results. If the jealous person disposes of the power of the Evil Eye, it is believed that he or she can use it to cause evils like illness, injury, misfortune, and even death.

Unlike other harmful spells (→ Magic; Prayer/Curse), this ability is thought to attach to certain individuals as a *personal peculiarity*, either as a stable capacity or as a spontaneous time-to-time phenomenon. It can be inborn or acquired. It can be learned. One can also have it without being aware of it: here the phenomenon exhibits many parallels to European belief in the → witch. There are usually personal particularities that render individuals suspect of disposing of the power of the Evil Eye. Among them are anomalies of the eyes, such as cross-eyes, double pupils, eyes of different colors, or an unusual eye color: in southerly lands blue-eyed persons, in northerly lands brown-eyed, come under suspicion. Extraordinary beauty, too, or the contrary, or strength, or size, arouse the supposition that the one possessing them may stand in contact with dark powers. In particular, dwarves were feared—known to generations of children through the fairy-tale "Rumpelstiltskin"—especially if they were also hunchback. In all times, women were and are much more frequently charged with having the Evil Eye than are men, with the accusation of witchcraft frequently thrown in. Many animals, as well, are ascribed the faculty of the Evil Eye, especially such as gaze out through staring or prominent eyes, as snakes, foxes, owls, grasshoppers, hares, or peacocks. Fear of these can actually dissuade one from the pronunciation of their names, lest one draw down calamity upon oneself.

The weak, especially children, are in the most danger, and women need protection more than men do. Domestic animals are seriously endangered. There are still farmers in Europe today who blame the Evil Eye when their cattle are afflicted with illnesses, or when the cows give no more milk.

3. Inseparably attached to belief in the Evil Eye is the correlative conception that certain objects, expressions, or gestures can protect one from the Evil Eye. This idea occurs most frequently in the case of → *amulets.* These are thought to prevent their wearers from meeting a direct gaze, in case it is the empowered person's first glance, the most dangerous one. Amulets often depict or represent an eye.

Islam

In *Islamic countries*, for example, it is customary to attach a blue glass eye to the clothing of infants. Amulets with religious content, such as brief citations of the Qur'an, or magic squares, figure among the very favorite talismans of children and adults alike. In many cultural circles, mothers permit their children to leave the house only with soiled faces and old clothing, in the hope of heading off appreciating glances that could provoke feelings of jealousy, which is one of the principal motives for an ill-willed individual's projection of the Evil Eye. There are countless other techniques as well, for neutralization of the impact of the Evil Eye. Berber women in North Africa wear head kerchiefs studded with glimmering little disks, so that the Evil Eye may be drawn to these rather than upon the person of the wearer. From India to Algeria, women may wear makeup on their eyelids not mainly out of aesthetic considerations, but because they are convinced that they are thereby protecting themselves from the unwholesome regard. Not only → clothing and the human → body, but buildings, as well, are marked or adorned in order to repel the Evil Eye. The walls of buildings are decorated with a variety of designs and geometric patterns. Doors and window frames, too, are marked or designed with blue, the color to which a magical virtue is attributed where protection is desired. Vestiges of these customs are still

Typical outer wall painting on the house of a Muslim family, on the island of Djeerba in Tunisia. In this case, the inhabitants have availed themselves of a number of painted blue symbols for protection against the Evil Eye. The image of the Hand of Fatima, very widespread in Islamic lands, here frames the door on all three sides. The fishes, a security charm, have been taken over from Judaism, and stand for fertility. Their symbolical application is intended to protect the people of the house from infertility caused by the Evil Eye. The pair of horns, right and left at the door,



extant in European countries of the Mediterranean basin (→ Mediterranean Region). The Turkish cultural milieu is home to the widely used *mashallah*, a stylized blue eye, sometimes provided with five attachments to symbolize the Hand of Fatima. The design of Fatima's hand, even standing alone, is generally ascribed a special power of resistance to the Evil Eye. The *mashallah* is to be found as decorative attachment or supplement, as wall decoration or as amulet, the latter even hung in automobiles.

are a variant of the *mano cornuto*, a widespread symbol especially in Italy. Additionally, the color blue, applied at all of the openings of the house, prevents the penetration of an evil glance.

Judaism

In *Judaism*, belief in the Evil Eye, attested in the Talmud itself, was reinforced on the occasion of the Jews' expulsion from Spain after the *Reconquista* (1492). Accompanying them on their way across North Africa was, in particular, the belief, widespread among Muslims there, in the protective power of the Hand of Fatima. Even today, there are Sephardic Jews in Israel, descendants of the old Spanish Jews, who make and distribute these amulets.

Europe

In *Europe*, belief in the Evil Eye is mainly rooted in southern Italy. The most frequent protective measures are sexual gestures in all of their variations, such as the *mano cornuto* or the *mano fica* (manual gestures symbolizing two horns or a fig). There are healing rituals, besides, that are thought to cure, especially, headaches, psychic disturbances, and a sense of weakness, such rites being performed almost exclusively at the hands of women. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Seligman could still report innumerable examples of belief in, and defenses against, the Evil Eye in Germany. In more northerly European lands, unlike the Mediterranean basin, belief in the Evil Eye has almost vanished with the pre-modern agricultural society and the village community.

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→ *Amulet, Magic, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Silvia Kuske

Evolutionism

Stage Model of Cultural History

1. In the shadow of the biological → theory of evolution, persistent attempts have been made to accommodate this basic notion of development to the cultural and social sciences. The prevailing paradigm of scientific biology seemed suited to serve as a universal model of explanation of historical, social, spiritual, political, ethical, and theological questions. Beginning in mid-nineteenth century, a veritable inflation occurred in 'step models': models of cultural history, in the wake of biological Darwinism, all of them calculated to illustrate the progressive ascent of human development. (a) In his influential *The Ancient Society* (1887), Lewis Henry

Morgan postulated a three-step progression of social history, from a primal state, to barbarism, to civilization. (b) Johann Jakob Bachofen, in *Das Mutterrecht* (Ger., "Maternal Law"; 1861), sought to pursue an ascendant development from an early stage of promiscuity, to the matriarchy, to the patriarchy (→ Matriarchy/Patriarchy). (c) Friedrich Engels, in his *Ursprung der Familie* (Ger., "Origin of the Family"; 1884) defined a five-stage model of societal development, from the primitive society, to slavery, to feudalism, to capitalism, to a (projected) communism. (d) Herbert Spencer, one of the champions of *social Darwinism*, propagated the theory of a succession of societies from primitive, to military, to industrial (*Principles of Sociology*, 1876–1898). For religious studies, (e) Edward B. Tylor (*Primitive Culture*, 1871) was important, with his division, animism, polytheism, and monotheism, as was (f) James G. Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, 1890), with his stages, magic, religion, science, as influenced by Auguste Comte (1798–1857).

The general pattern of step theories such as these—aside from the ideological elements of content—was that of a unitary, uninterrupted process of the development of humanity, submitted in all times and cultures to the same mono-etiological rules. The concept of rigorously valid laws of science was methodically, and rigorously, transferred to the cultural and social sciences. *Progress* in the development of societies was seen as universal, and the superiority of, precisely, European civilization was seen as legitimated in terms of the latter's having traversed the route of 'cultural evolution' further than the others. Except in Engels's model, the state of the European industrial nations was always posited as the apex of cultural history.

2. This European optimism with regard to progress now demonstrated its power of penetration in an intensive amalgamation of technological progress (industrial revolution), politics (→ Colonialism), and the conceptual models that legitimated ideological stances (social Darwinism, stage-models of a step-by-step development of culture, theology of a mission to the heathen). In particular, it was only a short distance to a legitimization of societally-oriented interpretations of Darwinism. Social Darwinism (or better, *social Spencerism*) served as locus of intersection between nature and society, biology and social theory: Darwin's biological thesis of the *survival of the fittest*, interpreted in its extreme conceptualization as a 'pitiless battle for being, in which the stronger, and thereby the better, prevails,' was transferred to societal systems. American economic liberalism, like Manchester capitalism, communism, and European colonialism (and later, the racial ideology of German National Socialism), sought its basis in a quasi-'natural' conditioning. Conceptualizations of value and culture on the part of the colonializing, imperialistic industrial societies of the end of the nineteenth century saw the empirical justification of their political and social purposes in a Darwinistic notion of natural history. In the form of an ideological justificatory conclusion, the European, the German, the Aryan 'assertiveness' could be regarded as the premise of the higher cultural, national, and ethical value of the more successful. There is a series of peoples who ascribe to themselves the status of a special election by God (as the Massai, the Jews). Here, however, an additional premise functions: the scientific foundation of the election of the whites and their natural right to spatial expansion and the subjugation of inferior races and religions.

Social Darwinism

'Primitive' = Children

3. The evolutionists interpreted the chronological contiguity of various cultures, religions, and societal forms as a historical and systematic sequence. In terms of the stage-models, it was argued that contemporary 'primitive' society could be identified with historically surpassed forms of one's own society. By analogy, primitive cultures correspond to a 'childhood stage of humanity,' naturally subordinate to a right to their upbringing on the part of the 'mature, adult culture.' A rectilinear course of development in humanity's cultural evolution must necessarily entail upon the further developed element the incumbency of a 'duty of upbringing.' In the area of religion, there follows the responsibility of missionizing not only technologically and socially, but also religiously and morally 'retarded cultures.' Monotheistic Christianity defines the optimal religious stage of development, as it were, while other forms of religion are to be overcome as primitive precursors. Just as the will of naughty, recalcitrant children, who refuse to submit to good and right upbringing, must be broken, so also regional opposition on other continents to cultural and social progress must be forced (→ Mission; Colonialism).

4. Although an elaboration of the theoretical foundation of evolutionism dates from the nineteenth century, broad areas of the politics of the *twentieth century*, especially that of → National Socialism, but also that of the 'Cold War,' evince the spirit of this thinking. The better social and economic system has triumphed, we hear, and its dominance has been revealed in every area—in science, in technology (space travel), art, even in the sporting area of the → Olympic Games. Accordingly, evolutionism can also be presented intellectually as a reproach, for instance in a context of the concept of the global validity of Western norms of development (e.g., in efforts toward the universal acceptance of → human rights. In 1988, after the massacre in Peking's Tiananmen Square of Heavenly Peace, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party rejected the West's censures and 'gentle' admonition that human rights be observed, averring that the latter were foreign to Chinese tradition, and that they failed to correspond to the cultural interests of the Chinese people. These were Western values, ran the apologia, that might not be forced, imperialistically and evolutionalistically, upon other cultural milieus.

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→ *Colonialism, Eugenics, Mission, Progress, Race/Racism, Science, Theory of Evolution*

Stefan Hartmann

Exchange / Gift

Exchange of Gifts

1. In societies that do not employ governmental institutions and the medium of money in the establishment of interpersonal relationships, an exchange of gifts has a greater burden of meaning than that of a mere transaction in goods. By contrast with forms of exchange, usually profane, determined directly by economic requirements, an exchange of gifts is a social process and follows ritual rules, which frequently appear in the form of ritual laws, sacred ceremonies, and magic. The structure of the exchange of gifts is marked by four socializing obligations: giving, receiving, requiting, and giving once more. These four duties ground the status of the individual in pre-governmental societies that stand as the group 'I.' The size of the gift (or of a punishment) is measured by the degree of social regard the giver and the recipient possess in the group. The gifts that chiefs and overseers receive need not be directly requited. (There is no direct reciprocity.) But the givers of the gifts expect that overseers or chiefs will make use of their social positions in critical circumstances, for example by asking the judge for some consideration in the matter of a legal finding, or by connecting the gift-giver with a host family in the city for a term of education. A wealthy person is informally obliged, as 'benefactor' (Gk., *euergétes*), to bestow gifts on the generality of persons.

b) This generalized reciprocity is also the model for religious gifts to the gods. The fact that the gods do not make direct requital for these gifts is not the violation of a duty on the part of the gods, but corresponds to their social position: in time of need, these gods will assist all the more generously. Worshippers seek to cultivate this friendship through regular and generous gifts that at first seem unilateral—those of the → sacrifice.

c) The modern form of gift in capitalistic society is the *present*. Here the socializing obligation of requital is absent. Unlike the gift, the present need not be requited as a matter of social or moral obligation. Instead, it is limited to being the expression of a personal and private relationship between the giver and the recipient. The socializing competency previously invested in the community is compressed in modern society in the individual.

2. The epochal concept of gift (1925) expressed by French social scientist Marcel Mauss as a 'total social fact,' in which all kinds of institutions—religious, juridical, moral, economic, and so on—come to expression at once, has indelibly marked the social sciences to our own day. One of the most important systems of gift exchange by which Mauss demonstrates this social process is *kula*, the ring exchange, among the various island groups of Papua New Guinea. At periodic intervals (from one to two years), the Trobrianders and their neighbors, represented by tribal chieftains, village heads, and their male kin, undertake ocean expeditions, carefully prepared for by means both magical and nautical. The course of the phenomenon is determined primarily by the circulation of two valuable objects—red necklaces of chama mussels in a northerly direction, and white bracelets of the conus species in a southerly direction. The exchange of these gifts, which is framed in manifold processes of gift exchange, occurs with delay, as the first gift must first be compensated by a return visit and a return gift. Each gift effects two more: a reciprocal gift and a further gift, between/among at least two transaction partners. The



Departure for *kula*, the ring exchange in the Trobriand Islands of the Pacific. The canoe being launched will bear highly valued ornamental pieces, prepared from mussels, to the neighboring group of islands, to be exchanged with the inhabitants there, thus guaranteeing mutual obligations.

cyclical paths of the gifts condition an exchange structure underlying the ritualized rhythm of giving, receiving, requiting, and giving again. The goal of prestigious possession of the gifts is temporary, but it leads to enduring gift partnerships, which entail the reciprocal obligation of offering one another protection, hospitality, and support, as well as of carrying on trade with one another. *Kula* is the prerequisite for *gimwali*, subsequent commerce in useful goods as determined by economic requirements.

The meaning of the obligation striven for lies less in the gift or the giving in itself, than in the duration and political, economic, and emotional quality of the relations thereby engendered. Objects of value that have already long circulated embody most intensively the social time, and are most important in terms of magical ritual. The obligation that exists vicariously through the tribal chiefs for the entire group is sacralized and sanctioned through ceremonies. Social control is manifested in belief in the efficacy of → magic. The later plays an important role during the transactions: magical rituals are regarded as positively influencing the gift relationship. Generosity has a higher moral value than strategies of self-interest, as it evokes the desired reciprocal obligation.

Since the earliest research into *kula*, carried out in 1922 by British anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, many changes have entered the scene. Today women, too, are included as exchange partners, money as exchange gifts, and modern means of transportation are used. Institutions similar to *kula* are very widespread in Melanesia and Polynesia. The festivals of the distribution of gifts, the *Potlach* Festivals, of the Indian societies of northwestern America, are another well-known example of the gift-exchange. In these events, participants have often bestowed gifts to the point of their economic ruin.

Other Kinds of Gift Exchange

3. The exchange of gifts fuses persons and gifts. With the development of the market economy, however, a split occurred between gift and person. The ideology of the gift disconnected from interests of exchange arose in parallel with the pure exchange-economy, free of personal interests (Parry). Pure gift is the counter-image of a market economy, and the gift is articulated above all in systems of religious belief. In all of the great world religions, a 'profit' is promised from gifts ideally given privately, and without the intention of obliging a reciprocal deed in the present life. The receipt of gifts is not understood as a social obligation, but as a 'grace,' something gratis, imparted to the receiver.

Alms and Donations

In Christianity an elaborate system of giving has developed, calculated to maintain the institutions of church, cloister, and religious community. In the footsteps of the development of the state and → money, money came to be established as an object of which a gift could be made. A 'donation' is voluntary 'payment' without reciprocation.

Money

The ritual principle of the reciprocity of the gift-exchange is still to be found today, in the form of the gift given on the occasion of religious feasts, for example at Christmas.

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→ *Christmas, Economy, Money, Prestige, Sacrifice*

Karin Kathöfer

Exegesis

Exegesis (Gk., 'explanation'; etym., 'out-leading,' 'ex-position') denotes the interpretation or explanation of a text or a passage of a text, especially one from the Bible, and especially at the hands of an expert. In Greek sanctuaries, exegetes stood ready to 'translate' oracles of the god into human speech, or to explain to strangers the meaning of the chunks of boulder, or the tree, in the sanctuary, having to find an answer for everything. In theology, professionals concern themselves with the translation of the old, sacred texts into the world and life of the audience. They stand in a long tradition of 'exposition,' but are always confronted with new questions. Here they are always astraddle what they hope is the meaning of the text (pejoratively called 'eisegesis,' i.e. 'in-leading,' 'in-putting' of alien meanings of their own or others), and the historical text, which often contradicts their interpretation. The method of historical criticism has

trenchantly elucidated the contrast between source texts and products of exigesis.

→ *Bible, Book, Hermeneutics, Specialists (Religious), Text/Textual Criticism, Theology, Translation, Writing*

Christoph Auffarth

Existentialism

1. *Existentialism* is the colloquial designation of a philosophical current of the twentieth century. The common element of the philosophies in question is the methodological reduction of their content to the existence of the individual person. Existentialism presents a generalizing, alien designation for otherwise quite different philosophical outlines of the world. As a specific designation, the concept is found solely with Jean-Paul Sartre. A synonym antedating Sartre's application is *philosophy of existence*, which was current as early as 1929, and in German-speaking space became a pejorative designation. Existentialism must be understood in terms of the history of religions, and this vis-à-vis the background of the collapse of comprehensive collective meaning-systems in the early half of the twentieth century. It entailed → nihilism and the loss of the plausibility of the Christian confessions. As an answer to a question of meaning, now felt to have become more trenchant—especially in the wake of the two World Wars—new philosophical positions were constructed. These positions took their point of departure, and enunciated their guidelines for action, in terms of the manners of existence of the individual human life.

Historical Survey

2. This concept of existence goes back to Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855), and received further impulse through the work of Friedrich → Nietzsche (1844–1900). Danish philosopher of religion Kierkegaard set over against Hegel's conceptual thinking the passion of the 'one who exists,' the one infinitely interested in existing. Kierkegaard's pioneering analysis of fear, death, and existence was still conducted in a Christian connection of meaning, although the latter was abandoned by the philosophers of existence of the twentieth century.

In the secular context, and standing before the challenge of European nihilism, Karl Jaspers (1883–1969) systematically formulated his thinking in his three-volume *Philosophie* (1932). He entitled the volumes, respectively, *Philosophische Weltorientierung; Existenzerhellung; Metaphysik* (Ger., "Philosophical Orientation to the World," "Enlightenment upon Existence," "Metaphysics"), and here sought to regain a coded experience of transcendence. The fact that in possible catastrophes, being can still be experienced, Jaspers thought, indicates that the "bestowal of meaning on the part of the meaningless" must occur in the "accomplishment of existing," and in the accomplishment of the existential communication that, not being conditioned by interests or compulsion, bestows and establishes true community. Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), in his *Sein und Zeit* (1927; Ger., "Being and Time,"), attempted an analysis of the human being as 'existence.' If persons make conscious choices in their being, they can live in the mode of being

of *Eigentlichkeit* (lit., 'propriety': actuality, authenticity). Here as well, the project is to transfer, to translate, human temporality, historicity, and transitory condition (*Sein zum Tode*, lit., 'being to death': being as intrinsically ordered toward death), into a meaningful pathos, by means of an analysis of human existence. The momentum was taken up and extended by Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980) in his early standard work, *L'être et le néant* (1943; Fr., "Being and Nothingness"). The key word with Sartre is freedom, and his motto is that a person's existence precedes his or her essence. Only in finally existing do persons posit their essence as a *projet*, a 'project/plan' for the future. Inasmuch as there is no sign of transcendence in the world, (god-) abandoned human beings demand their freedom and become nothing other than their own 'project,' their sketch of what they would become. On this basis, Sartre develops his ethics of full responsibility for oneself and for humanity. It is especially in French existentialism that the quest for the meaning of the world is undone from its theistic models, and with Albert Camus (1913–1960), in a return to ancient mythology, leads to a new form of 'atheistic religiosity' vis-à-vis nature and the cosmos. It is this atheistic piety to which, with the aid of 'Mediterranean thought,' he wishes once more to conclude. In his very analysis of the absurd, Camus postulates the happy person, who consciously accepts her or his suffering. Further, out of the myth of Sisyphus, and later from that of → Prometheus, he shapes a new, exemplary account of resistance and revolt.

Reception outside Europe

3. In the course of European philosophy's exportation, existentialism was taken up in Japan through the Buddhist-influenced philosophers of the Kyôto school. Keiji Nishitani (1900–1990) engaged in confrontations with Heidegger and Sartre. Buddhist philosopher Yoshinori Takeuchi (b. 1913) designates his approach as 'Buddhist existentalism,' whose concern, he says, is to get beyond → metaphysics and to come to an existential illumination and development.

Locus of History of Religions

4. Existentialism has its locus in the philosophical confrontations co-impregnated by the development of modernity in the history of religions. It is both a product of and a reaction to the growing individualization and pluralization of offers of meaning. Kierkegaard himself had mounted such a quest for meaning on an existential basis, an effort directed against the religious and ethical norms channeled by the churches. The European philosophy of the modern age increasingly emancipated itself from its Christian context and sought to establish a sphere of meaning of its own, whose goal would be the unification of temporal and eternal (Kierkegaard), existence and transcendence (Jaspers), being hurled into the world and authenticity (Heidegger), freedom and determination (Sartre), absurdity and nature (Camus). Here various forms of philosophically articulated religiosity have developed whose worldview and ethics alike have little in common with collective and institutionalized forms of religion, and run counter to the Christian understanding of religion. Although scholar of religion Mircea → Eliade sees in existentialism an expression of the modern a-religious person, whose existential situation is exhausted in relativity, historicity, and a refusal of the transcendent and the cosmos, it must be pointed out that religious meanings of the human being and the world need not be tied to transcendence or the cosmos. Existentialism, then, presents a reaction to the increasing loss of a

theistic meaning of the world and human existence in terms of Christianity. In the context of a religious history of Europe dominated by the Christian confessions, we also find an increasing rejection of collectively mediated meanings.

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→ *Gnosticism, Meaning/Signification, Modernity/Modern Age, Nietzsche, Theodicy*

Jürgen Mohn

Exorcism

Concept

1. 'Exorcism' (from Gk., *exorkizein*, 'adjure to go out') can be defined generally as the ritual expulsion of spirits from persons (→ Possession) or (other) animate or inanimate objects. As such, it is to be encountered in many historical ages and cultures. Exorcism is always practiced by → specialists (shamans, priests, etc.), and according to prescribed rules. Possession can express itself in illness or in extraordinary conditions seemingly uncontrollable by the subject of the possession. Such conditions are particularly characteristic of the Christian diagnosis of possession. Unlike the curse, which can call a disease upon a person (→ Prayer/Curse), in possession an external being has itself seized the person, and is beyond his or her control. In the Western cultural milieu, the concept of exorcism is essentially marked by the Catholic theory and practice of exorcism. This theory is most vigorously disputed, meanwhile, even within the Christian churches. Although various forms of exorcism are practiced in many Evangelical churches, as well as in free charismatic communities, only the Catholic Church has developed an articulated theory and practice of exorcism. In the public consciousness, exorcism is usually identified with the Catholic reading of the same, and conditioned by films like William Friedkin's "The Exorcist" (USA, 1973), or spectacular cases like that of the exorcism, which turned lethal, of Anneliese Michel in 1976,

arousing considerable attention (→ Psychopathology). Accordingly, the present article takes the Catholic teachings on possession and exorcism for its focus.

2. In the Hebrew Bible, exorcism is mentioned only in the late books (Tob 6:16-18), and then usually as part of an effort to attenuate plagues. Only after the encounter with Iranian religions and corresponding demonical doctrines does exorcism spread more strongly in Judaism as well.

'Minor' and 'Major' Exorcism

The healing accounts of the New Testament, in which Jesus is presented as a charismatic healer, serve as an exemplar for the teachings of Catholic systematic theology, in which a distinction is made between the 'minor' and the 'major' exorcism. Both consist of prayers and ritual actions, by means of which a combat is understood to be waged against diabolical trouble and affliction. The possibility of demonic possession (*obsessio*) is basically maintained, despite all relativization. The *minor exorcism*, performed not only by persons in sacred orders, but frequently by laity, was prohibited by the Catholic Congregation of the Faith in 1985. The formulae and procedure of the *major exorcism*, as prescribed in 1614, and contained in the *Rituale Romanum*, have remained all but unaltered down to the present. The last revision took place in 1954, and a new version appeared in 1999. Besides prayers, ritual actions, and adjurations, direct → communication with → devils and → demons is an essential part of the major exorcism. In order to execute it, a specially trained priest must receive the authorization of the competent bishop. Furthermore, especially in reaction to the Michel case, adequate care must be taken that no medical treatment be interrupted for the exorcism. On the contrary, collaboration with the physicians involved in the case is prescribed. As symptoms whose presence can support a diagnosis of possession, the following, among others, are indicated in the *Rituale Romanum*.

- Speaking, at some length, or understanding, foreign languages (glossolalia)
- Announcing the present or future reality of hidden or distant things (propheticism, divination)
- Sudden changes in behavior, such as rage or obscene name-calling, often accompanied by convulsions or feats of strength
- A strong revulsion for Christian symbols and sacred objects

Psychiatric Interpretations

3. In the secular scientific view of reality, such phenomena are diagnosed and treated in the framework of psychiatry as forms of psychosis, schizophrenia, or epilepsy. The causes are sought fundamentally in psychodynamic processes, not in external beings. Any collaboration with exorcists is usually renounced, as methods of exorcism are regarded as counterproductive. As for scientific → parapsychology, it emphasizes that even such paranormal phenomena as are listed above do not necessarily indicate a demonic possession, but are ultimately to be explained within a broadened scientific view of reality.

4. Since the Michel case, no exorcism has been authorized in Germany. In other countries, however, such as France or Italy, the number of exorcisms is growing. Although the Catholic Church is concerned to avoid open confrontation with the scientific view on this point (against this background, a fundamental reform of the *Rituale Romanum* is seen to be under way), it nonetheless renounces a secular view of reality where exorcism is concerned: the thesis of the theoretical possibility of a demonic possession

is not called in question. From this point forward, cooperation with physicians and psychiatrists could be difficult, since the boundaries of accepted religious experience in a secular society would be overstepped in the process. After all, a possession justifying an exorcism can by definition be diagnosed only on the basis of personality disturbances with most extreme symptoms—and in secular societies, religion is denied appropriate competency precisely in such cases. It must therefore be taken into account that, as for Catholic practice, exorcism under official auspices continues to be performed, if at all, only in modified form, at least in the Western world. This situation does not, however, rule out its possible future rebirth in fundamentalist or charismatic circles.

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→ *Demon/Demonology, Devil, Illness/Health, Magic, Possession, Prayer/Curse, Psychopathology, Ritual*

Joachim Schmidt

Experience

'Religious Experience' is a term widely used and seldom explained, especially in western scholarship on religion. This is not surprising as both → 'religion' and 'experience' are notoriously difficult to define with the attempt to do so giving rise to a miniature industry in academic scholarship.[1] After briefly discussing some of the philosophical issues that arise in relation to 'experience,' I will turn to a more in-depth look at the notion of 'religious experience.'

Problems of Definition

Dictionary definitions of experience tend to focus on experience in two senses. The first is that of familiarity, accumulated knowledge such as "he is an experienced musician." The second sense is that of some sort of direct encounter with the sensory world. Philosophically, what might appear as a sort of common sense fact of reality becomes a subject of ongoing debate. What is it about the sensory world that allows it to be experienced? Is this experience reliable? Can it be used as a foundation for knowledge? How accurate is our perception of such experience? Do we change it in the act of → perception; that is, how much of a difference is there between appearance and reality? What is it about our mind that allows us to have such experience? The answers to these questions range from the extremes of radical empiricists who maintain that one can base a solid epistemology on the experience of concrete material reality, to thinkers in the idealist rationalist tradition who argue that the sensory world is completely unreliable as a source of truth about the nature of reality.

Turning to religion, the issues become even more complex. Before we can identify something as a religious experience, we must have some idea of what it is to be religious. However, what might have seemed possible to answer for a nineteenth-century western scholar of religion has become almost impossible for one living in the twenty-first as scholars increasingly realize the ethnocentric nature of most definitions. Nevertheless there is an ongoing discussion of religious experience in western scholarship of religion, and it is to this I will turn for the remainder of this discussion.

William James

Despite his critics, the influence of William James on the definition of religious experience cannot be ignored. James defines religion as "the feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude so far as they stand in relation to whatever they consider to be divine" (James 1982, 31). He makes a clear distinction between religion in its ecclesiastical, social forms including → ritual, → texts, doctrines etc. and religion as it is felt or understood, in short, 'experienced' on the part of the individual. What is important for James in this experience is found in the words "what he perceives to be divine." The emphasis here is on individual perception and meaning. James is less interested in the veridical nature of whatever it is the person is experiencing then with the impact of the experience on the person to whom it occurs.

Schleiermacher and Kant

James was influenced by the work of Friedrich Schleiermacher, who argued that "Religion's essence is neither thinking nor acting, but intuition and feeling" (Schleiermacher 1988, 22). Schleiermacher makes no distinction between intuition and → feeling; religious feeling constitutes a sense of immediate consciousness of dependence on an infinite existing both without and within the individual. Schleiermacher's conception of religion can be seen as a response to the rationalist critique of religion, a critique that in many ways undercut the foundations of traditional theistic belief in the West. Kant's rejection of the possibility of knowledge about God had been particularly problematic. Kant separated the world into two classes: noumena and phenomena. 'Noumena' refers to things as they are in themselves before they have been subjected to the inherent categories of the perceiving subject. These categories consisted of space, time, substance and causality. 'Phenomena' are the way things appear after they have been filtered or processed through these innate categories. God, according to Kant, transcends these human categories and thus can never be conceived as a phenomenon, hence allowing us no knowledge, no comprehension of the divine. Schleiermacher's reconceptualization of religion, not as a set of beliefs that must be defended but as a particular feeling or 'experience' that occurred before one divided the world into subject/object dichotomy circumvented the rationalist challenges to religion from Kant and others.

In this view, people do not become religious through the acquisition of knowledge about conduct or principles but first and foremost from this feeling. Dogmas and doctrines are devised after and arise from the experience. They are thus necessarily imprecise and imperfect and should not be taken in a literal sense nor treated as if they were veridical claims. According to Schleiermacher, this 'feeling' or intuition occurs before the division of perception into subject and object. This precedence makes it immediate. However, it also makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible to put into words. As it can only be experienced and only imperfectly defined,

it is impossible to 'prove,' leading many people to reject its existence or at least deny its validity as a basis for religion.

James on 'Mysticism'

Schleiermacher's influence on James is most apparent in James's definition of → *mysticism*, a definition that has shaped much of the discussion of religious, especially mystical experience throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century. James outlines four characteristics of the mystical experience: Ineffability, noetic quality, transiency, and passivity. Of these, the notion of 'ineffability' is most germane to this discussion. James describes ineffability as that which cannot be adequately expressed in words. He argues that this quality "must be directly experienced; it cannot be imparted or transferred to others." He goes on to say, that "mystical states are more like states of feeling than like states of intellect," clearly reflecting his debt to Schleiermacher (James 1982, 380).

Defining religion in this individual, subjective sense, especially with this notion of ineffability came to play a vital role in nineteenth and twentieth century discussions of religious, especially mystical, experience. In many ways it laid the framework for the development of the field of comparative religion, opening the way for claims that differences in religions arise from people attempting to describe this feeling or intuition drawing on diverse → languages and cultural symbols. This view quickly led to the argument that all religions were at heart essentially the same, with apparent differences simply arising from the culture and language within which the person having the experience lived. Differences were superficial.

"Perennial Philosophy"

This view, which came to be known as the 'perennial philosophy' or the universalist position has gone through a number of variations. Aldous Huxley offered an early version in his book of the same name (Huxley 1945). R. C. Zaehner argued for three types of religious experience: pantheistic, monistic, and theistic, of which the latter, for him, was clearly superior (Zaehner 1959). Walter Stace further developed the idea in his work *Mysticism and Philosophy* (1961). In recent years Robert Foreman has claimed that this core mystical experience is one of 'pure consciousness' with its highest expression found in non-dualist states (Foreman 1990).

The Constructivist Position

In 1972 Steven Katz published the essay "Language, Epistemology and Mysticism" that has come to represent what is known as the 'constructivist' position (Katz 1978). Katz argues that there is no such thing as pure consciousness and that religious experience is shaped by the cultural context in which the person having the experience is found. Thus a Christian will have a Christian mystical experience, a Buddhist, a Buddhist experience, and so on. Attempts to compare experiences across cultures are like trying to compare 'apples and oranges.'

The debate between the 'universalists' or 'perennialists' and 'constructivists' has dominated the literature on religious experience since the publication of Katz's essay. However, as Grace Jantzen points out, these debates are far removed from the ways in which individual mystics and others known for their 'religious experience' describe or understand their experience. Drawing on the work of Foucault, Jantzen argues that the way religious experience is understood has changed throughout the centuries reflecting a complex intertwining of issues of power, gender, and authority. That is, she says, "answers to questions of what mysticism is and of

who counts as a mystic, thought they will not be constant, will always reveal interconnected struggles of power and gender" (Jantzen 1995, 2).

Another challenge to the debate on 'religious experience' arises from scholars working in the area of postcolonial theory (→ Colonialism). William Halbfass, in his essay "The Concept of Experience in the Encounter between India and the West" (in Halbfass 1988), notes the fascination that experience in Indian religions holds for Western scholars. There is no doubt that the concept of experience plays a crucial role in these traditions. Buddhism centers on the enlightenment experience of the Buddha, teaching its followers that they too must cultivate their own experience and not attempt to achieve enlightenment through the use of intermediaries such as scripture, doctrines or even the Buddha himself (→ Light/Enlightenment). In Hinduism, Vedantin schools stress the importance of experience arguing that texts and teachers can take a student only so far, ultimately one must achieve one's own experience of enlightenment. Devotional Hindu sects also stress the experience of → love for the divine. Experience is thus essential, however it is important to note the understanding of experience among these traditions is very diverse. Unfortunately, Western scholars of religion have often ignored this diversity in their appropriation of these traditions for their own purposes, especially when seeking to defend some notion of universal, often non-dual religious experience.

Neurobiological Aspects

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in the neurobiological aspects of religious experience, giving rise to a new research area—'neurotheology.' Work in this area has focused on the mapping of subject's brain activity using a number of neural imaging devices while the subjects were undergoing some sort of 'religious experience.'[2] The work by Andrew Newburg and Eugene D'Aquili (Newberg/D'Aquili 1999) was prominent in the field, until D'Aquili's death in 1998. Central to their research is a definition of religious experience as some sort of sense of unity, a feature they claim to be common to descriptions of religious experience across differing cultures. Other researchers in this field include the neuroscientist V. S. Ramachandran who focuses on temporal lobe activity as a possible source of many 'religious experiences' (Ramachandran/Blakeslee 1998). Michael Persinger argues that many religious experiences might be the result of 'microseizures'—some sort of disruption of brain activity, possibly through electromagnetic fluctuations arising from a variety of external sources (Persinger 1987).

Experience in the New Age Movement

Finally, in recent years on a more popular level, experience is a central characteristic of what has become called the → 'New Age movement.' Characterized by a focus on self and a rejection of external authority, much emphasis has been placed on individual 'spiritual' experience as the authoritative guide for a person's emotional, psychological, and spiritual wellbeing. Analysis of many of these movements shows a high degree of continuity between late nineteenth and early twentieth century movements that embraced such concepts as evolutionary spiritual development and some form of the perennial philosophy. The popularity of such movements in many ways could be credited for a definition of religious experience that is amenable to Western individualism, yet can be stretched to embrace some form of 'global' spirituality, albeit spirituality still fundamentally rooted in western philosophical and religious history.

1. See, for example, HALBFASS 1988, 378-403; SHARF 1998.
2. One experiment centered on brain imagining studies of three nuns rapt in contemplative prayer and eight Buddhists engaged in a form of Tibetan meditation.

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→ *Esotericism, Holy, Mysticism, Perception, Psychoanalysis, Psychopathology, Vision/Auditory Experience*

Debra Jensen

Fairytale

Genre and History

1. Literary scholars designate narratives of popular origin containing elements of the wondrous and supernatural as 'folktales' or 'fairytales.' Anthropologists often use the same term to designate all oral narrative (→ Oral Tradition). While fairytales of popular origin are always anonymous, literary fairytales, which have appeared in Europe since the Rococo, have authors.

Originally, fairytales and folktales were stories recounted freely to an adult audience by a storyteller, usually based on well-known motifs and materials, geared to respective narrative situations and audiences, and further shaped by the stimulation and encouragement of the audience itself. The storyteller's mimicry, gesticulation, voice modulation, and histrionic talents contributed as much to the effect as did the matter of the recital. In central European spinning rooms, women recounted fairytales. As we have come to know in rather recent times, the same occurred in the female communities of oriental harems.

Respect for fairytales, as stories for the uneducated, dimmed, in Europe as in the Near East, as literacy increased knowledge of and appeal to reality. The first great European *collections* of fairytales and other diverting tales—most of them of popular origin, but consciously framed even with didactic tendencies—those of G. Straparola (1550–1553) and G. Basile (1634–1636), come from the Italian Baroque. The purpose of these is to entertain and instruct, and they manifest a variety of influences on their layout and framework, especially those of *A Thousand and One Nights*.

A Thousand and One Nights

With the French Enlightenment, interest in the fantastic and exotic grew, and along with it, interest in fairytales. As French orientalist Antoine Galland published his adaptation of the *A Thousand and One Nights* (1704–1717), just so was the interest of courtly, aristocratic readers aroused by the fairytales of, for example, Charles Perrault (1697) and Madame d'Aulnoy (1698). In the East, recitals from *A Thousand and One Nights*, or the *Arabian Nights*, were stories told by male storytellers for male audiences, at first at courts, and later, as one may conclude from their heroic figures as images of identification, for urban merchants, artisans, and laborers. Narrative material from many countries of the Near East, as well as from antiquity, reaching Baghdad beginning in the late eighth century, was mixed together and repeatedly reshaped; then it wandered to other lands, there to be adapted, altered, and expanded. Written and oral traditions oscillated. But as the narrators' stories, transmitted orally, were fixed in writing and maintained in the vernacular, and only in rough draft, and were not didactic and informative, but merely entertaining, they were looked down on by the Arab educational elite. But their swift victory lap through Europe in their Galland version (recension), which also contains pseudo-Arabian tales like "Aladdin's Lamp" and "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves," worked its way back to the East beginning with the young Arab theater in Beirut and Damascus around 1860.

The Grimms' Tales

The best known folktales are found in the collection created by brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Ger., "Children's and Home Folktales"; 1812–1815). These, with their "Annotations" (1822), constituted the basis of fairy- and folktale research in Germany. The mentality of the brothers Grimm was rooted in German → Romanticism and its values. Indeed, they did take these narratives, transmitted to them orally by members of the Hessian middle class, and worked them into children's stories framed in a literary style. A precursor of the Grimms' collection was the five-volume *Volksmährchen der Deutschen* (Ger., "Folktales of the Germans"; 1782–1786), a collection of tales freely formed, in the spirit of the late German Enlightenment, into idyllic and satirical adult reading by secondary school instructor J. K. A. Musäus.

Elements of the Wondrous in the Fairytale

2. The reason why many indigenous peoples' tales (among those of others) endow trees and rocks with life, is that their roots are the animistic beliefs presented in tree divinities and rock idols. The fariytale abounds in elements of the wondrous. 'Animal helpers' and supernatural helpful or harmful beings such as elves, fairies, water spirits, watermen, witches, sorcerers, giants, dwarfs, jinn in Arabic and Persian tales, magicians, useful 'sprites on call' like 'Table, be Set' or 'Cudgel-out-of-a-Bag,' a magic lamp, a wishing ring, a flying carpet or horse, a plant or apple that heals all ills—all of these were originally 'really believed in,' and symbolize humanity's age-old dreams, wishes, or fears.

In the sacred writings of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, angels appear as real, as does the devil. According to the Qur'an, Islam was revealed to jinn (spirits formed of smokeless flame), as well as to human beings and angels. The Hebrew Bible and the New Testament contain motifs of the wondrous that could be classified amongst Aarne and Thompson's 'Types of the Folktale.' The category can mingle with myth.

The Fairytale in Various Lands

3. The thesis of Indologist Theodor Benfey that all fairytales come from India, is today regarded as passé. But there are comprehensive collections of Indian origin, partially influenced by Buddhism, such as the *Jataka* and the *Pantshatantra*, whose motifs appear in fairytales of other lands, with and without variation, as well as in the *Arabian Nights.* It must be presupposed that the materials of fairytale and folktale arise everywhere, roam abroad, and develop different 'ecotypes.' "Sleeping Beauty" and "Cinderella," for example, are found in Basile's *Pentameron* as in Perrault and the brothers Grimm, however variously accented.

Form of the Fairytale

4. European fairytales are usually short, concentrated on one narrative thread, and so shaped as to take up a single evening. Lengthy descriptions, as interrupting the tension, are rare. Place and time of the action are undetermined. Figures are nameless and stylized, except those with action-related names such as "Snow White" and "Thumbling." The unreal comes to life. In the battle waged by the 'good and beautiful' against the 'evil and ugly,' it is the former, just as in a light fiction, that always wins.

The actual fairytales or fairytale novels from *A Thousand and One Nights* cannot be ranged among Jolles's "simple forms." They were obviously each recounted for several evenings. Several story threads run in parallel and side-by-side. There is not just one fairytale hero, with but one male or female assistant and antagonist respectively, but the hero encounters many figures. The protagonists have real names, each according to the respective genre of the tale, common people's names in merry tales, or, otherwise, names from the later courtly milieu. Real places, even streets and squares in Cairo or Baghdad, are named, and intertwined with motifs of wondrousness. Names of distant countries and places are interchangeable story by story, or suggested by rhyme scheme, and betray the geographical ignorance of the storyteller. The courtly ambience of rooms, gardens, raiment, food, drink, even human beauty and ugliness are sketched in detail, often in rhymed prose or poetry. As Safawid Shah Abbas in Persian folktales, Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid becomes the mighty ruler in crystalline form, and his wife Zubaida the prototype of the jealous, intriguing courtly spouse. The claim to a realistic style, then, is akin to that of Arabian 'high literature,' and this to a greater extent than in European fairytales. Belonging to this form is the didactic style as a prerequisite for reception, and rhyming style, which is actually only rarely realized. The manner in which death is dealt with is more realistic as well. Over against the European 'and lived happily ever after,' or 'if they have not died they are living till today,' stands the joy of life, at length attained, that lasts until the advent of the 'destroyer of all joys.' The motif of 'the Goodman Death,' or of the 'return from the realm of the dead' in European folktale, and the rescue of the protagonist in ugly disguise by the love of a woman, as in "Snow White and Rose Red" or "The Frog King" is likewise missing. Instead, the realistic motif of the beautiful, clever, and sagacious young slave woman who becomes the rescuer of her handsome but stupid master in difficult situations, is frequent. The master, to be sure, receives the reward. Islamic optimism concerning destiny lies at the basis of the ascription to God of the 'fairytale coincidence,' always advantageous to the hero. Belief in fate engenders tolerance, for human beings are innocent in what they do. The triple series of the Indo-European fairytale (three brothers, sisters, rings, wishes) often corresponds to an Islamic quaternity. In tales from the *Arabian Nights*, sorceresses and

witches are usually young, beautiful, and seductive, and thereby all the more dangerous.

Fairytales usually correspond to the universal standard of social stability, although in the play of wishful thinking they may overcome class barriers ("The Goose Girl," "The Princess and the Swineherd," or the Arabian "Maaruf the Cobbler"). Pranks and farcical tales, on the other hand, oftentimes express concealed criticism of society, or even of power.

Literary Fairytales

5. Beginning in Romanticism, 'literary fairytales' (*Kunstmärchen* in German) were composed with various goals in view. Styles here included a poetics of the naïve (C. Brentano, L. Tieck), the quest for meaning (Goethe, Oscar Wilde), the visionary, an emphasis on the absurd/fantastic (E. T. A. Hoffmann, E. A. Poe), parody (I. Fetscher), and surrealistic estrangement (F. Kafka), as well as social and/or political criticism (Saltikov-Shchedrin). Beginning in the eighteenth century, in France, England, and Germany, the *Arabian Nights* summoned forth an abundance of Rococo-style erotic and ironically satirical works, usually for aristocratic readers (Montesquieu, Diderot, A. Hamilton, Cazotte, Crébillion the younger, W. Beckford, J. Potocki, C. M. Wieland, Edgar Allan Poe). In the modern literatures of the Islamic Middle East, a role is played by varied motifs and forms borrowed from *A Thousand and One Nights*, usually modified to metaphorical criticism of contemporary social and political conditions (e.g., N. Machfus, S. Wannus, Salman Rushdie).

Literary fairytale novels, such as those of J. R. R. Tolkien and Michael Ende, overstep the boundary between composed fairytale and the literature of → fantasy, and became bestsellers in print and film.

Quasi-Fairytale Principles in Various Literary Genres

6. Light fiction builds on the basic principle, specific to the fairytale, of ultimate (illusionary) wish fulfillment after victory over obstacles, but in simple, colloquial form, with figures in cliché, and in plain black and white depiction. In common with fairytales throughout the world, light fiction has a fundamental perspective that is socially conservative. The depiction of woman is dominated by the Cinderella motif. The Arabic joy-after-suffering genre (*al-farag ba'da s-sidda*), on the other hand, belonged to the 'high literature' of the ninth to the eleventh centuries, and had the function of literary consolation in times of need and feudal despotism. In these anecdotes and stories tightly recounted from memory, the happy endings are grounded in the factors of the translucent reality of God's will, along with human cunning and ingenuity, a skillful, aesthetically attractive choice of words, and unexpected succor from fellow human beings. That modern adventure novels and films are structured on principles of the fairytale has been established by Umberto Eco's treatment of the *James Bond* figure (Buono/Eco 1966). Utopian literature, from antiquity to the Enlightenment and Romanticism to today, crosses the bounds of reality, while using it as its starting point. It can sketch technological fantasies, as well as social and political ideas, the latter usually didactically, and/or in a satirically or futuristically estranged manner (Daniel Defoe, Victor Hugo, George Orwell, Arno Schmidt, S. Lemke).

The Fairytale Today

7. Animated → films (Walt Disney), as well as the many-faceted application of familiar fairytale motifs and figures in advertising, political cartoons, cartoons in men's magazines, 'magical' card games, and comics,

prove the enduring popularity of fairytale materials and figures, even in ambivalent and satirical alteration.

Fairytale research today is taking various directions: a systematic understanding of types and motifs that span national frontiers (A. Aarne, S. Thompson), a structuralist approach (founded by V. Propp), a phenomenological approach in terms of the literary sciences (M. Luethi, L. Röhrig, H. Rölleke, H.-J. Uther), a sociological approach (A. Nitzschke), a psychological one appealing to Freud, Fromm, or Jung (H. v. d. Beit), a psychotherapeutical one (Bruno Bettelheim, E. Drewermann, V. Kast).

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→ *Fantasy (Genre), Literature, Myth/Mythology, Oral Tradition, Romanticism*

Wiebke Walther

Family Cult (Greek and Roman)

A family cult stands in a special relationship with a unit of kinship (Lat., *gens*). In practicing the cult, the kinship group presents itself as a unit, both to those within and those without. The concept comes from early *Roman* religion, where it stood for two kinds of cult: (1) a family can be responsible for the maintenance of a particular cult of general interest (*sacra publica*; Lat., 'popular rite'). Thus, in Rome, the cult of the Sol (sun) was in the hands of the *gens Aurelia*. When this *gens* died out, the state took responsibility for the cult. Later, almost all such family cults came into the hands of *collegia* or *sodalites*—associations responsible for the cult, without any longer having to have a special connection with a *gens*. (2) In addition, under 'family cult' fall cults belonging to a specific *gens* and not honored beyond it. Frequently, such cults were a matter of lesser gods, whose names were connected with that of the *gens*. Thus, Caeculus belonged to the *gens* Caecilia. This phenomenon is referred to as 'eponymity.'

Under the influence of Greek conceptions, these gods were later regarded as divine ancestors of the respective clans in question—as the fictitious mother or father of all of the families belonging to that clan. In *Greece*, as well, intimate relationships prevailed between particular families (*genera*) and places of worship. The *genos* of the Eumolpides, for instance, was accountable for a part of the Eleusinian mysteries. In contrast with the Roman family connections, the Eleusinian relationship was lasting. The administration of Eleusis did fetch honor, but no special wealth or political power. Greek families also had eponymous clan ancestors, often with the status of a *heros* (Gk., 'hero'). For example, the *genos* Kerykes traced its lineage back to the hero Keryx.

→ *Antiquity, Cult, Family/Kinship/Genealogy*

Leo Tepper

Family / Kinship / Genealogy

Christian Model of the Family

1. a) The traditional model of the family is in the process of dissolution. The churches, and religious traditions, were once transmitted through the celebration of the feasts of the course of life; both are now crumbling away. The family model of European history of religion, however, is not 'normal,' but formed by the Christian religion. In late antiquity, as Christianity became the prevailing religion, basic changes occurred as to who might found a family with whom. On the one side, the Church forbade its officials to found families themselves (celibacy); on the other, it limited the concentration of possession and fortune to one family. Members of the same family were prohibited from marrying (exogamy), and the opportunity for a childless couple to will the family fortune to an adopted child, or to procreate a legatee by another woman, was excluded. In this fashion, the Church as an institution inherited and amassed enormous fortunes, but prevented the concentration of power, either within the Church through episcopal dynasties, or outside in families (see Goody 1983).

b) That family and ('blood') kinship are formed not 'naturally,' but culturally, was discovered by middle-class scientists of the nineteenth century, in confrontation with extra-European cultures. Since Johann Joachim Bachofen, a Basle jurist, believed that he had found, from ancient sources, a societal stage of the 'matriarchy' (1861), in which men were only used for procreation, and had no right to the children or to the community's possessions, missionaries and explorers began a search for such a society. Only with the description by American entrepreneur and anthropologist L. H. Morgan (1818–1881) of the matriarchal system of the Iroquois, however, did a matriarchal stage preceding the patriarchy seem established. The argumentation that seems so strange to us today was universal then: relations among 'primitives' were 'survivals' of prehistoric ages. And as it was thought that, of course, the patriarchy was more advanced, the patriarchy could only have developed from the older matriarchy (→ Matriarchy/Patriarchy). The Iroquois constituted one of the altogether rare peoples that could be designated, even in terms of concepts prevailing at that time, a matriarchy.



A charismatic family in Michigan makes its 'prayer before meals.' This form of pre-prandial prayer, become rare today, is a traditional ritual of the middle-class Christian family. Either in free formulations or established formulas ("Bless us, O Lord, and these, thy gifts, which we are about to receive from thy bounty. Through Christ our Lord"), thanks are rendered for the meal, and a blessing sought. The prayer can—as here—be pronounced by the father, the 'head of the family,' or it may be recited by everyone together. (Benita von Behr)

Together with E. B. Tylor's (1832–1917) *Primitive Culture* (1871), this was the start of anthropology. However, the conceptualization that one might equivalate primitive cultures with prehistoric societies was given up—at any rate, in Anglo-Saxon anthropology. Today no anthropologist any longer subscribes to it. Concepts such as the assumption that in old times human beings knew a primitive monogamy, or practiced sexual promiscuity, are speculation, and only reflect the notions of researchers of that time, rather than being scientific conclusions.

Forms

c) Although the attempt to discover the original forms of society by way of 'primitive' societies had met with failure, interest in systems of kinship remained. A multiplicity of classifications of kinship were discovered within many cultures, and the number of concepts used for the purpose of indicating all of the nuances grew to a long list. An additional difficulty is related to the fact that there is no consensus in anthropology as to the usage of the expressions involved. None of these developments render this already difficult matter any easier. The European system of kinship is two-sided (cognate, or bilateral): this means that we have two sets of relatives, paternal as well as maternal. Nor is any special emphasis placed on the one side or the other. This appears logical, since it does reflect biological conditions: we have the same amount of genetic material from both sides. But this principle obtained even where the view prevailed that the child was present in the male seed, and the mother had to nourish it only in her womb. Accordingly, although in the first approach, with mother and child, kinship is *genealogical*, by extension the principle holds: *kinship is determined on cultural, and not biological premises.* Apart from our cognate system, there are also *linear* systems: that is, one has relatives either only on the paternal side (patrilineal), or only on the maternal (matrilineal) side. If a society is organized in matrilineal terms, this expresses something about the lines of kinship, and not anything to the effect that this society is under the rule of women. For that matter, societies are seldom organized entirely in either patrilineal or matrilineal terms, but usually have modified systems. A subdivision of the investigation of

Cognate

Linear



Polygamy among American → Mormons: The family of Dennis Matthews, who is married to five women, does not seem an unhappy one, at least not in this shot for which the clan poses in the living room, unwonted as this form of life is for Western societies. Although the polygyny (from Gk.; marriage with 'many women') of this religious community originally had to endure numerous confrontations, and since 1890 has been considered dismantled, the tradition survives among Mormons yet today. Founder Joseph Smith, who at first declared himself for monogamy, began in 1836 to enter into polygamous relations himself, and in 1836—'by God's command'—proclaimed polygyny; the number of his own wives was between twenty-seven and forty-nine. The family is especially highly regarded in Mormonism. In the 1960s, to counteract the collapse of family structures, the 'family evening' was introduced: every Monday evening, the family gathers in the home for common prayer, reading, and singing, in accordance with a schema prescribed by the church. (Benita von Behr)

kinship is the analysis of various *designations of kinship* within a culture. For example, Latin has two words for 'uncle': *patruus* for an uncle on the father's side, and *avunculus* for an uncle on the mother's side. The distinction is made because these uncles do not have the same roles: the *avunculus* is the friendly uncle, the *patruus* the stern one. The relationship between the *avunculus* and his nephews is different, then, from that between the *patruus* and his, not because the character of the uncles is different, but because their roles are culturally defined (in German, until early modern times there was a distinction between *Vetter* [i.e., the father's brother] and *Oheim* [i.e., the mother's brother]). In many cultures, as in the old Icelandic and the old English, it was even the practice to have sons reared in the house of the mother's brother. But with the disappearance of the functional difference between the two uncles in the eighteenth century, the word 'uncle' was borrowed from the French. On the other hand, a distinction was now made between 'nieces' and 'nephews,' both of whom were originally included under the designation for cousin, just as in Dutch today. The word for cousin changed its meaning, and 'cousin' was borrowed from the French. This makes it clear that concepts of kinship reflect the family order, and when this order changes, the concepts change as well.

Marriage

2. a) Relations of kinship are important for inheritance, and in the choice of spouses. For most Westerners today, matrimony is a union freely entered

into by two individuals. In many cultures, however, it is a bond between two groups, and serves their interests. In other words, one or both of the partners have no right to interfere anywhere in the process. It even happens that partners are chosen for children at birth, as in certain Islamic countries, or a girl is pledged to a much older man shortly after her birth, as is still frequently the case in India today. The difference in their ages can easily be ten or more years. There are various ways of selecting a marriage partner. Leaving the West out of consideration, there are two possibilities: a partner is either selected from within one's own group (endogamy), or must be chosen from outside (exogamy) that group. Endogamy has the advantage that ownership remains in the family, and exogamy the advantage that an alliance can be struck by means of the marriage. In the Arab world, endogamy is customary; a marriage between first cousins is not unusual. Australian aborigines, on the other hand, observe exogamy, and are renowned among anthropologists for the complicated rules among them: materially simple cultures not necessarily have simple social structures. Even a combination of endogamy and exogamy is possible, for example in India, where one must marry outside one's family, but within one's caste. And although such prescriptions are forbidden since the abolition of the caste system, they are still socially regulative, all the more in that prescriptions for marriage are laid down in the traditional law books, the religiously based *dharmashastras.* Transgression is still reckoned an offense against the dharma, the religious law. In India, these rules are explicitly laid down. A girl can be received into a higher caste, whereas this is impossible for a man.

Endogamy / Exogamy

Barter / Exchange

b) Of course, a man cannot marry beneath his caste if the couple is to dwell in the man's family ('virilocality'). This constraint highlights a difference obtaining between man and wife in many cultures: women are more mobile, and this to the extent that French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss describes the matrimonial system as an exchange of women. In his theory, brides are a kind of gift, and a wedding can be compared to an exchange of gifts. When two parties exchange gifts, the act creates mutual obligations, particularly in the case of exogamy, where the bond exists only for women. The exchange need not be simultaneous: it can actually extend over a generation, as with some Australian tribes. A girl marries into the group from which her mother has come. In this case, of course, there must be at least three groups: for example, group A 'owes' a wife to group B, and this debt must be discharged within the same generation. Group B owes a wife to group C, and C owes one to A. This arrangement means that, in the same generation, a woman from B will be married to a man from A, a woman from C to a man from B, and a woman from A to a man from C. In this fashion, ever-new alliances are formed among various groups. This example, however, is fairly simple by comparison with other systems.

c) Less frequently, it is not the woman who transfers, but the man—this method is called *uxorilocality,* or *matrilocality,* as with the Hopi and the Iroquois. The reason for this is that, with these peoples, the wife is responsible for farming, and inherits the land. Accordingly, she is not mobile, while the husband must be, as he is responsible for hunting. And, although today husbands no longer hunt, the uxorilocal system has held. A matrilocal system does not mean that women automatically have more power than they do in patrilocal systems. Several factors are at play in the

result. Thus, with the Iroquois, women have considerable political power, while Hopi women do not.

d) Since, in many societies, a wedding is more of a transaction between two parties than it is a union of two individuals, the celebration of a marriage is oftentimes accompanied by an *exchange of gifts*. In India, for example, as in earlier China, it was and is the tradition to give one's daughter a dowry. This is ordinarily a gift from the father-in-law to the son-in-law, so that the daughter generally has no share in the dowry. This usage is a reason why girls are killed at birth: the dowry is so high that, especially, poor families with several daughters would not be able to produce the corresponding means. And although the dowry has been forbidden in India since 1948, the custom is still very widespread. Money paid the bride's family by the bridegroom is called the *bridal price* (a misnomer, as the bride is not being sold). This system is customary in Islamic countries. The problem here is that it often takes the groom years to save up the amount necessary to be able to afford the bridal price.

The Dowry

Religious Rituals

3. With an event as important as a wedding, religious customs and rituals oftentimes play an important role. Many cultures see marriage itself as a divine institution, not only in Christianity, but also in Judaism, Islam, and Hinduism. In Hinduism, it is probably the most important sacrament, as it presents the transition from youth to adulthood, and hence functions as a rite of passage. In Hinduism, human marriage is an image of the divine marriage between sun and moon, and therefore serves the support of the dharma. In modern society, on the other hand, where life is hardly ever led according to rituals, and where the couple has engaged in sexual relations before the wedding, a wedding is no longer an event of profound importance. It is otherwise when the couple has not even made one another's acquaintance before the wedding, as in orthodox Islamic circles. Although the custom of marrying in a church has often become a ritual of the life cycle without emotional ties to the Church, in Christian thinking matrimony has always had a special value. The Hebrew Bible speaks of the relationship between God and Israel as of that between bridegroom and bride (Isa 54:5-6). In the New Testament, this notion was converted to one of the relationship between Jesus and the Church (2 Cor 11:2). From this viewpoint, it is surprising that matrimony came to be regarded as a sacrament only later. In the ancient Church, marriage was a private affair, although it might indeed be celebrated during divine service. Charlemagne undertook the attempt to make it of obligation to have the marriage blessed, but he found little support from the side of the Church in this matter. This changed in the following centuries, when the Church sought to have more jurisdiction over the laity. From 1215 onward, the Church recognized only those offspring who had been begotten of a church marriage as capable of inheritance. At the council in Lyon in 1274, matrimony was officially declared a sacrament. The Reformers, however, gave this up once more. Marriage was indeed a divine institution, but not a means to the attainment of salvation. This difference in the attitude toward matrimony is also one of the reasons why divorce is so much more difficult in the Roman Catholic Church than among Protestants.

Ancestors

4. *Genealogy:* Along with kinship in the synchronous sense, ancestry, or diachronous kinship, is also of essential importance. At times, ancestors

have a higher status than the living, and are in a position to exercise influence over daily life. One meets this conception throughout the world, and there are even traces of it in European culture. The intimate bond between living and dead oftentimes rests on the idea that some part of the ancestors is present in the child ('uncle' = 'little ancestor'). Naming a child for a grandparent is a way of enabling the dead to live on in their descendants.

'Life' after Death

Since ancestors are still part of the community, if on a different plane, they must be nourished by means of sacrifice. In India, there are actually extensive prescriptions in this matter. Here, ancestors or forebears (*pitara*s) need the sacrifice in order to 'survive.' When a man dies without leaving a son who can offer him sacrifices after his death, this means his end for good and all. This conceptualization is older than that of rebirth, and it would therefore be inappropriate to identify the two. Nevertheless, in India, sacrifices are still presented to the ancestors.

Ancestors of a People

b) A common forefather can serve as a basis for social or ethnic relation. Thus, Jews appeal to descendancy from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as the ground of their identity. Another aspect of ancestry is that ancestors can be appealed to in legitimization of certain pretensions to power, as, for example, with families of the nobility. The case of a state with a hereditary monarchy is the best illustration of this feature. Not only physical forebears, but gods as well, can be reckoned among one's ancestry. Nearly all Anglo-Saxon royal dynasties of the ninth and tenth centuries traced their descendancy to Wotan. In ancient Rome, Caesar claimed to have descended from the goddess Venus.

The Totem

c) Associated with the concept of a community forefather is the idea of the *totem.* A totem is an ancestor in the form of an animal, a plant, or an inanimate object. This totem is sacred for everyone belonging to the same totem group. We find notions of the totem in Australia, Africa, and with the Native Americans. Members of the same totem may not intermarry: the infraction would be seen as a kind of incest. Thus, the idea of the totem functions as a criterion of exogamy. A distinction, however, must be made between marriage and sexual relations. It is possible that marriage be prohibited within the same totem group, but not sexual relations, since certain cultures permit young men a period of free sexuality before marriage.

Incest

5. The prohibition of incest is not everywhere of equal stringency, nor is the ascription of sexual relations to incest handled in a uniform way. It may be extended to all members of a totem group under all circumstances, even when actual family relationships lie very far apart. In ancient Egypt, on the other hand, a marriage between brother and sister was permitted within the royal family only in the later phase. In other cultures, as, for example, in Arab lands, a marriage between second cousins is not regarded as incestuous. Punishment of incest varies as well. In Western culture, incest is a crime, while in other countries it is seen only as objectionable behavior. Since differences are so extensive in the area of incest, it will be difficult to find a satisfactory explanation at all. It is worthy of note that in many cosmogonies (myths of origin) incest plays a role: Hera and Zeus, or Gaia and Uranus, are sister and brother, but Greek mythology does

not enlarge upon the subject. It is significantly otherwise, however, in the mythology of India, in which, beginning with the late Vedic literature, the view prevails that the world has emerged from incestuous relations between creator god Prajapati and his daughter, for which Prajapati is punished by the god Rudra.

End of the Family?

6. Modern times have considerably altered the social meaning of the family. With the separation of domicile and place of employment, pressure toward mobility, and urbanization, the traditional model of the family is entering a crisis. If the religions see their basis disappearing as a result, it is nevertheless observable that there are alternatives to the bond between family and religion. (1) The 'family' to which the churches and Christian parties are attached is of an ideological nature. Values are projected upon it that transfer the rejection of modernity from society and political decision makers on the nuclear middle-class family or the pregnant wife. The family as it was presented in the nineteenth century, as the wholesome world of the anti-modern, fails to conform to the family as a normal social form of pre-modern societies. In the radical changes of urbanization, the religious community can offer a substitute for a lost sense of family security: religious communities making a commitment to individual concerns attract the interest of persons who have had to loosen the old ties for the sake of their employment. (2) The second point is that religions all but demand the explosion of the family bond. As a resistance movement in the underground, Jesus required his disciples to surrender the basic duty of burying the dead (Matt 8:21). In place of the traditional family, religion can be the new one, with its members as siblings and its leader as 'parent' (in monasteries, the 'father' or 'mother' and the 'sisters' or 'brothers').

Religions are tied to their societies. The modern age, as a decisive alteration of the social system, challenges religions to offer new models, and not to weep over ways of life of the past. Religion must face competition with other tenders of meaning. Conservatism is a possibility; but religion's opportunities also include the alternatives of a new way.

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→ *Ancestors, Child, Family Cult (Greek and Roman), Marriage/Divorce, Matriarchy/Patriarchy, Sexuality*

Leo Tepper

Fanaticism

Most often, 'fanaticism' is a pejorative designation applied to others. Especially since the Enlightenment, it has become a polemical stereotyping and defamation of the person thus represented. Too often, the criticism being leveled would suit the person(s) making the criticism as well. Unlike the historical denotations of the term—which is derived from *fanum* (Lat., 'sacred precinct'), and was applied in Christian antiquity to any of various enthusiastic, non-Christian forms of religion, and then, in the post-Reformation era, to 'delusory' piety—fanaticism in the West today stands not for the content of any particular religious position, but for a *mentality* and *attitude*, which can attach to the content of any ideal or ideology: an attitude of radicalism, rigor, and extremism. Features of this mentality are (a) *psychological:* an exaggeration of and passionate over-identification with, the content of a given (religious or political) ideology, group, charismatic leader, and so on, tied to intolerance vis-à-vis other thinking; (b) *sociological:* authoritarian and repressive group structures; (c) *philosophical:* an absolute claim to truth, shutting out critical reflection and doubt; (d) *political*: 'ideological self-empowerment' for the success of one's own claim to importance with respect to all social, juridical, and political areas; here, the end justifying every means; (e) *religious:* assurance of the establishment of belief through dogmatic and moral legalism, often founded on a fundamentalist positivism in matters touching revelation.

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→ *Fundamentalism, Prejudices/Stereotypes*

Reinhold Bernhardt

Fantasy, Genre

Concept

1. 'Fantasy' can denote a not unambiguously defined part of the 'fantastic' Western literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Typical of this fantasy as a genre is a break with the continuity of the reader's reality, to which, unlike the case of → science fiction, no scientific grounding is normally supplied. It manifests itself in the sketch of an independent world closed up in itself with alien life forms (dwarfs, dragons), the preternatural (→ Magic), a peculiar cosmology and history (with myths, sayings, scriptures), an impenetrable dualism of good and evil, and pre-modern social structures (feudalism, tribal structures). The action is directed to

an end, and is often structured in the form of a 'quest' (salvific search). Here, however, on the occasion of the discharge by the protagonist of a specific task, a problem is solved that affects the whole of society (by contrast with the → fairytale and the adventure of the knightly journey). The store of materials applied is indeed frequently taken from the maxims and folktales of the most diverse traditions, but can also be borrowed from the popular genres of neighboring groups (science fiction, westerns, horror stories).

Fantasy Literature

2. The boundary between the fantastic literature of the Romantic Movement (E. T. A. Hoffmann, Edgar Allen Poe) and fantasy is fleeting. As early fantasy, texts of the nineteenth and twentieth century, some of which are characterized by a tendency to social criticism, can already be indicated (e.g., Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1865; Karl May, *Ardistan und Dschinnistan*, 1907–1909). J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* (1954–1955), whose reception in the United States of the late 1960s led to a boom in fantasy literature—at first there, and later in Europe—was particularly influential. Tolkien's invention and presentation of various nonhuman peoples (Hobbits, Orcs, Elbs), as well as his detailed plan of a fantasy world ("Middle Earth") became fundamental for the further development of the genre. Since the 1980s, extra-European motifs have entered the fantasy scene along with the structure of the 'quest.'

Various directions can be identified in the fantasy literature, for example:

(a) *Heroic fantasy* (also *Sword & Sorcery*): In the early twentieth century, the original aspect of social criticism came repeatedly under the influence of the adventure novels of colonial literature (H. Rider Haggard, *Allan Quartermain* novels, 1887ff.). Robert E. Howard's *Conan, the Barbarian* (1932) became the model for this heroic fantasy, incarnating the type of the adventurer as hero in a fantasy world. George Lucas's *Star Wars* films likewise belong to heroic fantasy.

(b) *Youth fantasy:* As early as the nineteenth century, didactic fantasy texts were part of Victorian children's literature. These thematize initiatory experiences, as child protagonists switch back and forth between a fantasy world and an actual one, either to return changed, or to re-enter the fantasy world definitively through their death in the real one. Later, C. S. Lewis took up this tradition (*The Narnia Chronicles*, 1950ff.), and it developed into a children's-fantasy and youth literature of its own (Astrid Lindgren, *Bröderna Lejonhjärta*, 1973; Michael Ende, *Die unendliche Geschichte*, 1979).

(c) *Counterworlds:* Since the 1960s, in the United States, the fantasy world into which the protagonist finally changes definitively is presented as countersketch of the 'real' world lived in alien fashion. Unlike the case of youth fantasy, meaning is attained in flight to a world of appearances (escapism), and a new role definition is reached in stereotyped surrender to fantasy (John Norman, *Gor*, 1964ff.). *Fantasy satire* applies the model of counterworlds, along with figures of all fantasy directions to an ironic caricature of problems of contemporary society (T. Pratchett, *Discworld*, novels, 1983ff.; Alan Dean Foster's novels).

Fantasy Culture

b) Following films and comic strips, a new text form of fantasy arose in 1975 with the 'role playing game' (e.g., "Dungeons and Dragons"), in which

a players' group improvises action and figures without foreseeing the outcome. Thus, in the course of the play an interactive fantasy appears. The interaction among the developers of role-played scenarios, players' groups, and fantasy authors produces 'shared worlds,' or 'forgotten realms'—fantasy worlds in which the action takes place. These in turn influence the development of computer games, board games, books of adventure plays, fortune-telling cards, and related popular genres.

Emergence from the Crisis of the Modern Age

3. The crisis of modernity is constitutive for the emergence of the genre. Fantasy enacts its narrative from a point of departure in typically modern conflicts of alienation. This is seen in its depiction of nature, its awareness of the ambivalence of technological self-assertion, and the presentation of functioning social communities (even in the framework of a moral → dualism). Its elaboration and reformulation of the most varied myths and tales, which has occasionally submitted fantasy to the reproach of traditionalist tendencies, is less instructive than its narrative handling of the conflicts and perversions of the modern world. It is precisely the conveyance of opposites—rather than rationalization, or else suppression—that reveals fantasy as a superstructure of myth (Lévi-Strauss). By way of a poetical presentation of crisis (initiation, tragic heroism), a meaning content is attained that demonstrates a closed-up world, with its cosmology, not as a backward-looking utopia, but rather—by analogy with myth—as a creative countersketch to the disenchanted, profane reality-concept of modern times. It is precisely in the fact that the modern experience of alienation is not denied that fantasy's achievement of orientation consists: its creativity works its effect not only in the individual reading, but, more especially, in the work of its collective shaping through the culture of fantasy.

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→ *Fantasy/Imagination, Fairytale, Film, Myth/Mythology, Science Fiction, Utopia*

Almuth Hammer and Dörthe Schilken

Fantasy / Imagination

1. 'Fantasy' (Gk., *phantasía*, from *phaínomai*, 'appear') in the sense of imagination (Lat., *imagin-*, 'picture,' 'image'; → Social Myths and Fantasy Images) usually denotes the power of conceptualization or mental representation. Fantasy as a cognitive faculty was first described theoretically in the epistemology of the ancient Stoa—as the content of an imagined world (Gk., *phantastón*), or else in the sense of the creative activity that brings this content (*phantastikón*) to life. Fantasies are first formed intrapsychically,

by way of play of thought, association, → dream and daydream, visions or hallucinations, before they are manifested in social exchange and endorsed or refuted.

Fantasy is frequently set over against realistic thinking. However, fantasy constantly plays a role in life: people are dependent on their fantasy, their imagination, for the control of → everday life and the solution of problems. Fantasies are stirred by outer reality, when not by an inner stimulus. Their configuration binds the individual image and symbolism (→ Symbol/Sign/ Gesture) with the collective. It can then influence processes of reality, since the grasp and appraisal of the information that we receive is also steered by our fantasies—even when our behavior suggests the appearance of being steered by pure reality. This relation to reality is commonly regarded as mediated by → perception. In addition, it is assumed that even unconscious perceptions are extensively influenced by → emotions, feelings, and desires, and that this effect constitutes a pathway to the formation of fantasies.

Fantasies as Psychic Representations

2. Human fantasies must be considered according to their type and their stage of development. Thus, fantasies of grandeur ("I'm the strongest") generally arise in a child. Fantasies of omnipotence can compensate for the insecurities, objective and subjective, appearing in this phase of life. Throughout the course of her life, especially in early childhood, the individual person develops representations of persons, events, and interaction that have been experienced or transmitted, and that become riveted in the psychic as *representations.* These may demonstrate conscious and unconscious dimensions, as well as ordinary connections to content.

Just as individual fantasies are regarded as realities in certain segments of life (a four-year-old believes in the reality of the Christ Child), religious images have been held for real in various phases of history. Thus, people have had a belief in → angels and → spirits, → demons and → composite beings, that, in the worldview of one's modern mentality—after being checked by → Enlightenment and → science—are today interpreted as fantasies. The same holds true for the development of religious conceptualizations and depictions of God: depending on cultural and religious environment, altogether determinate representations of a conceptualization of God, or of experience with the religious, are realistically developed, and attach themselves to the affects and emotions.

Collective Representations

Along with the individually formed representations, there are also *collective representations.* According to C. G. Jung, 'primitive images' or 'primitive forms' ('archetypes') form the content of the collective unconscious, and, with all peoples and in all times, appear as determinate motifs in religion as well as in art. An archteype, for Jung, is open to the respective interpretations of various religious and cultural systems of reference, so that Mary the Mother of God incarnates the archetype of the 'soul' (woman); in ancient Greece Hera or Artemis did the same. By way of social, political, or religious processes of symbolization, collective representations have historical validity as collective myths (see 3, below), or collective symbols and emblems (→ Cross/Crucifixion; German → Forest; → Collective Representations).

Myths as Religious 'Primitive Fantasies'

3. It may be assumed that every religion or idea of a divine being arises from an original fantasy of the human being, which contains the wish that

there be no definitive separations, so that death can be denied. According to more recent psychoanalytic concepts, the roots for this process lie in the early mother-child relationship, in which the child did not as yet make any distinction between fantasy and reality. With regard to the reality of separation (from the mother) and individuation, during a gradual cognitive maturation, the experience of a total symbiosis becomes recognizable as an illusion. The *myth of the lost paradise* can be looked upon as an expression of this separation and maturation. The denial of ambivalence, of the simultaneous presence of good and bad components in relationships, leads, for instance in the picture of god, to an idealization, and to the split-off of evil as the realm of the → devil.

'Alogical' Thinking

The imagination, the fantasy, enables the subject to transcend the limits of reality, and of space and time. It is not tied to past or present, but can make the future thinkable, visible, and palpable, nor need it submit to logic. An example of the precisely non-logical, nonscientific manner of religious presentation is the *child motif*, which depicts the wondrous, fantasy-charged embellishment of the childhood of the holy one or the founder. In the Christian religion, this is embodied by → Jesus with his miraculous conception and virgin birth (→ Child/Childhood). The content of religion is thereby first formulated in the language of → myth, which is pictorial, symbolic, and 'fantastic.' It contains committed presentations and meanings, which otherwise could not be expressed so well and so totally. Like → fairytale, story, and legend, myths describe manners of human destiny and behavior, as well as nature and its relationship to the human being.

Conceptualizations of the Hereafter

Belief in God transcends the reality of separation, loss, and death, from a splitting of self and object. The believer anticipates the removal of this separation in the → *hereafter*. Belief in a life after death appears in many cultures. Wish fantasies of → security, harmony, equalizing justice and universal care in heaven can be regarded as reactions to an often disappointed life reality.

Stages of Raised Fantasy Production

4. As a religious phenomenon, the immediate *intuition* of God occurs not in experience or reflection, but in an insight akin to revelation, and in immediate grasp of reality. This insight usually occurs in the form of → *visions* and *auditions*, especially prophetical ones, which are reckoned as suprasensory perception. While the experience of visionaries was regarded critically earlier, toward the end of the nineteenth century a psychopathological interpretation gradually took over, which dealt with the phenomenon under the clinical concept of the hallucination. Today, it can once more be accepted that the possibility of an existence can be perceived that comes from deep strata of the → psyche. The division between fantasies and visions eventuates today as dependent on various standpoints. While an image of the imagination is felt to be self-produced, a vision is perceived as caused from without. Thus, reports of apparitions depict the vision as the event of a sudden penetration, as a paroxysm-like overwhelming by a more profound experience of reality. The dependence of an evaluation of such experiences, and capacities, of transcendence on the culture at hand becomes clear in the eminent role of religious specialists in → shamanism. Unlike visionaries, psychotics can set themselves in the place of God, and thereby abide in their grandiose self-fixation (→ psychopathology).

Elevated Affective States

States of elevated fantasy and visionary experience can be reached not only along the path of meditation, but also through *elevated affective states.* → Dancing, → fasting, deprivation of sleep, overexertion, and other things can lead to an unaccustomed ecstatic condition (→ Trance). Ecstatic states are described as altered states of consciousness, with a sensation of rapture and transport from reality—as conditions of intoxication and delirium, in which sights are seen and voices heard. Of course a role is played by the qualitative alteration of corporeal materials, such as hormones, which in turn affect the brain and body.

Madness

Although all creativity has its reference to fantasy—without it, one can think no alternatives, 'paint out' oneself no wishes, outline no visions of the future—fantasies frequently possess a pathological potential. In psychopathological disturbances, the production of fantasy gains the upper hand, and the psychotic no longer lives in the real world accessible to communication with other persons: hallucinations, *phantoms* (Gk., *phántasma*, 'deceptive image')—deceptions of perception, without any corresponding external stimulus or fascination—then more or less replace outward perception. They can occur with psychoses, but can also be provoked by the use of recreational or medicinal drugs, or hunger (→ Insanity; Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens; Psychopathology).

Social Effectiveness

5. However, the power of fantasy is evinced not only in a religious context, but in all other areas of human living, as well, including the social and societal. The transferal to human society of the wish for a heavenly, just world effected concrete concepts of a 'classless society' with Karl Marx, which would be reached by way of an alteration of economic relations (→ Marxism; Utopia).

Scientific and Technological Visions

There is a particularly intensive relationship of alternation between science and technology, and fantasy. On the one hand, there were fantasies of flight (Icarus), space travel (Jules Verne), or magic mirrors long before actual aircraft, space ships, or television; on the other hand, scientific and technological developments afforded the foundations for new fantasies. Thus, after the first developments in a knowledge of → electricity, which had been developed from bioelectrical investigations, Dr. Frankenstein's monster appeared in the text of Mary Shelley's thriller of 1818: composed of parts of corpses and given life through electricity, it was described in her novel *Frankenstein or, The Modern Prometheus* (→ Prometheus). August Kekulé's dreamlike vision of 1865 led him to the discovery of the molecular structure of the benzene ring:[1] Kekulé recognized its structure in a vision of a molecule dancing before his eyes in the form of a serpent, which had circled about and was biting its own tail.

All cultures have conceived an especially vivid relationship between fantasy and art. Religious motifs in art have occupied a broad space into modern times. Thus they permitted their visualization, and thereby impregnated, in a given society, religious notions and images such as those of angels. Literally *fantastic* art usually remains the exception (→ Fantasy, Genre). Such art includes the depictions of Hieronymus Bosch, as for those of the modern surrealists (Salvador Dali, Max Ernst), or the Vienna

school of 'fantastic realism' (Ernst Fuchs). Images of this kind present the artist's inner psychic conceptions, so that the interpretation of the content of the depiction is frequently left to the viewer. On the other hand, individual artistic fantasies are not understandable without their connection to the repertory of the traditions of signs and symbols of their respective religious environments. How difficult it can be to determine an interpretation of this kind is shown by Bosch's famous triptych of the Prado. Depending on one's standpoint, and scientific fantasy, it can be titled either in a moralizing direction—as a garden of delights—or as eschatologically heterodox, as the 'millenial reign' (Wilhelm Fraenger). The work of art bestows meaning in the → projection of the beholder.

1. Anschütz, R., August Kekulé, Berlin 1929, 2:942-93; cited by Marie-Louise von Franz, Spiegelungen der Seele, Munich 1988, 90.

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→ *Collective Representations, Dream, Emblem, Fantasy (Genre), Image/Iconoclasm, Myth/Mythology, Projection, Psyche, Psychoanalysis, Psychopathology, Science Fiction, Social Myths and Fantasy Images*

Brigitte Görnitz

Fasting

Traditional fasting practices are to be found in nearly all religions. In many tribal cultures, fasting is practiced before hunting, to avert natural catastrophes (solar eclipses, storms), before a battle, or as a sign of mourning. Fasting is generally regarded as a means of repelling insalubrious powers, or 'evil,' or of calling upon the good powers. It is practiced before the celebration of rites of initiation, as part of a fertility rite, or for the observance of the new year. In literate cultures, fasting is eminently an appeal to one's spiritual powers, and therefore used to defeat corporality. Here, as well, lies the relation to transcendence—ecstasy—and to the revelations made to the great

religious founders. Moses fasted on Sinai before receiving the Torah; the Buddha fasted under the Bodhi Tree before his enlightenment; Jesus fasted in the desert before beginning his public ministry; Muhammad fasted on Mount Hira before the 'Night of Power,' the night of the bestowal of the Qur'an. For believers, fasting serves for the expiation of sin, or for obtaining God's grace. At times, fasting is undertaken in order to bring down, to debase, a physically superior enemy. On this tradition rested the religious aura of the fasting of Mahatma Gandhi, as he strove against the British colonial powers in India. In Christianity, beginning in the late Middle Ages we observe a mitigation of the severity of fasting regulations—along with an increase in the politicization of fasting, however. As early as the Reformation, Zwingli formulated opposition to the authority of the Church, in a condemnation of the prescriptions of fasting. Today, the 'hunger strike' has become one of the most effective 'weapons' of the confrontations of internal politics, for example in the movement for Irish independence. In early Christianity itself, a renunciation of nourishment symbolized victory over corporality and sexuality. For women, fasting has a very particular meaning. It expresses autonomy, withdrawal from community, and an intimate connection with the ambivalent community symbolism of the female → body.

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→ *Asceticism, Body, Initiation, Penance/Penitent, Purity, Sexuality*

Christina von Braun

Fatalism

The word 'fatalism,' derived from the Latin *fatum* ('saying,' 'dictum of the gods') denotes the belief that a higher power determines the inevitability of human 'destiny,' often enough blindly, and the consequent challenge of loyalty to that destiny. In Greek and particularly Roman antiquity, the concept of *fatum* was combined with the philosophical and religious idea of *Heimarmenê* and *Tuchê* (→ Destiny/Fate). Jewish and Christian philosophers and theologians generally stress human responsibility for human activity. In the Qur'an, God's determination is often cited, and the canonical literature of tradition explains these pronouncements on al-Qada' wa'l-Qadar, God's 'eternal and temporal decree' as part of the profession of faith. The Muslim's belief in God's omnipotence and wisdom includes trust in the divine mercy. But even before 700, in Syria and Iraq, ethical

and political considerations occasioned an emphasis on responsibility and freedom of the will, as represented by the sects of the Qadariyya and the Mu'tazila, as well as by the Shia, and which the Qur'an also defines (e.g., sura 19:29). Beginning around 1900, reformist Islam propagated a critical, future-oriented reflection on Islamic history, under the motto, 'reason over transmission.' Popular belief in destiny is reflected in *The Thousand and One Nights*, and generates tolerance, as unrighteousness is not accounted personal guilt. The realistic literature of Islamic lands today characterizes its protagonists as tragically determined by socioeconomic and cultural relationships.

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→ *Destiny/Fate, Determinism, Orientalism/Exotism*

Wiebke Walther

Fatwa

Islamic law knows various possibilities when it comes to legal determinations. One of them, permitted and customary in all schools of law, is the finding of a fatwa, an opinion of counsel, (nearly always) on religious, ethical, or juridical questions. The lawyers (scholars of the law) who are called muftis, or, in the Shia, the mujtahids are those authorized to make a fatwa. When a person or institution confronts a lawyer with a question upon which no legal determination has as yet been pronounced, the lawyer must search in the manuals of canon law for a similar precedent, and pronounce his judgment in conformity to that. He is not permitted to expound the law himself. If the questioner is dissatisfied with a fatwa, she or he can, in the same situation, without further ado ask another mufti to take a position in the matter. In the Shia, the situation is even more fluid. Here, in case of disagreement, the fatwa is besought of the next higher mujtahid in the hierarchy, and then of the next higher, so that the process may continue all the way up to the ayatollah. With the Sunnis, just as with the Shiites, a fatwa still does not have compelling validity for the Islamic community as a whole, since there is no superior religious authority in Islam. Each believer can decide for him- or herself whether to follow this determination of the law. Thus, a fatwa has the character of a legal recommendation, rather than that of a binding judgment.

The fatwa became familiar when, in 1989, the Ayatollah → Khomeini issued one against author Salman Rushdie, for hostility to and mockery of Islam in his novel *The Satanic Verses.* He charged the writer with → blasphemy

and → apostasy, and sentenced him to death, along with his publisher. Apart from the fact that a Shiite was here pronouncing judgment on a Sunnite, who in Shiite categories was even so not in possession of true belief, Khomeini's claim to be pronouncing a binding legal judgment, that would have had validity throughout the world of Islam, was a great presumption. The death sentence was then rejected by other religious authorities, for instance by the Al-Azhar in Cairo, while it continued to be endorsed by Khomeini's followers. True, in October 1998 the President of Iran officially declared that Iran would no longer prosecute Rushdie. But as he possesses no religious authority, he could not prevent some religious organizations from reacting, and letting it be known that, as far as they were concerned, this sentence was still valid. The price on Rushdie's head actually increased significantly, owing to contributions from private persons. Rushdie, nevertheless, who had lived a number of years in concealment, now frequently appears in public, although his life continues to be threatened by religious fanatics.

Since fatwas answer current questions especially, in Islam they are important tools of reaction to social and political changes. But politicians often utilize them for their own purposes, such as furnishing governmental decisions with a religious endorsement, even in the case of a declaration of war. Still today, then, regardless of whether their policies are religious or secular, governments in the Islamic world seek to control the institution of the fatwa by way of state appointment of the muftis.

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→ *Islam, Khomeini, Law, Specialists (religious)*

Silvia Kuske

Fear / Dread

Main Themes

1. In the life of adults of the Western culture of the present, religious fears generally carry no weight. More impressive seems an unspecified 'fear of existence,' or *Weltangst.* Ultimately, a fear of death, however unconscious, underlies this feeling, along with, doubtless, the awe before an essence that inspires reverence or dread, a *numen*, or *mysterium tremendum* (Rudolf Otto; → Holy). Furthermore, the arousal of fear no longer figures among the pastoral concerns of the Christian churches, so that fear can readily be undervalued as an important component of pre-Enlightenment European piety, or of that of extra-European religions today. The 'fear of God' so often

cited in the Bible, for example, was originally the altogether concrete fear of a deity of lightning, thunder, and death, and was only secondarily reinterpreted as reverence (e.g., Deut 10:12).

Religious fears appear as concrete dread of punishment at the hands of superhuman powers, in life as in death. Dread of immanent world disaster impregnates many tribal religions, in which one must shy away from innumerable taboo-violations. It is likewise a mark of ancient Roman religion, where an insalubrious outcome loomed over the possibility of any ritual mistake. But fear of what might lie in the hereafter was a key component especially of ancient European Christianity. A torrent of texts and images, in all manner of sadistic detail, describes the everlasting torments of hell, together with the 'temporal' ones of purgatory, nurtured especially by Judeo-Christian apocalyptic (second century BCE to second century CE), and the → visions of the mystics. We need only recall the apparitions vouchsafed to Saint Frances of Rome (d. 1440), with their singularly detailed descriptions of the punishments of the hereafter. After an initial tradition maintained only in Latin, and so restricted to monasticism and spirituality, these texts spread among the laity as well, in popular preaching, poetry, treatises, and dramatic presentations, from the twelfth century to the Enlightenment. No church edifice between the High Middle Ages and the Reformation was deprived of this presentation of the terror of the Last Judgment. Especially fearful was the Augustinian doctrine of predestination (in the Reformation, especially in its Calvinist revival), according to which humankind, that *massa damnata* (Lat., 'condemned mass'), the throng of those fallen into hell, hosted but few graced by the divine mercy.[1]

A formulation sung from the thirteenth to the twentieth century in nearly every mass for the dead, the hymn, the *Dies Irae* ("Day of Wrath"), can be taken as symptomatic: here, even "the just will scarcely be safe" (Lat., *vix justus sit securus*) before the God of Judgment.[2]

Fear of the subordinate evil beings of God—the → devils—who as the instruments of his designs worked in the world and underworld, and who, in terrifying forms, were abundantly present in sculpture (monsters, gargoyles) and painting (temptations of Jesus, the saints) in every church—rested as well on their cruel images of apparition, as on their capacity to seduce believers into mortal sin and thereby to take them to hell.

Fear and the Emergence of Religion

2. Many of antiquity's thinkers were aware that one of the crucial roots of piety is fear. Epicurus, Lucretius, and Statius attributed belief in the gods to: *Primus in orbe deos fecit timor* (Lat., "The first thing that made the gods in the world was fear").[3] They were at pains to dissolve, on rational grounds, the terror of existence 'implanted in mortals.'[4] The general reinforcement of religiousness in late antiquity, and its mental preponderance in the Middle Ages, demonstrate the failure of this explanatory model in the face of a waxing uncertainty in life. Only in the modern age was this thought taken up once more, in the critique of religion by the Enlightenment, especially in the philosophy of David Hume (*The Natural History of Religion*, 1757), Ludwig Feuerbach, and Karl Marx, in Sigmund Freud's psychology, and among scholars of religion, such as James G. Frazer and Bronislaw Malinowski. Today, owing to their one-sidedness, these hypotheses on the appearance of religion are perhaps too broadly rejected.

Fear as a Means of Priestly Discipline

2. Religious fears existed not only on grounds of direct experiences, for example of the God manifested in storms, of the water demon lurking in the shallows. At least in the European history of religions, they were also engendered, altogether essentially, by the menacing messages of religious specialists, as well. There are examples of intentional manipulation in this sense—for instance the hells filled in by Augustus in the Baian campaign, hells that presented the underworld concretely to those being initiated.[5] Nor was the like missing in Christianity (Purgative void of Saint Patrick in Ireland), but it is much more likely to assume that the priests who preached of hell and judgment did believe in the reality of their teachings, although it cannot be disputed that they also made use of these tools in their interests. Some practiced the sale of indulgences or contributions in exchange for assurances of the salvation of one's soul. The pastoral ministry of terror, whose vigor prevailed until the nineteenth century, was often proclaimed by the terrified. Preaching, confession, and pictorial presentations were the most important means of a disciplining of believers through fear. Only with the disappearance of a concrete belief in the hereafter in the nineteenth and twentieth century were such themes useless for catechesis. Some sects, of course, unlike the major churches of today, still work with traditional eschatological fears of the end of the world.

Shifting of Fears

4. Against a punishing deity, there are counter-figures built into the world of religious concepts. In Catholicism there is → Mary, the Mother of God, on, for instance, images of the plague as the Madonna with the protective mantle cloak between a lethal God and his creatures, as well as protective patron saints and 'guardian angels.' On the other hand, menacing elements in the image of God are split in two: while in ancient Judaism they still belong to JHWH, they seem in more recent times, especially in Christianity, loosed from him, so that a 'loving God' is left, who is now no longer fearful, but only to be loved (1 John 4:16-19). The fearful portion, especially temptation and punishment, are imposed, instead, on Satan, the → Antichrist, and (since the twelfth century) a personified death. Through the doctrine of Original → Sin, Christian philosophy believed itself absolved of the (unsolvable, granted) problem of God's exculpation (→ Theodicy), since thereby it is the human being who is responsible for all of the world's unwholesomeness and malignancy, rather than the Creator, who thus fashioned that world. Interlopers like the Cathari, in quest of consistency, excused God by way of a radical → dualism: it was the → Evil One who created the world, hence also suffering. Thereby fear and trustfulness are separated in their entirety, and divided into two suprahuman instances. For members of Satanic sects, existing ever since the late Middle Ages, an identification with 'terror' (along with rebellion against the divine 'Superfather'), actually serving as a deterrent for 'fear,' might be an unconscious motive for their deviant behavior.

Release from Fear

5. It was the pressure to utilize fears that maintained the system. But the religions offered teachings and rites calculated to render that pressure bearable. Rites of → initiation normally comprise a phase of the onset of fears, the control of which comports a psychically liberating cathartic effect, and assures admittance to a higher stage of existence. The struggle may be a matter of fear of (at times extreme) bodily torments, as with some Indian tribes, or the ill-treatment of a candidate before admittance

to the noviceship, as the Rule of the Benedictines (58, 3) prescribes. Behavioral norms are always imposed for the purpose of forestalling a negative reaction by the gods (God, the Devil). These ordinarily consist of the → sacrifice of material goods and of bodily → asceticism. For example, the flogging processions witnessed in Catholicism from the thirteenth century until today (e.g., in Mediterranean countries and in the Philippines) have arisen out of fear of the wrath of God, which they have meant to appease by self-abuse. The plethora of defense resources ('apotropaia') known to the religions (blessings, amulets, 'sacramentals' such as holy water, and so on), on the contrary, expel only fear of the lower deities or demons, not that of the high god. Christian theologians, however, together with some psychologists (Carl Gustav Jung) appraise the function of religion as a fear deterrent as stronger than that of its performance as an inspirer of fear. Generally, it can be said that ritualization in the area of religion, be it by way of prayers (morning and evening prayer) or the embedding of *rites de passage* in ceremonies, has a settling or pacifying effect. This could be the reason, especially, for a choice of the monastic life, where, still today, the composing, quieting value of a ritualized life appears as a key element.

1. Augustine, Enchiridion on Faith, Hope, and Love, 27, 92-93.
2. Analecta Hymnica, 54, 269.
3. Statius, The Thebaid, 3, 661.
4. Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, 5, 1165.
5. Paget, F. R., In the Footsteps of Orpheus, London 1967.

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→ *Hereafter, Emotions/Feelings, Hell, Psychopathology, Death and Dying*

Peter Dinzelbacher

Feasts and Celebrations

Meaning and Function

1. Holidays (cf. 'holy day') or feast/festivals (Lat., *festum*) have at least two peculiarities. For one, they are established in religious, cultural, and social frameworks as repeatable happenings; for another, on their occasion, persons are spontaneously inclined to gather in gladsome social celebration. In the festivity itself, an ebullient zest for life is the hallmark, and pleasing sensory events (festive meal, play, dance) set the tone. The holiday is a



Preeminently, Judaism is the religion of the family holiday. There are memorial holidays to recall the deeds and sufferings of the people of Israel in a great historical cycle of rituals. Here, in 1983, on the eve of the holiday of Pesach (the 'Passover' of the Lord, who 'passed over' the Hebrews and slew the firstborn of their enemies only), the Seder supper is held, in commemoration of that people's escape from Egypt and slavery (Exod 12-13). The event must be symbolically recalled, and ritually 'staged' once more, and here a Polish family executes this charge. A special text is read to the children at this supper, the Pesach Haggadah, the narrative of the flight; mazzo wafers (→ Hasidism) and light wine stand on the table—food and drink for a journey sudden and unplanned; on the Seder plate, in the middle of the table, lie a hard-boiled egg (for the main sacrificial offering of a pilgrimage

corporative event, to be celebrated only in the community form of a family, an assemblage of friends, a company of persons with a common interest, the community, the nation, or international groups.

'Festival' and 'holiday' are generally applied synonymously. The function of a holiday can lie in a restorative rest from daily work. But it can also be a celebration of work (e.g., by persons who practice the same trade or profession), or the therapeutic celebration of a victory in a crisis, such as wars or natural catastrophes, in whose remembrance national holidays, or holidays of thanksgiving, are held. The holiday is a 'stop sign' in the routine of daily activities. The celebrants often 'go too far,' and violate established or legal norms, or ignore received social values—and then return to them. This phenomenon occurs preeminently on Shrove Tuesday (→ Carnival): while the rest of the year protects itself with laws and religious commandments against anarchical tendencies, excesses, and violence, carnival time offers an alienation from the everyday. It calls it into question. There are even traditions in which a holiday is supposed to occasion a 'warped,' or 'upside-down' world.

Abandonment of the everyday, or integration therein, provides an opportunity for recollection, awareness, deliberation, reflection, or new orientation concerning individual and societal life conditions. All of these moods and factors are present on a holiday, and especially on a vacation. Eager religious participants not infrequently build themselves a utopia, a 'salubrious' and 'peaceful, restorative' counter-society to the daily—which, when the celebration is over, they must rejoin. In this sense, a celebration is a 'social drama' (V. Turner), which questions or legitimizes the given social structure, and the celebrants join for a tiny time a community (Lat.,

communitas, 'joint construction') that transcends societal structures. The religious or cultic acts or elements of the holiday encompass theatrical or playful aspects: social role-playing that frequently runs counter to the everyday (travesty), as well as symbols referring to the power, prestige, and identity of the particular actors, communities, or institutions. Particularly these latter have the opportunity, by coordinating and financing the holiday, to present themselves in public and gain prestige. And so the holiday can serve as a means for groups to present themselves, and to thematize current society.

Holidays

2. From antiquity to the beginning of industrialization, in so-called pre-modern, traditional societies, holidays were tailored to the respective prevailing religion, even when they ultimately were politically or economically motivated. Only the caesura of the → Enlightenment led to the disconnection of the religious holiday from a form of public and state direction that had been received from Greco-Roman antiquity. Holidays had been celebrated in those earlier times in honor of the gods, or with the staging of those mass 'plays' that were the battles of gladiators, chariot races, tourneys and grotesque comic foolishness of the Middle Ages—and in the Baroque, which reached its climax in an enhanced sense of life—and were an expression of the regime, both secular and spiritual, of the Church and feudal nobility. Until their profanation in modern times, 'popular' religious celebrations stood under a process of disciplining and control on the part of Church and State. The French → Revolution laid the cornerstone for national holidays whose purpose and effect was the creation and fostering of middle-class identification (→ Civil Religion). They legitimated the popular spirit that they had elicited, and constructed symbols of profane community formation (Field of Mars, Pantheon). From these processes modern forms of the holiday emerged, which (aside from purely religious feasts) can be divided into socially public, political, and private holidays or festivals. Even these forms of holiday, however, still integrate religious elements or are overlaid by them.

3. a) The feasts in celebration of *salvation history*, such as Christian Easter and Pentecost—or the Jewish feast of Passover, recalling deliverance from Egyptian rule and the Exodus from Egypt—are annual feasts. So is Mawlid, the birthday of the Prophet → Muhammad, on the twelfth day of the third month, when the community gathers to recall the life and work of the Prophet with readings from the Qur'an, and to offer him reverence by holding processions.

In recalling an event from the history of religion, the community of believers celebrates itself. This aspect underlies, for example, the feast of the Reformation. Here, religious → specialists undertake the transmittal of the historical traditions, foundational declarations, and content and events of the faith. Through the recitation of gospels or epics, festal liturgies provide the faithful with the elements of their religious and cultural heritage. Symbols, or special festal elements such as liturgy, dance, clothing, and décor, set the religious feast apart from everyday life as something special.

b) Feasts of the community and the saints, with their processions, for example, evince the networking of religion and public life. Public areas (streets, marketplaces, and so on), and institutions like churches and community centers provide locations at which particular groups, quarters, or cities can present and celebrate themselves. Choral presentations, carpets

once upon a time), a 'bone' (e.g., a chicken leg), standing for the 'lamb' that must be eaten 'in haste,' and 'bitter herbs' (e.g., a cabbage salad), to recall the memory of a bitter life of slavery in Egypt; *charosset*, a delicacy of nuts, pieces of apple, dates, and spices stands for the clay from which the Israelites once had to fashion bricks for Pharaoh. The Seder evening is the Jewish family holiday par excellence; it can be compared to → Christmas as celebrated by religious Christians today. (Hubert Mohr)

of flowers, etc., are there for all to see and hear, and temporary altars, in common enterprise, are festooned for visitation in procession. In southern Europe and in Latin America, splendid *festivals of the saints*, with processions, markets, and fireworks, are organized and financed by institutions and societies. Here religious and public secular interests intersect, to the enhancement of the prestige of organizers and participants. In festival, secular and sacred alike find the opportunity for a demonstrative, striking self-presentation to those outside. The public religious celebration—frequently organized, in all of its folklore, out of the economic considerations of a tourist attraction—must not see its importance diminished in the community. The entire population celebrate *national holidays*, recalling national unity, independence gained, a constitution, or a new form of government after a revolution. The holiday moment of identity and community is common to both the sacred and the profane.

Public and Social Holidays

c) Over against the feasts just cited, whose motifs are religious, (local) political, and national, there are public social and professional holidays. Local festivals, like forest, street, old city, or garden festivals, rest on the loose bond of a momentary gathering. Here, the eminent role is that of non-ritual activities, such as dance, song, or play. The celebration of one's own solidarity yields to individual special interests and social differentiations. Instead, the holidays of individual trade groups such as wine-growers, fishers, or defense or security personnel, serve the presentation of one's own guild. Today, ritual festal elements ('customs') such as fish-spearing, the sword dance, and costumes frequently relate only nominally to traditional forms of the holiday, and are usually integrated into new ones, as fragments of folklore or an economy of the past; gastronomy day, flower day, or holidays celebrated by quarters of the city, can stand as meaningful examples.

Political Religious Festivals

d) With the dissolution of traditional binding values and norms at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a political appropriation of former religious festivals strengthened. Liberals and Democrats of the *Vormärz* knew how to requisition public (popular) festivals as vehicles of their political goals. But the public festal culture can also express social opposition with a 'counter-feast.' This was the case with the First of May holidays in the Germany of the close of the nineteenth century, which served at first as 'Battle day' of the labor force against the official Wilhelmine national holidays of the Empire. The National Socialists, on the other hand, used public festivals to create a society of unity. The *Reichsparteitage* were intended to legitimize their political power, and bound the Führer and his 'people' in a symbolically enhanced unity, in order to stage a total state. In current middle-class rituals, the amalgamation of religion and politics is an essential element. This aspect is well illustrated in state funerals, for instance in the service of mourning for Lady Diana in 1997. Imbedded in the religious ceremonial (Requiem) were a private memorial address by her brother, and a musical interlude by a pop singer. Similarly, the interplay of religion and what we may call a 'political social' factor prevails on birthdays or weddings of heads of state.

Private Religious Celebrations

e) Festivals in the life cycle of the individual mark his or her passage across the frontiers between one stage and the next. Baptisms, first communions,



The *Kumbha-mela* ranks as the world's largest festival. During the month-long *mela*, many millions of pilgrims gather to bathe in the Ganges (the *Ganga*), which flows past Hardwar at the foot of the last stray Himalaya, into the Ganges. The festivities appeal to the myth of the *Kumbha*: as the gods agitated the ocean of milk, the *Kumbha*, among others, arrived, to produce from the floods the urn that bestowed the nectar of immortality, in order to bear the precious vessel to safety from the demons. It was drawn out of the water by Jayanta, the son of Indra, in the form of a crow. On the way, Jayanta set the urn down in three places: in Prayag and Hardwar on the Ganges, in Nasik at the river Godavari, and in Ujjain on the Sipra. In these four places, the bathing festival takes place. Every twelve years, the *Purna-kumbha* ('full urn') is celebrated, the lesser festival *Ardh-Kumbha* ('half urns') after six years each time. The festivals are held by turns, so that every three years a *Purna-kumbha* is celebrated in one of the four places. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

confirmations, Bar-Mitzvah, weddings, the ordination of priests, graduation celebrations, jubilees, funerals, memorial services for the dead, are all rites of transition (in Fr., *rites de passage*), that accompany the life cycle from beginning to end, help to accentuate critical and joyful phases, and celebrate the latter and prevail over the former. The *passage* to the next phase is preceded by a phase of preparation, to which the transitional stages between 'old' and 'new' life attach. Once the new status or life segment is reached, a re-incorporation into the everyday begins.

Festivals as Structuring of Time

f) The reiterability of the feast or festival, in festive cycles and annual festivals, can be thought of as interplay between a ritual structuring of time and the change of seasons in pre-modern agrarian societies. Nature festivals such as the new year, the beginning of spring, the feasts of May, the solstice, or the feast of thanksgiving for the harvest mark the times of the year and the traditional rhythm of toil, through which, in industrial societies, there occurred to some extent a superimposition of the intensity of the festival through the altered conditions of life, as in the fact that the laborers' festival falls on the first of May. In principle the solar and lunar cycles enabled specialists to make a determination of seasonal feasts. For the Jewish-Christian → calendar, however, the traditional determination of dates such as the Sabbath or of → Sunday as a day of rest is not subject to astronomical conditions, but to social construction. Accordingly, the Christian calendar does not correspond minutely to natural time, but is organized in terms of the events of salvation history. Islamic temporal calculation begins with the departure of the Muslim community from Mecca to Medina in the year 622 of the Christian calendar, and the calendar is geared to the lunar year.

Problematization

4. Criticism of current holiday or festal culture is often provoked today by a so-called 'Disneyization' of feasts. Apparently, elements such as education, nostalgia or reverie, or a sensuous social 'togetherness,' are, to the advantage of pure entertainment and consumption of goods, shifted into the background. Although these processes produce a partial evacuation of originally religious feasts, which can now develop into ongoing festivals 'staged' rather than celebrated, this change does not mean the end of the festal culture. Despite the altering forms, the human need to celebrate festivals remains the same.

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→ *Calendar, Eating/Nourishment, Dance, Drinking/Drink, Everyday Life, Fasting, Ritual, Time*

Annemarie Gronover

Fetish / Fetishism

Problems of the Concept

1. a) Belief in an object with supernatural powers of spell or enchantment, or in an object whose mysterious workings are venerated in cult—with blood sacrifice, for example—is often designated 'fetishism.'[1] This notion must be applied with great caution, however—contrary to the general notion that they designate phenomena, they are in fact foreign explanatory constructs applied to misunderstood cultural systems.

b) The use of the term 'fetish,' as a category for other systems of symbolical reference, began in 1481 with the Portuguese seafarers, who designated with the word *feitiço* (Lat., *facticius*, made artificially) any object of veneration on the part of a local cult of inhabitants of the West African coasts. In this fashion, Christian sailors were unable to distinguish the symbol from the symbolized, such was the 'foreignness' of both to their own religion and culture.

'Fetish' as the wholesale label of a 'false belief' became the sign of a defective faculty of abstraction, and 'fetishism' the pejorative category for the multiplicity of religious cults of West African traditions. 'Fetishism' as a concept in the theory of religion comes down from *Charles de Brosses* (1709–1777), who used it as a name for the veneration of lifeless objects, whether natural or artificial. For de Brosses, fetishism represented the first stage of religion, in which an immediate, direct cultic action would be the basis for the later development of a theological system. In *Auguste Comte*'s Enlightenment theory of → evolution, fetishism was the era of the first theological step of human development (fetishism—polytheism—monotheism), within the three-stage-law (theological—metaphysical—positive). The first criticism of the use of the concepts fetish and fetishism in sociology of religion was expressed by anthropologist *Marcel Mauss* (1872–1950), who subsumed them as 'cultural misunderstandings,' and called for their renunciation in any future theoretical activity concerned with religious phenomena. The phenomena of religion ought to be analyzed in their own conceptuality, and be interpreted in terms of their own symbolical meanings, Mauss argued. The final dismissal of fetishism is to be credited to the criticism of totemism by French anthropologist *Claude Lévi-Strauss* (b. 1908), who unmasked the idea of totemism as a fantasy, with an analysis that can also be applied to fetishism. In order to do justice to the meaning of objects that for the observer seem to be in a strange way included in ritual practices and content (e.g., the *Holy Shroud of Turin* in Catholicism's veneration of relics), it is preferable that these objects be interpreted in their own particular, culture-specific systems of concept and symbol, lest hasty misprisions result from the interpretation.

Psychological Aspects

2. With all of the conceptual inadequacy in this case, there is a psychological aspect common to the constructions of religious 'originality' connected with it: namely, the human need for 'something you can get hold of,' a symbol's material foundation, that could present a projection screen for religious conceptualizations and emotions. The content of thought surely needs a sensible component in order to become 'religiously felt.' The 'Holy' is embodied and conveyed to the believer through the visibly material constitution of a picture or an object. As a symbol, it must have, on the one hand, a common schema of interpretation belonging to believers; on the other hand, there



In the village of Sorobasso, in Mali, prophet and healer Dembele and his brother sit before certain old 'fetishes,' handed down from generation to generation. At the end of a three- to four-hour ceremony, a chicken is sacrificed to the fetishes. Owing to the 'fetisher's' good reputation, clients travel hundreds of kilometers to consult them on farming issues, to be healed from illnesses, to obtain advancement at work, or to solve personal problems. The fetishes are small, cotton-wrapped figures of iron or wood, around whom the compass of the years has laid the sacrificial blood of many generations of poultry. Besides chickens, sacrifice is made of goats and sheep brought along by the petitioner. The fetish receives only the blood, however: the flesh of the animals is usually consumed in a common meal held after the sacrifice. (Benita von Behr)

must be knowledge, in the observer, of those common interpretations. A further area of use and interpretation of fetish and fetishism goes back to Sigmund Freud's treatise on fetishism (1927), where he denotes the latter as a sexual deviation going back to woman's penis envy or man's castration fear. With fetishism, Freud has thematized the alien in the individual, and shifted the concepts to the area of sexual disorders.

3. In sum, it can be said that the deprecatory Euro-centric notions concealed in the concepts of fetish and fetishism are no longer tolerable for today's observation of cultural and religious phenomena. As technical notions, they belong to that conceptual history of religious studies and anthropology that found such ready entry into the parlance of popular science either as 'exoticized' alienation, or as 'other reality' reinterpreted as 'perversion.' The currency of these apprehensions, then, lies less in their content, than in their character as demonstrating the intellectual and psychic difficulties of dealing with the foreign in culture or religion.

1. Loth 1987, 54.

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→ *Africa II, Colonialism, Relics (Veneration of), Symbol/Sign/Gestures, Voodoo*

Lidia Guzy

Film I: Christian Contexts

1. Ever since the appearance of the new medium of film, film and religion have stood in a fertile tension. The relationship has held from the earliest silent films with biblical motifs, to the great Hollywood classics and the 'religious' films from the great directors of secular France, to the transferal of the subject to the new myths of cinema and television. One may ask why films with biblical motifs have belonged to the repertoire of the history of film across the board ever since the invention of the new technology. Doubtless the answer is that the unfamiliar—and rather eerie—'language' of the medium of moving pictures can be conveyed to the mass audiences of the West through a connection to familiar matter from Christian iconography. The acculturation of a medium occurs by steps, with the discovery of new technological dimensions. The presentation of the miracle or wonder is almost like the sensations and art pieces of an annual fair. A theory of cinema and its history will not be complete without the aspect of religion in film. While, at first, the churches often greeted the new medium with skepticism, out of considerations of morality and social politics—an attitude that Protestant groups still have today—it is more and more accepted by them as a means of mass communication, announced and commented on in publications, or even promoted. The use of the opportunities for inter-religious dialogue presented by technologies like television, video, and interactive media, is only now getting under way.

Film as a Medium

2. From the outset, film was used not only for conveying news and information, but also, and to an even greater degree, for the presentation of fiction. Especially since the coming of the color film in the 1930s, film, unlike the traditional media of oral speech, writing, and printing, has reinforced, by joining image and color, speech and motion, the character of the word as witness. Its essential trait is its 'narrativity,' its recital in images of motion, which is what makes it so apt for conveying → myth. Here is where one of the foundations of the great success of the Hollywood style seems to lie—together with, perhaps, that myth's capacity for the amalgamation of new ones, an enterprise to which the structure of film can readily adapt. It is even in a position—at all events, more so than are the



One of the religious films whose material was supplied by the Bible was a spectacular, slushy production that became one of Hollywood's greatest successes: Cecil B. DeMille's "The Ten Commandments" (USA, 1957). The 1990 video-cassette reissue is absent from no video store, and tourists may visit the set of the famous trick-scenes of the miraculous crossing of the 'Red Sea' as reproduced at Universal Studios in Hollywood—the original set at Paramount Studios no longer exists. And the legend of a legend is born.

other mass media—to create new mythologies. Its earmark is suggestiveness and presence, and it can credibly 'stage' → epiphanies. Unlike television, which came from radio, and which lives on news, 'live' broadcasts, and documentation, film has access to 'higher' incorporations of fiction (dream, magic, miracle, myth), and thus stands in closer company with certain phenomena of the experience of religion. The presentation of stories in motion (and here it maintains its kinship with the stage play) is film's most important field of activity.

By contrast, the documentary film withdraws a little into the background—despite the manifold changes within the genre, which, if we correctly interpret the most recent developments (drama in the style of documentary), are gradually shifting it closer to the dramatic film. Very early, the medium took advantage of its unique opportunities to store up information in documentary films, especially in anthropology. There, during and after the First World War, anthropological fieldwork flourished. The documentary film as a medium and the discipline of anthropology have to some extent engaged in each other's promotion, and an ideology has arisen that, in conscious or immanent criticism of Western civilization and Christianity, has made it its project to cling tightly to a paradise irrecoverably lost in Europe. Religion was presented in rituals, but this step rendered a mixture with fiction unavoidable, since, in fiction, religion was even 'staged.' A much-discussed example of dramatization, stylization, and even falsification of reality in the documentary film is Robert J. Flaherty's "Moana" (USA, 1926).

A special area is that of the animated film, with the numerous techniques proper to itself of a suggestive presentation of the supernatural. Over twenty productions were offered in church media-centers on biblical topics alone. In 1998, Moses as "Prince of Egypt" appeared on the screen, supported by many stars—and yet this is only one out of thirty-two new productions of this genre in Hollywood, so that, just from the flow of the mighty investments in this sector, we may judge that the fuse is lit for an explosion of religious and pseudo-religious topics and presentations. Not counted in this enumeration are the numerous presentations made for television and videotape.

The *video market* has gained a special importance in the areas of both production and marketing, above all in the United States. Here, there is scarcely a video store without classics of the popular history-film with biblical references like *The Ten Commandments*, or *Ben Hur.* On the one hand, video-films constitute a genre of their own, with its proper laws and economic conditions, and at the same time present numerous transitions to the screen-film genre (see illustration).

Just so, passages between cinema and television are subject to different marketing laws: dramatic films form the backbone of most television. Conversely, creations composed of the elements of successful TV series ("X-Files," 1998, a presentation built to last a whole evening, extravagantly enriched with special effects, and built on the success of the series), or parallel versions ("Enterprise") are shown in theaters.

3. *Genres*: In drawing up the elements of the area, 'religion in the dramatic film,' one will have to attend to various sub-genres that ought to be listed in the selection, even though definitions and borderlines are disputed:

a) Even film stars often describe the Bible as 'the most exciting film scenario ever written.' In a certain sense, the same view has prevailed ever since



Pier Paolo Pasolini's "The Gospel According to Saint Matthew" (Italy, 1964) is an example of a "Jesus film," and at the same time of a unique attempt at an artistic and timeless gospel film with a broad, enduring effect. Pasolini did not try to produce a spectacular Bible-film: his concern was to show where the message was to be accomplished—among the 'poor' of Galilee. He found his many actors in the rural proletariat of the bleak Southern landscape of Lucania, in Matera, in Italy.

the beginning of the silent film, although Sacred Scripture as film scenario had constantly to be altered, enriched with subjects 'good for movies,' and 'improved.' As early as 1897, five Bible films appeared—brief sequences, with a primary interest in the supernatural element of miracles and of the Resurrection of Jesus. Passion plays were filmed, featuring a remarkable expansion of certain gospel materials from newly discovered apocryphal texts. Even producers from the cinema's infancy kept an eye on the market, and filmed generally familiar materials that would facilitate distribution, and that would serve as a 'language course' in the new medium for the broad public. The list of productions with motifs from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament from the era of the silent film alone, contains about one hundred films. Total listings of Bible films in the strict sense name some forty titles, counting the 'Jesus films.' Among the great classics, in any case to be emphasized, are the spectaculars "Intolerance" (→ Ancient East), "The Ten Commandments," and "Ben Hur." But the Bible also served as a peg on which to hang the blockbuster 'sandal films' (Babington/Evans, 1993) of the 1950s, with which Hollywood sought to defy television. Religion—anything in religion—is frequently a pretext for a more effective presentation of subjects such as *sex and crime.* Often, in adventure or crime films, biblical or religious elements will be applied even though the content has absolutely nothing to do with them. An extreme example is Bruno Dumont's *La Vie de Jésus* (Fr., "The Life of Jesus"), the portrait of a town in northern France, in which the subject is everyday racism and the loss of standards of value.

Jesus Films

b) One of the most effective genres that has repeatedly come into new unfriendly confrontation with Christian thematics is that of the so-called Jesus film. In extremely few instances, however, has this been a matter of direct presentations of the life of Jesus as based on New Testament sources. In part, they are even 'filmed novels,' which is occasionally overlooked by criticism (Martin Scorsese's "The Last Temptation of Christ," based on the novel by Nikos Kazantzakis). Extraordinarily rich in dark humor and criticism of the Church is the British Monty Python group. Their "Life of Brian" parodies the people's credulousness in miracles and the cunning of the preachers, with direct, at times provocative references to the history of Jesus's life. Very frequently, religious founders and other religious persons are presented ambivalently, either as heroic champions of ethics and morals, or as tragic or comic figures.

Clergy and Religious

c) The clerical melodrama has all but become a genre of its own. From the mid-1930s to the mid-60s, in consequence of the promulgation of the *Motion Picture Production Code* in the United States (no ridiculing of tenets or beliefs, no disparagement of religious dignitaries), films appeared whose priest hero is set in a positive, even worshipful light (Keyser 1984): Graham Greene's *The Power and the Glory* was repeatedly filmed; Bernhard Wicki's "Das Wunder von Malachias" (Ger., "Malachy's Miracle"; Germany, 1961) arose out of the amusing novel by Bruce Marshall. Toward the end of the 1960s, this sort of religious film was somewhat criticized. In "The Thorn Birds," based on the novel by Colleen McCullough, the subject of 'Catholic priests and sexual relations' was addressed. As a rule, however, the problem was approached with sensitivity, as in Fred Zinnemann's "The Nun's Story" (USA, 1959), or Antonia Bird's "Priest" (UK, 1994), about a young priest who comes into conflict with his homosexuality. An arbitrary portrait of a successful, authoritarian awakening preacher appeared in the ambitious film project "The Apostle" of Robert Duvall (USA, 1997), with the presentation of charismatic religiousness and Protestant piety.

Religious Films in the Stricter Sense

d) As identifying mark of a genre, the concept 'religious films' seems of scant utility, at least as a concept for a thematic special group that goes through all genres. Historical films, crime films, comedy, or melodrama can all exhibit religious motifs. The notion of the 'religious' in more recent attacks is readily replaced with the concept of spirituality, where the levels of experience are more strongly included. Under the latter rubric, let us now nevertheless name the prominent artistic *chefs-d'oeuvre*, which succeed in translating a genuinely religious proclamation in film: after Franz Werfel's novel, Henry King's "Song of Bernadette" appeared relatively early (USA, 1943), and then "Ordet" (Danish, "The Word") of C. T. Dreyer (Denmark, 1954): here the miracle of the raising of a dead woman is 'simply happening.' Dreyer succeeds in showing the miracle just as miracle, without sensation. Pier Paolo Pasolini has contributed to the genre doubtless the most enduring *chef-d'oeuvre*, "Gospel According to Saint Matthew." From more recent times, directors Wim Wenders, Krzystof Kieslowski, Andrei Tarkowsky, and Theo Angelopoulos ("The Suspended Step of the Stork") ought to be cited. But there are also numerous elements of the religious in the genres of comedy, satire, and parody, in the musical, in the crime film, and in the science fiction film. In many films, the 'Christ incognito' can be found.

Missionary Films

e) American preacher Billy Graham has well recognized that film can be used as a missionary medium, and he has produced his own films with this goal in mind (→ Televangelism). From a production series of his own, propagated with great financial outlay, the so-called Genesis Project (Old and New Testaments), comes one of the films that have been translated into the most languages, "The Crucifixion of Jesus." This film consists of an allegedly 'literal' filming of the Passion story of the Gospel of Luke, a production introduced in both theaters and schools, and in mission establishments as far away as Mongolia. The pinnacle of this genre might be seen in Mel Gibson's controversial "The Passion of the Christ" (USA, 2004).

New Myths in Film—a New Mythology?

4. From the beginning of the history of film, religious subjects enjoyed great popularity with directors, but soon ran into criticism at the hands of theological authorities. Old silent films with religious subjects are, for instance, "Golem" and "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse". The problem, both with pseudo-historical bible films and with the presentation of 'miracles' and 'ESP phenomena' in fantastic films ("Frankenstein"), is that here, as a rule, neither are religious backgrounds laid out, nor can critical considerations be engaged, but instead, the viewer is confronted with one version, out of a massive repertory of vantages, as (film) reality. Another trend goes in the direction of a partially contemplative/meditative, partially historical/informative, transmittal of culture. Thus, from 1994 to 1998, theaters were filled with neo-realistic films dealing with Tibet, in which basic Buddhist ideas were conveyed ("Kundun," Martin Scorsese, UK, 1997; "Little Buddha," Bernardo Bertolucci, France/UK, 1994). Religion and 'fairytale' play a remarkably growing role in horror and science fiction films. It is not only in dramas with religious titles that ideas of belief are transmitted: in the first three installments of George Lucas's film series "Star Wars" (USA, 1979–1982), the director takes up the theme of redemption and redeemer. He shows redemption as rebellion; the actual redemption of hero Luke Skywalker, however, transpires not by the sword, but by 'spiritual forces' that, in the sequel, "Return of the Jedi" (1981), the young hero manages to engage. Through the hero's belief in higher power, Lucas has the weak conquer the strong. In the 1990s, pessimistic films on the end of the world were produced more and more, including television series in which Satan is presented as mighty, or evil is incarnated in the extraterrestrial (e.g., Peter Markle's "X-Files: Emily," USA, 1997). Traditional myths and religious practices (Jesus stories, Percivale, Zen Buddhism) are adapted and transformed into new, popular myths, even grand myths of Western history. The principal figures are knights who lend help and support, who must suffer without cause. Magic, secret symbolism, and conspiracy theories on extraterrestrial or super-earthly influences are well received, especially when these 'new myths' are broadcast at the best times.

Cliché images and myths are intermingled in abundance: 'innocent heroes' and their antitheses, the one 'possessed by Satan,' the 'Catholic wife, to give birth any time now,' the 'Jewish mother' as an ideal figure, and so on, are presented in unreal cliché images that rest on old religious images. Film can be an instrument for cementing the images of outsiders (→ Prejudices/Stereotypes). When religious subjects are invoked as legitimization, this tendency is especially problematic. Not only negative propaganda, and the intentional construction of hostile stereotypes (e.g., in National Socialist

film), but even a subtle, constant exposure to clichés leaves its effects. Even its presentation in everyday reality (conflicts with believers of other faiths) is looked upon as a confirmation of the prevailing cliché.

As a rule, directors and producers undertake biblical films in new images that presumably will be accepted by the audience. Abraham, of course, is perfect as the symbolic figure for the 'Abrahamite ecumene' (Jews, Christians, and Muslims). He is shown as such in the two-installment "Abraham" (Joseph Sargent, 1993), with familiar Jewish clichés, as mighty destroyer of his uncle's idols, in the spirit of the 'church Bible.' New myths are based on worlds of archaic images (cf. Röll 1998).

5. Not only individual films, but the basic notion of filming religious content, continue to be objects of discussion and dispute. The religious feelings of one part of the prospective audience are obviously incompatible with freedom of personal expression. The first great conflicts arose in the 1960s, with the films of Ingmar Bergman ("The Silence," 1963), Luis Buñuel ("Viridiana," 1961), and Pasolini ("La Ricotta," 1962, and "Teorema," 1968). To an extent, these led to a rethinking and a new praxis of evaluation on the part of the film commissions. In the 1970s and 80s, Christian circles protested Roman Polanski's "Rosemary's Baby" (USA, 1967), Friedkin's "The Exorcist" (USA, 1973), and Scorsese's "The Last Temptation of Christ" (USA, 1988), since certain sequences were judged blasphemous.

Concrete Utopias

6. As a positive example of what film can achieve, and of the extent to which the medium of film can bring religion closer to the audience, we may cite a short documentary, with very convincingly acted sequences, by Francisco Omachea, "Ajuyu" (Bolivia, 1966). A traditional ritual of the Aymara Indians is documented: the deceased are prepared for their journey to the realm of the dead, incense, favorite dishes, and provisions are sent along, as are gifts for relatives and friends, who receive them at an encounter in the next word. Finally, the father meets his childlike daughter once more, in a brilliant garden of paradise, and goes to work with his hoe.

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→ *Ancient East (illustration), Bible, Film II, Jesus, Media, Myth/Mythology, Televangelism, Television*

Andreas Reichert

Film and Religion: Selected Examples

Year	*Title*	*Country*	*Director*	*Category*	*Religious Theme/s*
1916	Intolerance	USA	David Wark Griffith	C	Spectacular epic, Bible episode
1925	Ben Hur	USA	Fred Niblo	C	Biblical epic; Jewish-Roman conflict
1928	The Passion of Joan of Arc/La passion de Jeanne d’Arc	DK	Carl Theodor Dreyer	C	Film on a saint
1943	The Song of Bernadette	USA	Henry King	C	Film on a saint
1947	Monsieur Vincent	F	Maurice Cloche	C	Film on a saint (Vincent de Paul)
1949	Francis, God’s Jester/Francesco, guillare di Dio	I	Roberto Rossellini	C	Film on a saint
1950	Diary of a Country Priest/Journal d’un curé de campagne	F	Robert Bresson	C	Wrestling with grace
1950	God Needs Men/Dieu a besoin des hommes	F	Jean Delannoy	C	Parish without a priest
1951	The Little World of Don Camillo/Le petit monde de Don Camillo	F/I	Julien Divivier	C	Comedy: Catholicism vs. Communism
1954	The Road/La Strada	I	Federico Fellini	C	Parable: guilt
1954	The Word/Ordet	DK	Carl Theodor Dreyer	C	Miracle, Resurrection
1956	The Seventh Seal/Det sjunde inseglet	S	Ingmar Bergman	C	Mystery play; quest for meaning

Year	*Title*	*Country*	*Director*	*Category*	*Religious Theme/s*
1957	The Ten Commandments	USA	Cecil B. deMille	C	Bible film
1959	The Nun's Story	USA	Fred Zinnemann	C	Conflict in the soul: vows
1961	Viridiana	SP	Luis Buñuel	C	Criticism of religion, social activity
1963	The Silence/Tystnaden	S	Ingmar Bergman	C	Existence-need, abandonment by God
1964	The Gospel According to St. Matthew/Il vangelo secondo Matteo	I	Pier Paolo Pasolini	C	Bible film: socio-revolutionary interpretation
1965	The Greatest Story Ever Told	USA	George Stevens	C	Bible film
1965	Balthazar/Au hasard Balthasar	F	Robert Bresson	C	Parable: ass as figure of the Passion
1965–1968	2001—A Space Odyssey	USA	Stanley Kubrick	C/M	History of humanity, utopia
1965–1968	Andrei Rublev	USSR	Andrei Tarkovsky	C	Russian painter of icons (14th–15th cent.)
1966	A Man for All Seasons	USA	Fred Zinnemann	C	Film on a saint (Thomas More)
1968	Theorem/Teorema	I	Pier Paolo Pasolini	C	Parable: figure of a redeemer
1968	The Milky Way/La voie lactée	F/I	Luis Buñuel	C	Criticism of religion, church history
1969	Color of Pomegranates/Sayat Nova /Nran gouyne/Zwet granaty	USSR	Sergei Parajanov	C	Film poem: Armenian myths
1971	Jesus Christ Superstar	USA	Norman Jewison	C	Bible musical
1976	The Last Supper/La ultima cena	Cuba	Tomas Gutierrez Alea	C	Parable: master-slaves conflict

1976	Taxi Driver	USA	Martin Scorsese	C	Parable: black angel
1977	Jesus of Nazareth	I/GB	Franco Zeffirelli	C	Bible film (television)
1981	E.T.—The Extraterrestrial	USA	Steven Spielberg	C	Extraterrestrial figure of a redeemer
1985	Hail Mary/Je vous salue, Marie	F	Jean-Luc Godard	C, M	Mystery of life
1986	Mission	GB	Roland Joffé	C, M	Jesuit mission (18th cent.)
1986	The Sacrifice/Offret	S/F	Andrei Tarkovsky	C	End of world, sacrifice
1987	Therese/Thérèse	F	Alain Cavalier	C	Film on a saint (Theresa of Lisieux)
1987	Wings of Desire/Der Himmel über Berlin	D	Wim Wenders	C	Angels, redemption
1987	Babette's Feast/Babettes gæstebud	DK	Gabriel Axel	C	Meaning of life, metaphor of meal
1987	Brightness/Yeelen	Mali	Souleymane Cissé	O	African myths
1988	Decalogue, 1-10/Dekalog	PL	Krzystof Kieslowski	C	Parables: ethical questions
1989	Jesus of Montreal/Jesus de Montreal	Can.	Denys Arcand	C	Modern passion play, Jesus parallels
1989	Why Has Bodhi Darma Left for the East/Dharmaga tongjoguro kan kkadalgun	South Korea	Yong-Kyun Bae	O	Buddhism, Zen master and his disciples
1989	Crimes and Misdemeanors	USA	Woody Allen	O	Jewish intellectuals, guilt
1991	The Fisher King	USA	Terry Gilliam	M, C	Guilt and redemption, legend of the Grail

Year	*Title*	*Country*	*Director*	*Category*	*Religious Theme/s*
1992	Bad Lieutenant	USA	Abel Ferrara	C	Violence and redemption, apparition of Jesus
1993/94	Three Colors: Blue, White, Red/ Trois couleurs: Bleu, Blanc, Rouge	F	Krzystof Kieslowski	C	Question of meaning, values-orientation
1995	Dead Man Walking	USA	Tim Robbins	C	Death penalty, guilt and forgiveness
1996	Breaking the Waves	DK	Lars von Trier	C	love and redemption, Christ figure
1997	Eternity and a Day (L'èternite et un jour)	Gr/F/ It/D	Theo Angelo-poulos	C	Death, meaning of life
1999	The Matrix	USA	Larry and Andy Wachowski	C/O/M	Apocalypse, redeemer, religious references
2000–2002	The Lord of the Rings	USA	Peter Jackson	C	Fantasy film, Christian subtext
2004	The Passion of the Christ	USA	Mel Gibson	C	Bible film

Explanations of the List of Films

- **Definition**: “Religious films” here are religious films in the traditional sense: on the basis of their presentation of their material (Bible, lives of the saints), as well as of protagonists (e.g., pastors), of the milieu and the choice of subjects. The classic religious *Autorenfilm* (‘authored’ film; Bresson, Bergman, Buñuel, Pasolini, etc.) is defined by the (wholly or partially) religious determination of its standpoint by the directors, which in the work itself can come to expression either explicitly or only implicitly. Recent research looks for traces of the religious in all film genres—in the ‘authored’ film of artistic ambition (Tarkowski, Kieslowski, Wenders, etc.), but also in the film for popular entertainment that opens up religious dimensions, often alongside other tenders of meaning. A growing role of considerations other than those of content is played by the:
- **Aesthetic form**: In the age of the silent film (filmed Passion plays, beginning in 1897), the spectacular religious film developed, whose aim was to overwhelm the viewer by gigantic display (décor, costumes, extras) and cinematic technique (miracles as trick sequences). In ‘authored’ films, more pretentious aesthetic forms of the transposition of religious experiences, and so on, develop by the condensation of the film narrative into a metaphorical structure, by stylization, and by abstraction or associative-meditative montage.
- **History**: In the era of the silent film, on into the time of the early color film, the purely illustrative transposition of religious materials predominated. After the war, through the introduction of modern film techniques (color, wide screen, stereophonic sound) in Hollywood, the spectacular film was revived. In Europe, classic religious films appeared, with representative figures of the faith (saints, pastors, etc.), powerful religious lives (Bresson, Duvivier, Delannoy). With directors like Buñuel, Bergman, Pasolini, what occurred was the ‘thematizing’ of the existential meaning of the faith, the encounter with the question of God, and the social currency of the Christian proclamation. Since the 1970s, we have a multiplicity of religious references in genre films and *Autorenfilme*, that—explicitly or implicitly—introduce patterns of religious interpretation, and open religiously relevant questions (guilt, redemption, search for meaning, etc.).
- **Category**: C = Christian; M = Mythological; O = Other.

Peter Hasenberg

Film II: Film and Islam

Egypt

1. a) *Film industry and film creators:* The history of film in the Arab Islamic world began in Egyptian Alexandria, where, in a café in 1896, the first rolls of film by the brothers Lumière were played. In 1912, Europeans produced the first film production on Egyptian soil. Mohamed Bayyumi, a student of the Ufa Studios in Berlin, was the first Egyptian director; in 1921, he established the film company, Bayyumi Foto Film, in Alexandria. The first full-length Egyptian film, the silent "Leila" (150 min.), 1927, was produced by a woman, Aziza Amir, formerly a theater actress, who belonged to the upper-class woman's movement of the 1920s led by Hoda Shaarauwi. In 1934, in Giza, near Cairo, the building of Studio Misr was begun, to develop into the largest exporter of Egyptian films, and to supply the Arab and Asian worlds alike with its own productions. After the Second World War, film production by Studio Misr and other companies rose to some forty acted movies. The success of Egyptian films in other countries rested on the similar situation of these countries, intelligent marketing, and attractive content, with preference to unhappy love-stories with happy endings, comedies, and the much loved musicals.

Maghreb Countries

b) Egypt already had one of the largest international film industries, before the first film in North Africa was produced—in Tunisia—in 1939. Since then, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria have created an important film industry of their own. With their annual film festival at Carthage (Tunisia), these countries have established their own, internationally recognized forum, by which even European film festivals, like those of Cannes and Venice, are influenced and inspired. Some productions of the North African film were successful exports in Europe, where, especially in the 1980s and 90s, they were shown in program theaters. Among them are Nouri Bouzid's "Bezness" (1992), Merzak Allouache's "Bab el-Oued City" (1994), Moufida Tlatli's "La Silence des Palais" (Fr., "The Silence of the Palaces"; 1994), and Mohamed Chouikh's two films, "La citadelle" (French, "The Citadel," 1998) and "Youcuf ou la Légende du Septième Dormant" (Fr., "Youcuf, or the Legend of the Seventh Sleeper"; 1993). Internationally, Youcuf Chahine became the most important director in Egypt of the present time, whose "Al-Muhager" (Arab., "The Emigrant") was also shown in Europe.

West Africa

c) In 1970, Senegalese Muslim Ousmane Sembène founded the Pan-African Federation of Cinema Directors, which represented a first step in the independence of African film production. Economically, the goal is to create independent productions, without European financing. Content-wise, an attempt is made to discharge the burden of the European legacy of colonization, as well as the burden of religion. This effort is evident in Sembène's "Camp de Thiaroye" (Fr., "Camp of Thiaroye," 1988), whose theme was French-German collaboration in Senegal during the Third Reich, or in "Mossane" (1996), by Senegalese Safi Faye, the first female director in Central Africa. "Mossane" portrays the conflict between a reflective traditional consciousness and a bigoted modernistic consumer orientation, which drives the main character Mossane to suicide.

Islam and Film / Islam in Film

2. The history of film in countries of Islamic culture is, above all else, a history of confrontation with censorship. A potential for conflict lurks especially in films with religious content. This prospect is only understandable, in view of the fact that film was especially fashioned by and for the intellectual—the urban middle class, who enjoyed a higher degree of education than the rural population, and whose cultural orientation was European. In other words, acceptance or non-acceptance of the film reflected class difference, especially in Egypt. On the other hand, film is also the ideal means of transmitting messages to the people in countries characterized by oral cultural traditions and illiteracy. Thus, filmmakers have frequently found themselves, as they still do today, in the situation of having to undertake an artistic balancing-act between received religious tradition and projects of modernization.

In his film "Muhammad," which he made in the 1970s, Syrian Sunnite director Mustafa Aqqad observed the Islamic prohibition against visual → images of the Prophet by portraying Muhammad exclusively 'headless': instead of a head, a globe of light would appear on the screen. In justification of his compromise solution, Aqqad appealed to the director of the Egyptian office of censorship, who had explicitly determined in the 1960s that, although neither Muhammad or his wives nor the authentic caliphs, Muhammad's successors, might appear in film, but the censor had also ruled that this prohibition need not necessarily be in force for all time. He had thus divorced himself from the claim to absolute authority maintained by the theological al-Azhar University. The first difficulties arose in October 1970, with the unanimous censure of the film project by the Pan-Islamic "Constituent Congress of the Islamic World League," strongly supported by Saudi Arabia. A massive attempt was then made to exert influence over the book of "Muhammad." From 1973 on, in nearly all parts of the Arab world, Aqqad's film project was the subject of lively and sometimes bitter controversy, although the prohibition of images had been consistently observed neither in the early nor during the classical Islamic period. From the side of Saudi Arabia, under the verbal leadership of Moroccan religious scholar Sheikh Muhammad al-Muntasir al-Kattani, an attempt was launched to charge Aqqad with heresy (Arab., *zandaqa*) or even unbelief (Arab., *kufr*)—both of these being capital crimes under orthodox Islamic law. The campaign against Aqqad could not be prevented from being realized, however, and, ironically, it was especially the Moroccan government that led the way: Morocco emphatically promoted the production of the film, inasmuch as it allowed taking outdoor scenes in Morocco. Aqqad had two versions of his film produced. One was intended as an international version, with Anthony Quinn as Muhammad's companion Hamza, and Irene Pappas as Muhammad's adversary Hind bint Utba. An Arabic version was also produced, with Abdallah Gait and Muna Wasif in both of these main roles. The public presentation of the film proved to be impossible, however, in most Islamic countries. Beginning in 1977, the international version was released in the United States, Great Britain, Western Europe, Japan, and elsewhere, leading to bomb threats and abundant demonstrations of protest on the Muslim side. Aqqad's film was not shown in Egypt. It was presumably the criticism of pro-Shiite tendencies in the film, however, that led to the project's being approved by the High Shia Council of Lebanon. This dimension might also explain the harsh reaction of Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Sunnite world.



This shot shows the key scene of the film "Bab el-Oeud City" by M. Allouache. Boualem, the baker, dismantles the mosque's loudspeaker—'God's mouthpiece,' in the language of the Islamists—and thereby commits a 'serious sin,' which must be punished by Said, leader of the Islamists, and rival of the moderate imam of the mosque and his followers.

Equally sharp confrontations over films of religious content or with implied or actual criticisms of religion occurred in the 1990s with the Algerian production, "Bab el-Oued City" (1994) of Merzak Allouache, as well as the Egyptian "Al-Muhager" (Arab., "The Emigrant") by Youcuf Chahine. "Bab el-Oued City," from the *Centre du Monde Arabe* in Paris, distinguished with a prize, has consistently aroused vigorous objection with many Islamicist oriented Muslims, on the basis of its precise presentation and criticism of the exploitation of religion by political extremists of the *Front Islamique du Salut* (Fr., "Islamic Salvation Front") after the unrest of 1988. "The Emigrant" (1994) provoked religious censorship for its allegedly lascivious scenes.

It is also a matter of political and religious conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Senegal in Ousmane Sembène's 1992 "Guelwaar," based on a true story. Deceased politician Guelwaar, due to a bureaucratic error, is interred in an Islamic cemetery, which comes close to unleashing violent confrontations. The film reflects fear of Senegal's escalating fundamentalism.

3. The future of film in Islamic countries will depend extensively on their socioeconomic development, as well as on an avant-garde interpretation of the Qur'an there. In his "100% Arabica" (1977), Algerian French director Mahmoud Zemmouri has a modern, moderate imam say that it all comes down to reading the Qur'an forward instead of backwards.

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→ *Colonialism, Film I, Fundamentalism, Image/Iconoclasm, Islam, Media, Orientalism/Exotism*

Assia Maria Harwazinski

Flagellants

The Flagellants (from Lat., *flagellum*, a 'whip') were a socio-religious penitential movement of the high and late Middle Ages, whose purpose was the purification of the soul through bodily pain. The members of this lay movement, which had spread throughout Europe, took the vow to flog themselves for thirty-three-and-one-half days, in correspondence with the years of Jesus's life, also to confess their sins to one another, to live without sin, and, every Good Friday, to devote themselves anew to thorough self-flogging.

Italian Cistercian Abbot Joachim of Fiore (1130–1202) had predicted, for the year 1260, a 'change of the world,' in conformity with his doctrine of three ages: those of the Father, of the Son, and—now being awaited—the era of the Holy Spirit. This mystical, symbolical interpretation of the world and time based on biblical speculation combined in the fourteenth century with apocalyptic dread of an approaching world annihilation. Accordingly, two main waves of the Flagellant movement surged up, the first around 1260, emerging from central Italy, and the second in the middle of the fourteenth century, following the epidemic of the 'Great Plague' in Europe. The movement's penitential marches, sweeping from city to city and attacking not only church, but secular institutions, and provoking anti-Jewish pogroms, led to the outlawing of the Flagellants, and exposed them as heretics to the castigations of the Holy → Inquisition. This sequence demonstrates the specific relationship of clergy and state to lay movements: tolerated and encouraged at first, with citation of Christian values (penance, conversion, repentance), their support ended because they had mobilized broad segments of the population. With the abating of plague and Inquisitorial measures, the flagellants also disappeared as a mass social phenomenon.

As a rite of individual purification through self-scourging, flagellantism has survived to the present in some Christian groups, as well as in Shiite Islam, and is still found today, in individual instances, as a public rite of penance, in Good Friday processions in the south of Spain, southern Italy, Latin America, and the Philippines.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Penance/Penitent*

Stefan Hartmann

Fool

The fool, as 'fool pope' and 'boy-bishop' (or 'ass-bishop'), was closely connected with Christmas ('feast of the innocent children'). He was at once a figure of protest and a symbol of Christ, who entered Jerusalem on an ass, and later was crowned as 'king of fools.' Thus, in the Middle Ages the fool functioned as antitype of the ruler (the fool-scepter presented a contrast with the ruler's staff); as part of a 'topsy-turvy world,' he might 'tell the truth' (as still today, in the European carnival) without having to reckon with sanctions. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, the image of the fool was transformed: the fool stood for that which is sinful, sex-driven, the raw and brutish, the bestial. The allegory of the 'ship of fools,' from the early modern age, embodies the rudderless ship of life, fated for destruction, as the reversal of the ship of salvation, piloted by Jesus Christ.

→ *Carnival, Christmas, Trickster*

Jutta Bernard

Forest / Tree

Tree and Forest as Place of Worship and as Symbol

1. Trees and forests had been a component of cultic practice since time immemorial. A distinction must be made between 'sacred trees' and constructions such as the world tree, trees of life, ancestor trees, and tree diagrams. All of these forms can be read as an expression of an individual or a societal self-communication. There are contrary ascriptions of meaning, however. The tree can symbolize either the cyclic renewal of life and fertility, and thereby victory over death, or else transience and death—for example, the rise, blossom or prime, and fall of nations. It symbolizes distinct conceptions of the connection of heaven, earth, and underworld. As a place of cult, it may form the group center at which sacrifice can be made, celebration held, or justice dispensed, or it can even be the residence of the god(s). The custom of planting trees at the birth of a child is as widespread as the marking of a grave with a tree. Proverbs are positive as well as negative: "The apple doesn't fall far from the tree"; "Arrogance must be felled like a tree."

While, as a rule, the tree conveys anthropomorphic or identifying values, a forest (in its etymological meaning as land 'outside'—in Latin, *terra inculta* or *foris*, 'not enclosed, land not under cultivation') often becomes the space of projection of the 'outside' quality of a given group to which the menacing, strange, or forbidden is banished.



According to Buddhist tradition, Siddhartha Gautama achieved the redeeming insight, and became the Buddha, while sitting in meditation at the foot of a fig poplar. In the northern Indian pilgrimage place Bodh Gayā (state of Bihar) such a tree can be found today. In its shadow a seat with a red stone plate marks the place of Gautama's enlightenment. During the yearly pilgrimage feast of Tibetan Buddhists, the tree is decorated with colored prayer flags. Behind the tree is the Mahābodhi stupa ("Stupa of the Great Enlightenment"), surrounded by temples of Burmese, Chinese, Japanese, Nepalese, Taiwanese, and Tibetan Buddhists. The tree of Bodh Gayā stimulated many legends and artistic representations (as the *Bodhi tree*, i.e. the 'Tree of the Awakening'). (Kirsten Holzapfel)

Since the Enlightenment, trees and forests have equally become representatives of a → nature that—as counter-image of a rational understanding of nature—is described as displaced and suppressed, or, since the twentieth century at the latest, open to destruction.

Myths of Tree and Forest

2. With the thematization, since the eighteenth century, of 'nature peoples' and their religions, *myths of trees and woods* in prehistoric tribal societies have increasingly become an object of research. Here the spectrum of scientific interpretational models indicates an interest in setting one's own relation to nature, felt as deficient, over against that of earlier societies. Inferences of an earlier worship of female tree-divinities are drawn from, among other things, Stone Age caches of female statuettes with tree-like shapes.[1]

According to a tradition of the Jakuti, the goddess-mother of animals and human beings lived in a 'tree of life.'[2] The ancient Egyptian goddess Isis is visualized as a tree that nurses the king. As examples of 'world trees,' their loftiest branches connecting earth and sky, their roots earth and underworld, we have the 'world Ash tree' Yggdrasil, as we read in the Teutonic Edda, or else a silver pine whose peak reaches the very house of the god Bai-Ulgan, in the ancient Altaic belief of southern Russia. The function of forests as the social 'outside' is attested in, for example, the initiation rites of shamans-to-be.

A comparison of individual tree myths points to their spatial context. Indeed the ash is among the tallest of deciduous trees, in the thickly wooded North of Europe, just as is the silver fir in Asian space. In the hot wastelands and plateau regions of Egypt and the ancient Near East, on the other hand, trees are rare, although they are of importance as shade trees and a sign of the presence of water. The *sacred tree* is a motif of ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian presentations, and was adapted by Judeo-Christian religion.

The Trees of the Paradise

For the *Christian* religion of redemption, the trees of Paradise—the tree of knowledge and the tree of life (Gen 2:15ff.)—are configuring motifs in their complex meaning associations. Different kinds of trees are presented as attributes of the Holy, or represent specific human characteristics. The wood of Christ's cross is taken to have been that of the oak, for example, by reason of its endurance, or of the aspen, whose leaf has 'whispered' since then, or of the holly.[3]

The Forest as District of Menace

3. Since the early Middle Ages, a symbolism of the tree immanent to Christianity has coexisted with the ascription of trees and woods to the ambit of the 'pagan.' The Church has practiced a gradual razing of the forests, mostly for the sake of arable land, or for the economic utilization of wood, as a 'work pleasing to God.' The metaphorical equivalency of 'forest' and 'sinfulness' is attested, for example, in the theological textbooks of Alnus, or in the usage of Christian asceticism, in which a sojourn in the woods is explicitly set forth as part of resistance to temptation.

There is further logical and existential opposition to the prevailing metaphoric of the tree in, for instance, the motif of the forest in Gottfried von Strassburg's epic, *Tristan.* Here, the wood becomes the brightsome ideal landscape, and asylum for the ostracized lovers. Reports of the medieval practice of demonstrative destruction of autochthonous tree-worship are

usually from a later point in time. For example, the episode of Boniface's legendary felling of the oak sacred to tribal god Donar and the construction of a church of its wood is from the nineteenth century.[4]

Tree and Forest in Modern Times

4. From the beginning of modernity, various approaches have been mounted against a 'de-sacralized' understanding of a 'de-divinized' nature. Criticizing a belief in the reason and progress of the Enlightenment, these currents of thought reach back to conceptions of a natural order. Their commonality consists in their refusal to understand nature as a construction of societal history. Part of this tradition is the concept of nature as promoted by the French → Revolution. With its new concept of society as based on 'natural law,' national unity was anchored in a 'superordinate' power lying outside history. The Liberty Tree, shining sign of the Revolution, also implied a relationship to nature. In harmony with a cultural policy of reforestation, each community was to have a Liberty Place, with the oak as Liberty Tree, an Equality Place, with assorted native trees, and a Fraternity Place, with exotic trees as the sign of a universal unity and connection. The breach with toppled power and its understanding of nature found expression in, among other things, the Resolution of the 'Committee for Public Works,' "for the deliverance of orange trees from the servitude of the castes."[5]

The Tree as Sacrifice

In the course of the twentieth century, nature, in the form of the 'environment,' became the object of interests of social policy. The process of the environmental crisis, viewed as unstoppable, was interpreted as a consequence of human failure. In a context of both the *Waldsterben* (Ger., 'death of the woodlands') by contamination of the air (ozone, acidic rain), and the plundering of the rain forests, the tree was attributed the status of a sacrifice, which it has occupied since the 1980s. As the 'second "I" of man,' the tree now serves as an object of identification that, in its vicarious function, permits us to draw the conclusion that we ourselves are a sacrifice. This connection manifests itself in, for instance, an environmental action program called, "First the tree, then die we," as well as in artistic pieces like Joseph Beuys's project, "Stadtverwaltung-Stadtverwaldung" (Ger., "City management = City forestation") for "Documenta 7," in Kassel, with the planting of 7,000 oaks.

Obviously, the tree can symbolize utterly self-contradictory content. Thus, for example, the oak can be the Cross of Christ, the Liberty Tree of the French Revolution, the popular stereotype of the 'German Tree,' or an admonishing sign of the environmental crisis. This state of affairs transcends a common acknowledgement of the characteristics of the tree, and there it is—the nature myth, alive and well. The received practice of rooting conceptualizations of the social order in an unscrutinized totality of nature, in order to lend that totality the character of an unscrutinizable certainty, is based on a disregard of nature's historicity and finitude.

1. Baudy 1990, 113.
2. Lurker, Manfred, "Der Baum in Glaube und Kunst," in: Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 328, Baden-Baden 1960, 79.
3. Sachs, Hannelore et al., Christliche Ikonographie in Stichworten, Berlin 1994, 56.
4. Dinzelbacher 1993, 567; Köhler, Joachim, "Heilige und unheilige Bäume," in: Schweizer 1986, 143-66.
5. Harten/Harten 1989, 64.

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→ *Environmentalism, Landscape, Mountains (Five Sacred), Nature, Nature Religion, Paganism/Neopaganism, Place (Sacred)*

Ursula Pieschel

Francis of Assisi

1. Francis (1181/82–1226) is more than just one more saint in the Christian 'pantheon.' His importance for the history of religion and culture reaches far beyond the communities of the Franciscan Order and the Catholic Church, and was rediscovered at the end of the nineteenth century by Protestant theologian Paul Sabatier (*Vie de Saint François d'Assise*; Fr., "Life of Saint Francis of Assisi"; 1894) and art historian Henry Thode (*Franz von Assisi und die Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*; Germ., "Francis of Assisi and Renaissance Art in Italy"; 1885) for a middle-class secular public. Now Francis's image as the through-and-through orthodox believer, the order-founding saint charged with ecclesial piety, that had been propagated since Bonaventure of Bagnoregio's description of his life (1263), was on the way to its 'demythologization.' Ferdinand Gregorovius, in his *History of Rome in the Middle Ages* (German 1872) had already seen 'an inspired aspect of the divinity' in Francis, and had declared that he would have been a 'founder of religion' even in 'other ages.'

The twentieth century's newly awakened interest in Francis, and in the movement he called to life, lies on the consciousness, or rather, the surmise, of many persons, of their supra-confessional and timeless meaning. Nevertheless, Francis is medieval, and his religiousness manifests characteristics that exclude their hasty exploitation for modern religious requirements, and that call for an assiduous historical and philological investigation of the not always unambiguous sources.

Withdrawal from the World

2. Born in Assisi, eldest son of wealthy draper Pietro di Bernardone, Francis was baptized 'John Baptist,' but was called 'Francesco' ('Frenchman'). After a year's imprisonment in Perugia, and a protracted illness, Francis experienced a number of visions, in which he felt called to a life of radical poverty in the following of Christ. The most important of these experiences was the vision of the crucifix of San Damiano, in the summer of 1206. Portrayed in a painting in the ruined church of San Damiano below Assisi, the Crucified instructed Francis to 'rebuild' his 'house.' Francis at first took this injunction in a literal sense, and set himself to the restoration of a number of dilapidated churches. Soon, however, he understood

it in a transferred sense as well: he was to renew church society itself (*Christianitas*; Lat., 'Christianity'), by summoning it to repentance and an exemplary life. The vision of the crucifix of San Damiano was a crucial step in his 'departure from the world'—marked exteriorly by his overcoming his revulsion for the victims of the plague, and exercising active compassion for them, and then by his spectacular rift with his father. At the same time, this vision inaugurates his progressive assimilation to the suffering and crucified Christ.

The Franciscan Brotherhood

3. Beginning in April 1208, Francis joined to himself his first like-minded companions, generally well-to-do members of middle-class families of Assisi, but also including simple artisans. In the spring of 1209, he journeyed with his first eleven companions to Rome, in order to receive the approval of Pope Innocent III of his 'form of life according to the Gospel.' The Pope granted the young community authorization to preach, and after long hesitation, (verbally!) endorsed their lifestyle of absolute poverty. Critically for this decision, Francis recounted and expounded to the Pope the dream of a poor, beautiful woman in the wilderness. The notion of 'Franciscanity' that came to expression in it—the idea of an elite church within the church, leading the way—is a radical, potentially heretical idea, far exceeding concepts of reform on the part of earlier medieval religious founders. At first the Franciscan brotherhood met with scant success, but by 1221 it had grown to several thousand members in the countries of Western Europe. In 1223, Pope Honorius II approved an extensively abbreviated Rule (the *Regula Bullata*; Lat, "Rule Sealed with Lead," or 'rule authorized by a [papal] bull'). It had been brought into conformity with prevailing ecclesiastical law, and is still fundamentally in force today.

4. For himself and his community, Francis had drastically radicalized the traditional ideals of life in a religious order. With him, the ideal of obedience had escalated to complete humiliation and self-emptying. Asceticism degenerated into self-torture, and hatred of one's own body, which finally led to a complex, self-destructive form of illness. Likewise, the ideal of chastity and virginity was realized, at times, in masochistic practices. Life in poverty went far beyond the practice of Jesus and the primitive Church. The performances staged by Francis in this connection were subversive of nature: they expressed a critical distance from the Church of his times, although he unremittingly swore his utter obedience to the hierocracy and shunned any appearance of heresy. Here Francis stands in a tradition, going back to Diogenes of Sinope and the ancient Cynics, that seeks to express its criticism of prevailing social circumstances less in words than in manner of life and sensational symbolic actions. The final aim of this lifestyle, however, was assimilation to the crucified Redeemer, which Francis attained two years before his death in his stigmatization on Mount La Verna. It means not only a fusion with the traditional Redeemer, but, in the figure of the beautiful crucified Seraph who appears to Francis, and brings him the Five Wounds, an all-encompassing redemption of the entire cosmos. In his lifelong, intensive encounter with all of the phenomena of nature (animals, plants, water, stones, wind, sun, moon, stars), in which he saw the brothers and sisters of human beings, but surely as well under the influence of contemporary Catharism, he reached the conviction that all beings were ensouled creatures of a good God, and must be restored to their divine source in a world redemption enwrapping all beings (not only human beings!). This included Satan (the

earlier Lucifer) and the demons, with whom Francis wrestled in the caves of the 'eremitorium' (Greccio and Poggio Bustone in the valley of Rieti, as well as Santo Urbano in the vicinity of Narni).

5. Immediately after Francis's death, his successor as Minister General, Brother Elijah of Cortona, reported the fact of the stigmata and the appearance of the corpse, which resembled that of a crucified, in a circular letter. At the behest of Pope Gregory IX, who canonized Francis (1228) two years after his death, Elijah built (by 1239) the twin churches of the slope westward of Assisi. Francis's notions of world redemption, and of his own role as 'second Christ,' go beyond the bounds of ecclesial orthodoxy. In other circumstances, his Christology and soteriology could have made Francis one of the major heretics of the Middle Ages. Then the movement he initiated would have led not only to a reform of the Church, but to a redesigning of the Christian religion. Pope Gregory IX, the saint's 'friend' and foil, very probably recognized this. The canonization brought Francis back down to the measure of an exceptional, but ultimately 'normal' saint. In the bull *Quo Elongati*, the Pope then explained the "Testament," in which the dying Francis had established his spiritual bequest, as non-binding and without effect. Thus, he lopped off the revolutionary tip of the Franciscan movement, and passed it the canonical corset of a normal order of the Catholic Church. The same aims were also served by the official historiography of the Order (legends of Thomas of Celano and Bonaventura). But it is precisely these intentionally choked off traits of a redemptive figure, and of a religion with all-embracing, cosmic characteristics that would seem to explain the great currency of the Franciscan movement in the present—a prevalence transcending the interests of religious history.

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→ *Heresy, Mysticism, Poverty, Stigma/Stigmata, Veneration of the Saints*

Helmut Feld

Freedom of Religion

Freedom of religion is to be distinguished from religious → tolerance. Religious tolerance is accorded the followers of another cult, and of deviant conceptualizations of belief. Meanwhile, since the French → Revolution of 1789, religious freedom represents a constitutionally guaranteed right of every citizen, and is limited only by laws that are valid for every citizen. Article 18 of the United Nations' "Declaration of Human Rights" states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion;

this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."[1] A full religious freedom can be realized only in circumstances of a separation of church and state or corresponding organizations, and with a privatization of religion. Not all religions acknowledge the separation of state and church (cf. Matt 22:21); rather, they demand—as, in the extreme case, do many 'fundamentalist currents'—that all public and private questions be to be decided, even for others, on the foundation of religion. The basic thesis of religious freedom, then, represents a problem—especially for societies in course of modernization, which at the same time wish to preserve their cultural traditions. Even in Christianity, religious freedom must be "won by a struggle on the part of deviants against established churches."[2] Thus, they were able to connect with the teachings of Lactantius and Tertullian, for example, and, consequently, with their own tradition.

1. United Nations, Declaration on Human Rights, 1948, Art. 18; Ermacora, Felix: Menschenrechte in der sich wandelnden Welt, vol. 1, Vienna, 1974, 562-567.
2. Geldbach, Erich, in: Taschenlexikon Religion und Theologie 4 (1983), 243.

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→ *Constitution, Fundamentalism, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Human Rights, Law, Tolerance*

Hartmut Zinser

Freemasonry

General Characteristics of Freemasonry

1. Freemasonry (or Masonry) is a traditional fraternal society that was developed on the basis of the customs and conventions of late medieval stonemasons. Its standard definition among contemporary Masons is "a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols" (Knoop/Jones 1947, 9). Freemasonry was the prototype of many modern social and fraternal organizations, and it has been accorded a fair level of undeserved notoriety as a paradigmatic 'secret society' (→ Secrecy). Although Masons do make pledges of confidentiality when they become members, only certain ritual specifics are considered to be 'secrets' of Freemasonry, and these have been repeatedly published. In countries where they are not actively persecuted, Masonic lodges make no secret of their location, membership, or times of meeting. Masonic leaders are public figures. Masons are open about the goals and general principles of their society.

Freemasonry inculcates *charity*. This principle was at first based on the premise that stonemasons would support each other in defending their means of livelihood, and then extended to the mutual relief of fraternal members in distress. Later, it was further amplified to cover a general moral exhortation regarding charity towards the larger society, and Masonic

bodies have organized and funded philanthropic efforts for such causes as disaster relief, medical research, hospice care, and scholarships.

One of the original bases of the Freemasonic brotherhood was *conviviality*. While this dimension of Masonic organizing has been downplayed in some cases, as distracting from the ethical goals and high purpose of the society, banqueting is still an important function of many Masonic bodies.

The principle of *education* was also inherent in the earliest organizing of Freemasonry. It is customary for Masons to provide each other with lectures and instructions in their meetings. Masonic traditions emphasize the seven liberal arts and the development of intellectual discipline. Freemasonry places great stress on individual morality and personal piety, as well as freedom of religious and political opinion, and these qualities are generally tied to its educational mission.

The *ceremonial dimension* of Freemasonry is integral to its character. Besides the degree rituals through which Masons become members, Masonry also uses ritual forms to open and close its meetings for routine business, and to elect and install officers. There are Freemasonic ceremonies for laying the cornerstone of a new building. And there are distinctive Masonic funerary rituals. The customary ritual dress of Freemasons includes an apron and gloves.

Symbolism is inherent in Masonic ceremonies and ritual regalia, and in the decorations often evident on their buildings and documents. Some historians maintain that the symbolic mode of instruction is a vestige of Renaissance arts of memory incorporated into the earliest methods of Freemasonry. Whether or not that is the case, the activities of Freemasonry have diffused far and wide a recognizable set of Masonic symbols: the square and compasses, the all-seeing eye, the two pillars, the letter G, and many others.

Organization

2. Masonic bodies are in operation throughout the world. There are Freemasons in most countries and on all populated continents of the globe. There is, however, no single institutional authority set over worldwide Masonic organizing. The basic local organization of Freemasonry is the *lodge*, which is presided over by a Master, two Wardens, and other officers. The principal officers of a lodge are typically elected by the lodge membership. Lodges enact the three fundamental initiatory degrees of 'Craft Freemasonry.' These degrees, known in English as Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason, are also called the "blue degrees," and the lodge is sometimes called a "blue lodge." Lodges are ordinarily formed by the issuance of a charter from a national body known as a Grand Lodge. (In the USA, there are Grand Lodges for individual states.) Other terms roughly interchangeable with "Grand Lodge" are "jurisdiction," "obedience," and "Grand East" (or "Grand Orient"). Not all jurisdictions recognize each other's legitimacy or 'regularity.' There have been centuries of intricate conflicts, difficult accords, and complex diplomacy among different Masonic jurisdictions.

In addition, various organizations have been formed along the Masonic pattern to offer initiation and membership only to those who have already become Craft Freemasons. These further degrees are administered through their own distinct institutions, and are often referenced as Masonic 'Rites.' The most widespread and successful of these is the Ancient

and Accepted Rite, known in many countries as the "Scottish Rite," which confers degrees numbered through thirty-three. In the USA, another popular system of additional degrees is called the "York Rite." In most cases, these rites have no authority over the Craft jurisdictions or their individual lodges, notwithstanding the occasional misleading characterization of the subsequent degrees as 'higher.' Some of these rites and further degrees, such as the Ancient and Accepted Rite in England and the Masonic Knights Templar in the USA, require from their applicants a specific profession of Christian faith.

Early History

3. a) There is a great amount of lore and legendry concerning the ultimate origins of Freemasonry, going back to the Crusades, the temple of King Solomon, ancient Egypt and beyond. Satirist Ambrose Bierce joked that Masonry "has been joined successively by the dead of past centuries in unbroken retrogression" (Bierce 1958, 45).

The earliest Freemasonic lodges appear to have formed circa 1600 in Scotland. During the seventeenth century, British Masonic lodges increasingly included "Accepted" Masons, i.e. gentlemen members who were not 'operatives' or actual working stonemasons. The initiatory methods and instructions of Scottish Masons were propagated to lodges in England and Ireland where they were made the basis for lodges of Accepted Masons. In 1717, four English lodges agreed to form the first Grand Lodge. This seminal event is referred to among Masonic historians as the "Revival," despite the fact that the Grand Lodge was an unprecedented institution. This Premier Grand Lodge at first claimed authority only for the limited area in and around London. The Grand Lodge model proved successful, however, and Grand Lodges were established for Ireland before 1725 and Scotland in 1736. During the eighteenth century Masonry also spread rapidly to the European continent and to the colonies of European powers.

Internal Divisions

b) In 1751, there was a "Great Schism" in the governance of English Masonry, when the "Ancient" Grand Lodge was established in resistance to and competition with the Premier Grand Lodge, which was by contrast called the "Moderns" (in spite of its chronological priority). The new jurisdiction at first included some lodges that had never accepted the authority of the Premier Grand Lodge, some that had been stricken from the rolls for non-compliance, and others that broke away in protest of its policies. The Ancients expressed particular dissatisfaction with the Moderns' position on religion. In an effort to avoid sectarian conflicts, the Premier Grand Lodge had ruled in its 1723 Constitution that members could not be atheists, but asserted that the religious expressions of Masonry should be limited to "that Religion in which all Men agree, leaving their particular Opinions to themselves" (Anderson 1947, 233). According to the Ancients, this stance was a capitulation to Deism, against which they sought to maintain a traditional Christian character in their rituals and usages. The competition between the two Grand Lodges seems to have stimulated rather than hampered their respective efforts to organize, and the two grew in parallel until their reconciliation as a single body in the United Grand Lodge of England in 1813. The Articles of Union reasserted the principle of religious tolerance, stipulating that members should enjoy freedom of "religion or mode of worship" as long as they would believe in "the glorious architect of heaven and earth, and practice the sacred duties of morality" (Newton 1946, 119).

The Grand Orient of France—the oldest of the French Masonic jurisdictions—revised its constitution in 1877 to eliminate "the existence of God and the immortality of the soul" from its stated principles, instead affirming "absolute liberty of conscience" (Newton 1946, 135). This change resulted in a formal rift between the French Grand Orient with its allied jurisdictions and the majority of other Masonic obediences, including virtually all English-speaking Grand Lodges. This divide solidified over time, and the Grand Orient of France also came to be characterized by enthusiasm for the political Left and anti-clericalism, rather than the conservative liberalism, political neutrality, and religious tolerance previously cultivated by Freemasonic institutions. These ideological differences continue to separate many Masonic obediences across national boundaries, and within various nations.

Male, Female, and 'Mixed' Lodges

4. a) The earliest Masonic lodges admitted men only, and in most cases, Freemasonry has maintained this attribute to the present. Criticisms of English Masonry in the early eighteenth century accused the lodges of misogyny, against which the Masons protested their innocence. There are also several stories from that period according to which a woman overheard or spied upon the workings of a Masonic lodge, and upon discovering her the Masons felt compelled to admit her to membership and swear her to secrecy. By the 1760s, "Lodges of Adoption" began to be established in France and other European countries for the parallel initiation of women. Starting in the 1850s American Freemasonry has endorsed and supported some "androgynous degrees" in which membership is open to male Masons and their female relations. These degrees include the Order of the Eastern Star and the Heroines of Jericho, among others. In the 1890s a French Grand Lodge for "mixed" Masonry was established, in which men and women would be admitted to the same degrees in shared lodges. In addition to the original French group, now known after the name of its first lodge as "Le Droit Humain," a mixed jurisdiction was developed as "Universal Co-Freemasonry" under the presidency of Theosophical leader Annie Besant (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society). Another "co-Masonic" obedience called "Ancient Masonry" emerged by schism from Besant's group in 1908. None of the mainstream Grand Lodges have ever formally recognized mixed or co-Masonry.

Racial Divisions

b) In the racially divided society of the early USA, blacks formed their own system of lodges, tracing their provenance through African Lodge No. 459, warranted by a 1784 charter from the Grand Lodge of England with Prince Hall as lodge master. When other American lodges refused to recognize the black lodge, it reorganized itself into a sovereign jurisdiction as African Grand Lodge in 1791. Many arguments of a technical nature have been advanced to discredit the legitimacy of the African Grand Lodge and its organizational offspring, which eventually spread throughout the United States. It is evident, however, that racial prejudice and segregation created the original conditions for all of those arguments (→ Race/Racism). After the Civil Rights movement of the mid-twentieth century, an effort began among the historically 'white' jurisdictions to accord formal recognition to the black "Prince Hall" Grand Lodges. Today, most American Grand Lodges recognize the Prince Hall jurisdictions. The exceptions are all in the southeastern portion of the USA.

Anti-Masonic Propaganda

5. a) Freemasonry has always maintained that it is not 'a religion,' because it seeks to encourage and not to usurp the diverse religious creeds and affiliations of its members. However, the ceremonial, educational and charitable features of Masonry have caused it to be viewed as hostile competition by some churches at various points in history. Official opposition by the Roman Catholic Church dates back to the condemnation of Masonry by Pope Clement XII in 1738, and has been affirmed over the centuries in no fewer than sixteen different papal pronouncements. Membership in Freemasonry is grounds for excommunication from the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church has also sanctioned the Knights of Columbus as a fraternal organization intended to compete with Masonry by offering similar activities under Catholic auspices.

During a period of anti-Masonic fervor in New York in the late 1820's, multiple Baptist conferences abjured Masonry and resolved to spurn Masons from church and civil leadership as well as "Christian Fellowship." In the late twentieth century, fundamentalist evangelical Christians renewed vilification of Masonry (→ Fundamentalism). With the ascendancy of fundamentalists in the Southern Baptist Convention, a campaign against Freemasonry began there. Prominent televangelist Pat Robertson wrote a book called *The New World Order* in which he accused Masons of colluding with "European bankers" to subjugate the USA (→ Televangelism). In this respect, Robertson has entered a long tradition of anti-Masonic propaganda that hybridizes anti-Masonry with → anti-Semitism.

Masonic Influence on Modern Religions

b) Although Freemasonry does not advocate the institution of new religions, it has nevertheless been influential on several religious movements of modern origin. Masonic tropes and symbolism are traceable in the scriptures and rituals of The Church of Latter Day Saints (→ Mormons). Mormon founder Joseph Smith's older brother, who joined him in establishing his church, was at that time a Mason. Joseph Smith and many of the other members of the church community were initiated into Masonry during their time in Nauvoo, Illinois. Masonic ideas were also incorporated both directly, and through their presence in contributory magical and esoteric orders modeled on Freemasonry (→ Esotericism; Occultism), into the British witchcraft religion of Gerald Gardner, a premier institution of modern → Paganism/Neopaganism. African-American Masonic initiate Noble Drew Ali included Masonic symbols and teachings in his Moorish Science Temple, an eclectic and esoteric religious body that was a forerunner to the Nation of Islam.

Whether or not Freemasonry should be regarded as 'a → religion' in its own right, it has had religious consequences for Masons throughout its history, and it continues to inspire both reaction and imitation among religions today.

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→ *Charitable Organizations, Esotericism, Initiation, Occultism, Paganism/Neopaganism, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Secrecy*

Matthew D. Rogers

Freud, Sigmund

1. Sigmund Freud, founder of psychoanalysis, was born May 6, 1856 in Freiberg (Mähren), and died September 23, 1939 in London. He studied medicine from 1873 to 1881. In 1885 he was named Privatdozent (unsalaried university lecturer) for nervous diseases, and received a travel stipend that placed him in a position to study hysterical phenomena, especially their generation through hypnotic suggestion, for some five months, at the Salpetriere, Paris, with Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893). The impressions that Freud gained there became the premise of his systematic search for unconsciously functioning memories of unpleasant emotional experiences. Charcot's female and male patients reported things under hypnosis that they could not recall in their 'waking' state. In collaboration with Josef Breuer (*Studien zur Hysterie*; Ger., "Studies on Hysteria"; 1895), Freud developed, from hypnosis, the 'cathartic'—only later 'psychoanalytic'—'talk cure' or therapy. Here, through 'free association,' more and more heretofore repressed memory content became accessible to conscious manipulation, so that, in many cases, the hysterical symptoms disappeared. In the method of free association, the patient is instructed to "say everything that comes to his mind, even if it is unpleasant, even when it seems unimportant, irrelevant, or nonsensical" (VII, 385). The experiment showed Freud that free associations (in whose production Freud soon altogether abandoned hypnosis) are free of the patient's rational and moral criticism, or 'censorship mechanisms,' and can contain previously repressed material. Now, with the help of the analyst's suggestions for interpretation, one can sometimes reach the vital impressions that have produced the symptoms. His growing inclination to conceptualize "neuroses altogether generally as disturbances of the sexual function" (XIV, 50), was repugnant to his contemporaries, but his discovery of the infantile sexual life was even more so. In the construction of the → Oedipus complex, whose materialization he held as certain in all male development, he began with the son's sexual desires, in the narrower sense, for the mother: these aroused in the son a conflict between affection-

ate and jealous emotional impulses vis-à-vis the father. Freud's theoretical treatment of female sexuality, on the other hand, is one of the most energetically disputed of the various psychoanalytic directions. Its first critique has been as early as that of Karen Horney, who cast doubt on his theories in this question as all too nearly in agreement with the infantile sexual theories (see Horney 1954).

Attitude toward Religion

2. Theories on the strength of the unconscious that Freud had developed in his psychoanalytic practice, were extended by him in later writings to matters beyond theory of neurosis, to matters of cultural and religious scholarship: *Totem und Tabu* (Ger., "Totem and Taboo"; 1912–1913), *Die Zukunft einer Illusion* ("The Future of an Illusion"; 1927), *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur* ("The Disquieting Element in Culture"; 1930), and *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion* ("Moses and Monotheism"; 1939). The legitimacy of this step is disputed. Two tendencies can be observed in Freud's attitude toward religion. On the one hand, he regards it as a kind of preliminary step to a scientific stance on the world, or a scientific foundation of culture, and is overcome by the latter. In a sense influenced by Ludwig Feuerbach, he explains religious notions and actions as the projection of human desires and fears. With this conception, he of course contests the direct truth value of religious propositions. On the other hand, he thereby takes the seemingly irrational ideas and imagings of the religions just as earnestly as the seemingly irrational symptoms of the neurotics: as indications of an origin in need of explanation, and of attempts to control conflicts that would be insupportable without them. In his comparisons between religious institutions and certain neurotic repressions (first set forth in *Zwangshandlungen und Religionsübungen*, "Compulsive Behaviors and Religious Practices"; 1907) he described the difference between the two phenomena, inasmuch as he said, "A compulsion neurosis [is] a caricature of a religion, a paranoid delusion a caricature of a philosophical system." Neuroses are asocial imagings; they seek to accomplish by private means what has arisen in society through collective work. A religious ritual makes human society possible: while, with its help, conflicts may not be solved, they nevertheless receive a binding collective configuration. Neurosis, instead, signifies a flight from the real world, and this "aversion from reality is at the same time an abandonment of human society" (XI, 92-93). Religions both sketched out paths/routes for cultural accomplishments (gradually more highly regarded by Freud over the course of his life) through drive curtailment, and compensated them for their pretensions (XIV, 339). In *Der Mann Moses*, Freud recapitulates his proposition, already presented in *Totem und Tabu*, of a 'primitive patricide' by a 'primitive horde,' and in terms of this idea reconstructs the history of the Mosaic religion, which he considered with critical distance, without ever denying his membership in the Jewish majority. Along with it, at the end of his life, he became a victim of National Socialistic anti-Semitism, and was driven into exile in London in 1938. Freud acknowledged that Christianity had come closer to exposing a truth concerning the origins of the religions—at the price, to be sure, of what he had ascribed it in terms of progress in the 'spirituality' of monotheism. Freud himself believed that, in all of his works, he was indebted to an understanding of science whose orientation was to the natural sciences.

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→ *Criticism of Religion, Judaism, Psyche, Psychoanalysis, Psychopathology*

Gesine Palmer and Hartmut Zinser

Friendship

The Problem

1. *Statement of the problem:* Friendship is a type of social relationship bearing distinct impresses in the various societies, and not a religious phenomenon. In its historical manifestations, however, in the concepts to which it has its orientation, and in the patterns of behavior in which it is realized, friendship exhibits multiple connections with religion and religious history. The group relationships that it shapes follow the pattern of religious societies (founder, fusion among membership, council). Its orientation is to ideals that are open to a religious triumph when it comes to selflessness and readiness for sacrifice. It is realized in attitudes and actions that can have a ritual or sacred character (friendship celebrations, hero cults), it is articulated in religious language ('holy,' 'sacred,' 'everlasting' friendship)—just as, contrariwise, theology makes use of the language of friendship—and it is situated in imaginary or real religious spaces (garden of paradise, temple, monastery). In all of these discrete aspects, friendship can be the object of religious scholarship. If and when the noted characteristics meet, one may speak of a cult of friendship (Enlightenment, Classicism, and Romanticism). Religious configurations of friendship are preponderantly recognizable in groups, more than in the relations of friendship in pairs.

Antiquity

2. *Historical survey:* The store of tradition from which modern, European discourse and practice of friendship takes its origin is the tradition of Hellenistic-Roman antiquity, which attests to friendship most eminently as a relation among men. Its norms (equality, reciprocity, loyalty) are ordered not so much to the feelings prevailing in private relations, as to the framework of activity of the polis, or the political public forum. Its premise is that social institution, solidly established since ancient times, that is identifiable as 'ritualized friendship.' The first (political) memorial of this type of friendship consists in the twin statues of tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton, erected in the agora of Athens in 477–476 BCE.[1] Pairs of heroic friends—Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades—are generously transmitted

adown the centuries in literature and iconography. The ancient philosophy of friendship (especially Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics, Epicurus, Cicero, Seneca) forms the point of departure of all later reflection on friendship. Following Socrates's model, the relationship between teacher and pupil in the schools of Greek philosophy is designated friendship (*philía*). Epicurus, especially, promoted friendship to the philosophical lifestyle of his school, and founded in his garden a cult of friendship, with regular friendship festivals that, after Epicurus's death, were maintained as memorial feasts. Now the model is available that arises once more in the friendship cults of the eighteenth century, with their "philhellenistic" orientation. Antiquity developed no religion of friendship, however.

Christian Antiquity and Middle Ages

Theologians of early Christianity were averse from individual friendship as a worldly 'particular interest,' invoking the New Testament (James 4:4). Especially in the monastic orders, it was seen as a threat (Benedict of Nursia, Cassian). Where members of distinct faith groups designated themselves as friends, this was done primarily in the service of a demarcation from heterodoxy (Gr., 'other-teaching,' 'believing otherwise'). Friendship, Augustine emphasizes, is consensus in the faith. Between heathen and Christian, then, there can be no friendship. Theologically, friendship was bound up with the biblical notion of the 'friendship of God,' hierarchically conceived and applied only to the elect, prophets, or ecclesiastical dignitaries. This position was rethought by scholastic theology, and, especially by English Cistercian Abbot Aelred of Rievaulx (1109?–1966), integrated into a new model of spirituality and life practice as 'friendship of God' (*De Spiritali Amicitia;* Lat., "Spiritual Friendship")—a model that came to be operative in various religious groups. In a framework of small mystical groups, women too had access to, and importance for, relations of friendship.

Modern Age: Reformation and Pietism

The tension between the adoption of the idea of friendship for the establishment of group cohesion and identity, and the rejection of the individual dynamics of private, self-determined, and thereby tendentious antiauthoritarian relations of friendship, has been a constant of the history of Christianity into early modern times, and has survived the Reformation. Thus, it became a particular aspect of the German Pietism of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The antinomy between radical interiority and social isolation on the one hand, and on the other, the need for affective bonds, provoked a reaction in foundations of 'new communities' as distinct as the Herrnhut Brotherhood of Zinzendorf (1722, with its own *festival of the doctrine of friendship*) or the Frankish foundations. Analogously, the American Quakers designate themselves a *Society of Friends*.

Enlightenment, Classicism, and Romanticism

A pathos of interiority, and an affective intensity, are unquestionable notes of Pietistic socialization, in the context of eighteenth-century middle-class individualization and release from aristocratic domination. This period, then, is the proper 'age of friendship,' along with voluntarily organized, special social groups (lodges, orders, unions, brotherhoods, congresses, secret societies, literary societies, unions, and so on). They all based their cohesion on friendship, without being inclined to see the latter in Christian religious terms. With the inclusion and collaboration of women,[2] however,

a sacred cultivation of friendship did develop: on the one side, friendship temples were erected in (preponderantly aristocratic) landscape gardens; and gardens generally, along with open nature, became 'sacred groves' of friendship. As a consequence of *Sturm und Drang* and enthusiasm for Klopstock's friendship literature, on the other hand, enthusiastic intellectual friendship leagues (the Göttingen Grove League, 1772, Hölderlin's seminary friendships) were formed. Here a new 'community utopia' developed, nourished in part by enthusiasm for the French Revolution ('Friends of Liberty and Equality'). The distinguishing mark of all of these formations of friendship is that, despite (or because of?) its dissolution from Christianity and Church, friendship became charged with religious pathos, formulated in religious language, and realized in religious forms. Tied to a more or less private reference, this piety, which might well be spoken of as 'friendship cult,' indeed friendship religion, is still open to inference on the part of religious studies.[3] The friendship circles of the Romantics are legatees of the first-century emphasis on friendship. In his *Discourses on Religion* (1799), Friedrich Schleiermacher makes one more attempt to reclaim friendship theologically. But on the whole, friendship in the nineteenth century, especially in the second half thereof, seems to lose its power of independent organization. Nietzsche's "cloister of free spirits"[4] never materialized. In the twentieth century, friendship is ideologized as a group relationship among men especially (George Circle, youth movement, National Socialism).

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4. Treiber, Hubert, in: Nietzsche-Studien 22 (1993), 165-221.

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→ *Emotions/Feelings, Group, Love*

Barbara von Reibnitz

Fundamentalism

State of the Question

1. The term and concept of fundamentalism are employed to designate various groups from the most widely varied areas. As a self-description, it is expressed with a certain pride, while as a designation for others it is usually pejorative. Originating in the religious context, it has meanwhile been taken over into the area of the political. It does not enunciate what fundamentalism ultimately is, as there is no such thing as fundamentalism plain and simple: it is a double-faced phenomenon. What we do have are phenomena or movements that seem at first to exhibit a superficial kinship, but that, upon observation of their socioeconomic context, one sees as clearly to be distinguished, with regard both to their motivation and representation, and to their aims and goals. The definition suggested by sociologist Martin Riesebrodt is "mobilized and radicalized traditionalism,"[1] while that of Ahmet Cigdem is "de-privatization of religion,"[2] thus denoting the public and political character of its movements. Fundamentalist movements can always be seen as reaction to rapid social change; and they are a universal phenomenon, to be met in all religions of salvation and redemption. As a rule, fundamentalism is a religious justification that replaces, or is intended to replace, a nonfunctioning, or no longer functioning, socioeconomic or political justification (cf. → Iran since 1979 and Algeria since 1988). All fundamentalisms evince an ambivalent relation to the modern age, which they frequently accept and adopt in terms of its technological attainments, but often reject when it comes to alterations of a cultural milieu and its prevailing values. A further trait of religious fundamentalist movements is their radical orientation to received patriarchal conceptions of order, while women nevertheless make up an essential part of their representation. Various authors point to their similarity and proximity to movements of the extreme right (e.g., Riesebrodt).

Origin of the Concept

2. a) The term 'fundamentalism' was coined at the beginning of the twentieth century by North American Baptists under Curtis Lee Laws. Indeed, the beginning of the movement can be identified in the last third of the nineteenth century in the United States. Two groups, in the main, can be considered as the 'sources' of Christian fundamentalism: the representatives of the 'Princeton theology,' and the 'dispensationalists.' The former, in 1881, formulated the "Princeton doctrine," whose key proposition is that the texts—at least the original texts—of the Bible have been inspired by God verbatim, and are therefore inerrant. The dispensationalists were a pre-millenarian movement (→ Millenarianism/Chiliasm), of English provenance, which became known through the *Scofield Reference Bible.* Along with *Fundamentals*, this book can be regarded as the publication that made fundamentalism known. After recognizing the Princeton Doctrine, the highest authoritative instance of the Presbyterian Church, the General Assembly, formulated the "five fundamentals," which can be thought of as constituting the theological basis of fundamentalism. They are: (1) the inerrancy of the Bible as the verbally inspired revelation of God; (2) Christ's physical Resurrection; (3) his Virgin Birth; (4) his vicarious expiatory sacrifice; (5) his anticipated physical return to earth.

From 1910 to 1915, wealthy entrepreneurs financed the publication of a series of writings called *The Fundamentals: A Testimony of the Truth*. It appeared in an edition of three million copies, and was distributed, for free, especially at schools and universities, as these were seen as the chief propagators of modernism. In the ninety contributions to the *Fundamentals*, sixty-four American and English authors defended the five fundamental propositions against 'modernism,' referring particularly to the exegesis of the Bible in terms of historical criticism and the theories of Charles Darwin. Darwin's theories, of course, were in contradiction to the biblical doctrine of creation, and thereby introduced a basic alteration of worldview (→ Theory of Evolution). After the First World War, the World's Christian Fundamental Association was founded in Philadelphia (1919). But there was still no clearly recognizable group that designated itself fundamentalist. Such a group materialized only in 1920. Curtis Lee Laws, publisher of the Baptist newspaper *Watchman Examiner*, issued a call to a General Conference on Fundamentals. This call by Laws coined the concept "fundamentalistic" as a self-designation of a group.

Anti-Evolutionism: the 'Monkey Trial'

b) The fundamentalists became known especially from their 'Anti-Evolution Crusade.' This 'crusade' was directed against the teaching of the Darwinian theory of evolution in schools and universities; the descent of the human being from the ape was felt as an enormous provocation, if not indeed as blasphemy. The climax was reached in the famous 'monkey trial' of biology instructor John Scopes. Here, a connecting link appeared with movements of the extreme right, such as the → Ku-Klux Klan and the Aryan Nation: By large segments of the fundamentalist movement, God was thought of as 'white,' just as Jesus was, of course. For fundamentalists, the concept of a descent of the human being from the ape was seen as calling into question the superiority of the white. This notion was a crucial assault, as it would then follow that blacks were fully persons (→ Human Rights; Race/Racism; Apartheid).

Public Activity: Televangelism

c) Arisen in the urban centers of the American Atlantic coast, the fundamentalist movement vanished from public gaze. But it did not abandon its concerns, of which the chief was its presence in the educational system. It also recognized quite early the possibilities offered by the mass media for the formation of opinion. In 1944, evangelical and fundamentalist groups founded an association of National Religious Broadcasters. Besides the radio stations, from the 1950s on it was especially television preachers like Jerry Falwell and Billy Graham who daily brought the evangelical and fundamentalist message to American living rooms. → Televangelism and the electronic church were born, and still ply their media offensive of conservative religion. Right from the 1970s, the fundamentalist and evangelical camp had religious television firmly in hand; it became the agent of the movement, and established its leaders.

Contemporary Fundamentalism in the United States

3. a) From the 1970s onward, the fundamentalist movement experienced a definite upswing. Some of the values that until then had been regarded as society's mainstay were radically called into question. At the end of that decade, the fundamentalists bonded with the political ultra-right. They formed the *New Religious Right*, or indeed the *New Christian Right*. Chief initiators were televangelist Jerry Falwell from the side of the fundamen-

talists, and Richard Viguerie and Paul Weyrich from the side of the right. In the 1980s, Falwell launched the New Christian Right's most effective instrument, *The Moral Majority*. In 1988, televangelist Pat Robertson sought the Republican presidential nomination, and is the founder of the currently most effective association of the religious right, the *Christian Coalition*, which in 1998, in the name of religious freedom, exerted the strongest political pressure on incumbent President Bill Clinton. The Moral Majority understands itself as being the "silenced majority" (B. Bretthauer). In the 2004 presidential election, this movement—now known as *Born Again Christians*—played a decisive role in the re-election of president George W. Bush, himself an outspoken "Born Again Christian." Polls reveal that in 2004 thirty percent of the US voters regard themselves as belonging to this movement. What Max → Weber noted as early as 1910 turns out to be true, that in the United States the 'sect' type of religion is indeed the religion of the masses.

While American fundamentalism's bogeys were from the beginning communism and secular humanism, the protests and actions of fundamentalists in the course of the decades were directed principally against pornography, equal rights for women, abortion rights, sex education at schools, and the emancipation of homosexuals, and in favor of the reintroduction of school prayer. In the 1990s, protests of the televangelists have broadened: against the Equal Rights Amendment and against high divorce rates, against premarital as well as extramarital sexual intercourse. They have taken strong sides against the privatization of morality. The public debate of moral questions from the side of the fundamentalists and the religious right in the United States reached a climax in 1998, with the Clinton-Lewinsky affair, in which the medium of the Internet, as well, was applied in order to widen the campaign of political defamation against the incumbent American president.

b) The Moral Majority, founded in 1979, is the largest group in the New Christian Right. Founding fathers were preachers of various Baptist denominations. Jerry Falwell, who until 1987 was Chief Executive Officer of the Moral Majority, Inc., is preeminent among them. By 1981 the Moral Majority was represented in all fifty states of the United States. The group has some 110,000 preachers in the United States, and, by its own count, some 65 million members. For the financing of its gigantic media campaign, it requires an annual income of some $110 million, some of which is made up of contributions from its radio audience: nearly 400 stations broadcast Jerry Falwell's weekly "Old Time Gospel Hour," and the silent majority's daily commentaries on political occurrences (scarcely in silence then).

The Moral Majority sees its tasks and goals as moral education and people's active involvement in daily political events. In television appearances and through mailing lists people are called upon to further the goals of the group by turning to political officials personally, and thereby to advance the 'cleansing process' of American society. The moral majority aims chiefly at the public school system. One of its co-founders, Greg Dixon, is of the opinion that the present public school system has been atheistic and socialistic since its conception. Consequently, the group founds its own religious schools, in order to work against secular humanism there. The Moral Majority has until now founded approximately 300 Christian universities and 25,000 schools, and seeks to be present to all

bodies and groups, on the local as well as the federal level. Its self-concept is not that of an opposition, but of an organ of control. The membership of the Moral Majority is heterogeneous, in other words, there is no societal group that is not represented (including former gays and lesbians who have 'converted' to heterosexuality). This heterogeneity includes the confessions; the Moral Majority comprises Protestants as well as Catholics and Jews. It makes no claim to be universalistic and expressly stresses that it is not its aim to evangelize the world. It is incumbent on all members and parts of the Moral Majority that they be convinced that America has a special role to play in the world (→ Civil Religion). Pressure for an incorporation of the individual into global salvation history is absent, and a rigorous nationalism takes up the slack.

Fundamentalism in Islam: Forms

4. Fundamentalism in Islam is a phenomenon of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It denotes various political positions supported by religious ideology. Since the concept of 'fundamentalism' originates in the Christian milieu, it may be more appropriate to use the term 'Islamism' in the Islamic area in order to preserve the boundary between Christian and Islamic fundamentalism. Although the term 'fundamentalism' is new to Muslims, the concept of 'fundaments' (Arab., *usul*) is as old as Islam itself. Logically, therefore, the Arabic term for fundamentalism is *usuliyya.*

Five chief phenomenal forms of fundamentalism are distinguished in Islam:

(1) Conservative *al-Azhar fundamentalism* is taught principally in Al-Azhar University in Cairo (Egypt), the normative theological institution for higher education for Sunnite Islam, and prioritizes the ethical determination of the Qur'an. In this milieu, a cautious and clear distinction between scholarly learning and revelation is avoided.

(2) Strict *scripturalism*: here, modern science and scholarship are reckoned as emerging from Islamic roots. The modern manner of reading the Qur'an is interpreted as uncompromising conformity between 'religion' (*din*) and 'science' or scholarship (*ilm*). Consequently, no distinction whatever is made between science and belief. The thinking of medieval Islamic political theologian Ibn Taimiya (1263–1328 CE) is identified with the thought of his declared enemies, the Greek-influenced rational philosophers of Islam; the influence on Europe of the Arabic Islamic science and scholarship adopted through Spain and Italy is interpreted as the intellectual influence of the Qur'an. Here, consequently, a connection between political theology and mysticism is attested.

(3) *Puristic fundamentalism*: Arab-German sociologist Bassam Tibi holds this to be the most intolerant form. It is classified as a 'fanaticism of doctrines of purity.' The Greek-influenced philosophy and natural science of medieval high Islam is pitilessly attacked and rejected, or classified as → heresy, and an inquisitorial Islamization conducted that excludes a good part of its writings as 'un-Islamic.' Islam is reduced to its orthodox understanding of religion and law in a compressed sense: Islam is normative for science; to divide science from Islam is criminal. The core notion here is that no distinction is found between natural sciences and humanities; there are only Islamic sciences; everything else is Western decadence and hostile to Islam. This direction represents the connection between political theology, mysticism, and purist fanaticism. Puristic Islam's headquarters—run by Saudi Arabia—the International Institute of Islamic

Thought, is maintained in Washington, therefore in the 'decadent West.' The diametrical opposite—an international, rhetorically aggressive headquarters of Christian fundamentalism in a country of Islamic culture—is scarcely conceivable.

(4) *Revolutionary fundamentalism* constitutes a minority group. Its identifying characteristic, in keeping with the tradition of the Islamic rationalism of Greek influence, is its partial agreement with enlightened thought, and its qualified acknowledgment of the validity of autonomy and the freedom of human understanding. It is based on a selective view of the Islamic fundament, decidedly rejects scripturalism, and calls for a primary reliance on reason. In addition, this group calls for a serious, genuine renewal of Islamic dogmas, and an earnest dialogue between secularists and fundamentalists. The following assertions on the part of its most prominent representative, Hassan Hanafi, occasions Tibi's justifiable doubts concerning Hanafi's self-classification as 'fundamentalist': "Secular ideologies can influence only a minority of intellectuals, but they can never reach the ears of the masses. [. . .] Only Islam is capable of mobilizing the masses and having them make sacrifices for its aims."[3]

(5) *Militant fundamentalism*: Its followers regard themselves as the 'only true Muslims,' reproach the majority of Muslims with 'ignorance' (*jahilya*), accuse them of 'unbelief' (*takfir*), and thus legitimize a 'holy war' (*jihad*) against this majority. They stress the unity of the 'community of Muslims' (*umma*), with a simultaneous denial of the multiplicity actually at hand, and the prevailing normative distinctions. In association with the teachings of Egyptian fellow Muslim Hasan al-Banna, they propagate 'Islamic soldiery,' according to the idea of the *jihad*, in the early, militarily aggressive meaning of this term. Believers are also soldiers, their supreme task is the realization of Islamic goals, be it through sacred texts and the 'argument of the word' (*dalil al-qaul*), or by bombs and dynamite. While the temperate wing of this direction, therefore, strives more for a reinterpretation of the *jihad*, from the 'small' to the 'great *jihad*'—the pacific variant, in the meaning of 'spiritual, intellectual struggle'—the militant wing means to combine political theology, mysticism, and militarism (terror).

5. Islamic fundamentalist or 'Islamist' ideologies are distinguished by a selective adoption of modern accomplishments, largely limited to technology and science. Their conspicuous notes are: (a) a rejection of the primacy of human reason—the radical subordination of reason to revelation; (b) a rejection of the emancipatory principles of the modern age; (c) a dismissal of the idea of popular sovereignty, with its secular consequences; (d) a rejection of individuation or individuality, and the principle of subjectivity it entails; (e) a rejection of the universality of → human rights.

The concept of a revival of the 'world of Islam' is accompanied by an outlawing of 'Westernization' as 'new ignorance' (*neo-jahilia*). Inasmuch as Muslims regard themselves as already in possession of the absolute truth, a truth scarcely in need of review, they hold a critical reflection on their societies (in opposition to Western societies) to be unnecessary. Everything inducing uneasiness in an Islamist view counts as 'un-Islamic' and 'Westernized.' This explains the refusal, typical of the fundamentalists, of the whole of Islam's rational philosophy and religious criticism, as well as attacks on and murders of intellectuals and artists in the twentieth century. Islamists propagate a simple, closed worldview; complexity,

criticism, and contradiction are repugnant to them. Islamists share this outlook with Christian fundamentalists and with fascist thinkers. The most striking product of this position is its exclusion of the emancipation of woman as guaranteed by the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights.

Islamist Groups in Germany

6. The rise of Islamist groups in Germany can be observed clearly since the early 1980s. Therefore, it can be related to the Islamic Revolution of Ayatollah Khomeini 1979 in Iran. Centers of Islamist organizations in Germany are Munich with the Islamic Centre, Soest with the Islamic Council for Germany/Islamic Archive, Hamburg with the great Shi'i and other mosques as well as Cologne and Berlin; most of the Islamic organizations are represented in the city of Cologne.

The majority of these groups show a combination of religion and politics. Due to Article 4 of the Germany Constitutional Law, they enjoy a scope of action of religious freedom that does not exist in their home-countries, for example laic Turkey. On the other hand, this civil rights freedom is directly used by Islamist groups to recruit young Muslims of the second generation of migrants who find themselves in a cultural vacuum, due to false politics of integration, and due to their longing for identity beyond plain German citizenship.

Fundamentalist Movements in Other Religions

7. Their are fundamentalist movements and parties in other religions too, for example the movement of the radical Jewish settlers in the border-zone between the West Bank and the State of Israel, or the radical Hindu movement, which crystallizes in the political party of the Vishva Hindu Parishad (founded in 1964). Both movements are combining radical ideas of the combination of 'blood/descent' and 'earth/territory' in a religious ideological context. As many of the settlers in the West Bank are explicitly racist anti-Palestinians, the Vishva Hindu Parishad is explicitly racist anti-Christian and anti-Muslim. The major concern of the Vishva Hindu Parishad is to strengthen the Hindu population against the threat of Christian or Muslim proselytism and to avoid conversion with the help of Hindu nationalists and modern gurus by using strategic mimesis. In both cases, elements of race and religion are combined to form a sort of religious theology (Hindutva theology) to 'resist the aggressors' from the outside.

1. Riesebrodt 1990, 19.
2. Bielefeldt/Heitmeyer 1998, 91-108.
3. Tibi 1993, 120.

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→ *Confession, Conflict/Violence, Human Rights, Jihad, Group, Media, Millenarianism/Chiliasm, Sexuality, Televangelism, Terrorism, War/Armed Forces*

Assia Maria Harwazinski

Funeral / Burial

1. a) The purpose of a funeral is not only the *ritual removal of the corpse*, but also the *ritual defeat or management* of the experience of *death and separation.* The funeral ritual fulfills several functions in these categories. With reference to the dead, it excludes them, and sets them in their new context (the smoke of the funeral pyre indicates the route of the soul to the beyond; the grave marks the departed one's new residence and abode). But it can also render the memory of the dead a public affair, or account for the persisting community with the living. (E.g., endocannibalism: by eating the ashes of the corpse, a village community can conserve the power of the dead.) For those who remain behind, it performs the function of managing grief, and of filling the gaps that have appeared (reintegration). As a rule, a neglected funeral is reckoned a misfortune. On the one hand, then, a funeral service is held even when a corpse cannot be found. On the other, intentional denial of a funeral on the part of criminals or enemies, or subsequent obliteration of the name of the defunct (*damnatio memoriae*), is seen as a special punishment or injury inflicted upon that person.

The two most widespread forms of interment are *burial underground* and *funeral by fire.* A certain correlation can be observed with conceptualizations of the next world, since burial in the earth is more easily associated with



Funeral ceremony in Hong Kong. According to traditional Chinese notions, the afterlife corresponds to the present one. Here, then, as in ancient Egypt, the dead are provided with all of the objects of daily life: houses with servants, clothing, spiritual money, vehicles for travel (automobiles, airplanes), and so on. Fashioned of bamboo wood and papier-mâché, these objects are burned in order to convey them to the departed. (B. Heusel)

a subterranean world, while burning in a funeral pyre is readily appraised as a symbol that the dead enter heaven or the sky. Less frequently, burial in water (e.g., immersion in the sea) is practiced, or the corpse is exposed to decay (and thereby, perhaps, supplied with a transitus to ethereal spheres), or abandoned to animals for their sustenance; or, on occasion, the dead are consumed in ritual → cannibalism. Secondary interment means that, after the flesh has decomposed, the bones are exhumed and buried elsewhere (e.g., in charnel houses, in the Middle Ages), or, in the practice of exposure of the corpses, are gathered up after the flesh has been stripped from them. As a rule, the ashes of a cremation are also gathered, and placed in an urn or small casket (e.g., at a crematorium) or scattered.

Funeral Ritual in Zoroastrianism

b) The forms a funeral may take in a religion can be the subject of great variety. Apropos of Zoroastrianism, then: the Avesta as normative sacred scripture of Zoroastrianism shows various coexisting funeral forms. A *dakhma is*, for one thing, is a kind of mausoleum, intended as a protection from the impurity attaching to death (for instance, the tomb of Cyrus, or the 'tower tombs' of Pasargad and Naqsh-e Rostam). At the same time, the word *dakhma* denotes the location at which, for at least a year, the dead are exposed to sun and rain, while their flesh is consumed by the birds of the air; the bones are then gathered and set in a the cleft of a rock, or in a coffer. Inscriptions clarify and emphasize the character of a memorial. The incursion of Islam into Iran cuts a decisive benchmark in religious history, when, from the ninth century onward, not only was exposure the only regularly permitted Zoroastrian form of burial, but the place of that

exposure was architecturally altered to the form of the *dakhma*—the 'tower of silence.' The architectural figure of a round, tall construction, open at the top, makes possible the exposure of the corpse in the open, but prevents its profanation by the Muslim majority of Iran. Zoroastrians emigrating to India in the tenth century, known from that time as Parsees, took this form of funeral to their new country. External causes thus changed a religious option to the sole permitted possibility. Another turning point came in Iranian Zoroastrianism, when, in the 1920s, an earthen burial once more became the only kind allowed. This reform was an indirect result of the influence of European hygienic notions, propagated by some Parsees in Bombay, but also by traditional Zoroastrian groups in Iran. Now the 'towers of silence' in Iran were replaced one by one with cemeteries, until the last Iranian *dakhma* was abandoned at the beginning of the 1970s. But burial in a cement sarcophagus, in order not to violate the prohibition against the contamination of the earth by a corpse, brought an additional change with it, in that the grave—on the Christian and Islamic model alike—was marked with a gravestone, showing the vital dates of the deceased. The grave now facilitated a concrete recollection of the dead, which was not the case with exposure of corpses in collective *dakhma*. Traditional Parsees have not made this change in the funeral ritual, even though, since the beginning of the twentieth century, they have been urged to give up exposure of corpses on aesthetic and hygienic grounds; individual 'reform Parsees,' meanwhile, make use of crematoria. Despite manifold change, a continuum abides: although external circumstances condition a change in the form of ritual behavior with the dead, still the concern abides to use a funeral procedure, for the dead, and for the protection of those surviving from dangers that can issue from the dead.

Costs of the Funeral

c) For a funeral to fulfill its functions with regard to living and dead, it must be conducted in an appropriate way. To this purpose, unions or brotherhoods are founded to provide the financial contributions to ensure that, after the death, the funeral be conducted correctly. Such institutions are attested not only in antiquity, but in modern times as well, when burial associations or funeral societies also meet this need.

Specialists

Death is ambivalent; thus, the duty arises of entrusting the funeral either to the closest members of the family (as an obligation of 'piety' vis-à-vis the departed), or to ritual ('entombment') specialists, who are expected to use their ritual 'know how' for the neutralization of the hazards of death. Funeral specialists therefore often have a special place in their society, and are characteristically avoided (because of their involvement with the sphere of death), but at the same time tendered the tribute of respect, in view of their necessity.

Classifications and Feelings

2. The need for an 'orderly' funeral is not neglected outside the religious context: secular institutions are more and more involved, and this trend can also lead to conflicts of interest. Religious minorities must therefore at times modify their funeral rites in terms of alien religious premises, or are no longer permitted to practice certain forms of their management of the separation between living and dead. The loosening of family connections can also lead to alterations: for example, in today's Japan, persons sometimes solemnly conduct their own funeral ritual during their lifetime.

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→ *Cemetery, Death and Dying, Grave/Tomb, Ritual*

Manfred Hutter

Gandhi, Mahatma

Biographical Data

1. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, surnamed Mahatma (Sanskrit, 'of the great atman' or principle of life and consciousness in everyone, carrying or representing Brahman), is a key politico-religious personality of India's struggle for independence in the twentieth century. The power of the nonviolent resistance (*satyagraha*) of this religious restorer, social reformer, champion of civil rights, and politician shed its light far beyond India.

Gandhi was born in 1869, on the peninsula of Kathiavar/Gujarat, the son of a prime minister of Indian princes (*raja*). The family belonged to the merchant and landowner → caste of Bania, which stands in the religious tradition of the *vaishnava*s (devotees of the God Vishnu). Married at the age of thirteen, Gandhi went to England (1888) for four years to study law. There, after a free, rootless student life, he came in contact with the thinking of the → Theosophical Society, concerned himself with the ancient Indian didactic poem *Bhagavadgita*, and returned to Hinduism. This personal conversion, along with his interest in the Sermon on the Mount, and in other, non-Christian religions, laid the bases for his reforming religious concepts and political goals. In 1893, Gandhi was sent from his law chancellery to South Africa, where he lived for twenty-one years, and became engaged in politics and charity. In the battle for the political rights of the Indian minority there, he developed the method of nonviolent resistance, 'holding fast to the truth' (*satyagraha*). Refusal to cooperate with administrative authorities ('non-cooperation'), and 'civil disobedience' to unjust laws, were the means of his political battle. He and his adherents consciously risked prison sentences. In 1910, Gandhi founded the Tolstoy Farm, on which he and his family lived with his followers according to a rigorous principle of self-sufficiency. After the outbreak of the First World War, he returned in 1915 to India, then an already well-known and respected personality. In Ahmadabad, he founded the Satyagraha → Ashram, a place of religious instruction and social community, to create a model instance for the future ordering of Indian society. Using the means of nonviolent struggle, between 1920 and 1934 Gandhi

led the Indian National Congress as its elected President. He organized the 'Hand-Spinning Movement' against the British textile monopoly, and with his 'Salt Marsh' mobilized the mass protest against the salt monopoly of the British crown. Along with political involvement, Gandhi worked as a reformer of Hinduism, pillorying the social handicapping of the 'untouchables' in the Indian caste system, and designating them positively as *Harijan* ("Children of God"). After his departure from the Congress, he devoted himself entirely to his program of popular religious education by preaching (1935–1939). But again and again he inserted himself into political life. In spite of radical protest fasting, he was unable to prevent the division of India (1947) into two states—India and Pakistan—which provoked bloody riots between Hindus and Muslims. In 1948, Gandhi was shot to death by a Hindu fanatic.

Nonviolent Resistance

2. Gandhi's foundational themes in the political religious program were (a) *swaraj*, the combat for independence and self-sufficiency; (b) *satyagraha*, nonviolent fight for truth; (c) *ahimsa*, nonviolence, and (d) *brahmacharya*, sexual abstinence as a foundation of political religious gains.

In the *swaraj*, the *spinning-wheel* became the token of the political ideal of an economic self-reliance and a moral self-control. Gandhi's public activity is characterized by a shift from the religious to the political. As he sought to politically mobilize a Hindu cultural movement, he hoped for the return of asceticism on the political level in the sense of self-sufficiency and moral behavior of the person in control. Gandhi's societal religious model is to be understood as a criticism of the modern age. Although his doctrine and his activity came to be understood by him in the sense of an ethical reform, Gandhi is also the great modernizer of traditional Hinduism.

Gandhi as Legendary Figure of a Leader

3. Gandhi's personality attained charismatic proportions, as he succeeded in forging an individual synthesis between the Indian and European world in a universalistic approach. On one hand, he embodies the traditional figure of the holy Indian wandering ascetic (→ *sadhu*), on the other hand the idealism and activism of the champion of civil rights. This synthesis generated the symbolical power of his moral greatness. In India, Gandhi has become the national identity figure and holy national authority, who can be regarded as the guide and precursor of political Hinduism. For the Western world, he became the personification of the nonviolent struggle for human rights, and the pilot figure of pacifism. Gandhi's person has become the universal icon that one may rightfully display either for Indian self-awareness, or for other idealistic, nationalistic, and even commercial interests.

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→ *Apartheid, Asceticism, Hinduism, Indian Subcontinent, Peace*

Lidia Guzy

Garden / Paradise

Horticulture

1. There are steppes, wasteland and forest, mountain crag and open field, and then again there are gardens—things purposely shaped by the human hand, bound off and protected by hedge, fence, or wall—inner reserves for specially selected animals or plants. In comparison with the economy of the beasts of the wild, which live 'from hand to mouth,' and work and skim off what the natural environment spontaneously offers, gardening ('horticulture') demands a thoroughly planned out, long-term, nurtured and tended cultivation, regular irrigation, a constant purging of weeds and undesirable entanglements, stability, and defense against the outside. In the ancient Near Eastern high cultures, we find, along with women's small domestic gardens, orchards (Pers., *pardesu*; Gk., *parádeisoi*; archaeologically demonstrable since the second millennium BC) distributed across the countryside in a pattern calculated to serve their utility in war; we find horticultural oases and the very extravagant pleasure gardens of the elite. These persons absorbed from without everything that might offer amenity and contentment, power and prestige. Most written and artistic testimonials deal only with these upper-class gardens.

Royal Gardens as Symbols of Power

2. Horticulture reflected the specific religiosity of the elite. In ancient Egypt, the twin gardens that are afterlife and earth existed only for the upper class. In the realms of the ancient Near East, as also in India and China, the royal garden demonstrated the ruler's absolute power of life and death, and royal pretensions to the upkeep and restoration of the vitality of the land. The absolute superiority of the ruler was incarnated in the royal tree of life, the evergreen, such as the palm, the cedar, the laurel, and the fig; warranted by fresh water from sacred springs and four-armed cosmological wells; evinced in the trophies of subjected opponents and peoples; symbolized in the mount of the gods and the labyrinth of immortality; signified by beasts of life and beasts of death, like serpents, birds, and lions. Majestic style and ritual usages underscore the royal monopoly on the dispensation of life. The monument in the garden symbolized immortality achieved. Sacerdotal activity, dependent on military protection from without by the power elite, accordingly developed strategies of demarcation, and priestly control of royal power. Sometimes it did so by transforming land that had been withdrawn from the influence of royal power into temple or monastery horticulture, as in Babylon and Egypt, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. Sometimes it did so by way of narrative accounts, that estranged the water and fruits of immortality from the royal garden, and transferred them to the confines of the world, or that subtracted them from seizure by power-hungry warlords (mount of immortality, 'Hanging Gardens' of Chinese Daoism, the epic of Gilgamesh,

the apples of the Hesperides). And at times they did so by replacing the tree of life with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:8-3:24).

3. The three great individualistic religions of salvation, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, radicalized this antiauthoritarian tendency by furnishing their followers with a history of the wandering founder: the Buddha goes abroad from the garden of his princely parents; Adam and Eve move their home from the orchard of God the Lord, through Eden, into the wilderness; Muhammad and his followers emigrate from the garden oasis of Mecca. Instead of the gardens of earthly lords, the promise of these religions is, even to the destitute, an imaginary, future, or inner Gnostic, paradise of satiety and completion. At last, in a faraway future, dawns the age of the conversion of the awful power of life and death. As community of the just (→ Qumran), as Church of all the baptized (Christianity), as liturgical festival (Eastern Church), as pious soul (Islam and Christianity), believers behold the eschatological paradise already spiritually present in the here and now. The mystical believer, in her or his very self, is at once the gardener, and the divinely sequestered garden. The conditions of paradise can also be sought at a geographical distance ('islands of the blest,' Garden of Eden in the farthest reaches of the world). Even sacred inebriation and exalted sensuousness found their points of religious contact (Rose novels; 'Garden of Pleasures'). These pure, disappointment-proof paradises of faith nevertheless underlie the cycle of illusion and disillusion soon visible (Edmund Spencer, *The Faerie Queen*, 1540). Contrariwise, the lifespan share of the real garden of the actual religion of redemption is always trimmed to the hierarchic status of the individual. Only bishops and abbots, emirs and sheiks, sat safe in their gardens for their whole lifetimes. The simple believer was left with the annual trek to the paradisiac place of pilgrimage. The heavenly gardens of the Chinese emperors went on for miles. The powerless Chinese functionaries and Japanese nobles were left with only their little Daoist or Zen Buddhist gardens into which to withdraw in private.

Religions of Salvation

4. A specific line of Western development ties possession of a garden to gardening by one's own hand, and thereby overcomes the trench of feudal history between lord and servant, as well as that of religious history between clergy and laity. The garden emerged from Xenophon's ancient aristocratic Greek economic theory and practice, which bound up with each other, for the sake of plant experiment and cultivation, the agricultural work ethos and the divine ray of creative horticulture. Through Cicero and Pliny the Elder, it was transmitted to the Benedictine and other monasteries of Western Christian religion and culture. After the occupation of Roman lands in the sixth and seventh centuries, these religious communities spread across Europe like a net. Here, the 'praying and working' monks united earthly garden and heavenly paradise in one location, where the future paradise at the end of time was thought of as already realized right here, in its purest form. In the sixteenth century, the new English gentry took over the monasteries and convents expropriated by Henry VIII. They gave new dynamism to the already present monastic economy of the garden and its theory of an intra-worldly paradise, to produce a movement, comprising a broad part of the population, of constant improvement of horticultural yield in a framework of what nature, having shifted into the place of God, presents and renders possible. Gardens, henceforth, became the microcosmic mirror of how the garden's

Gardening



The rock garden of the *Ryoan-ji* Temple in → Kyôto is located in the precincts of the most important monastic and temple installation of Japanese → Zen Buddhism, the *Daitoku-ji.* Here, the Zen Buddhist aesthetic of renunciation and concentration may well find its most pure expression. The dry landscape garden is composed of but fifteen stones of different sizes, some raked gravel, moss, and a border wall. Arranged in the ideal 7-5-3 principle, the shape of the space follows the "concept of an asymmetrical harmony" (Karl Henning), familiar from Chinese Yin-Yang thinking. The "harmonious distribution of weights in the empty space" serves both as an aid to meditation and a presentation of the aesthetic elements of naturalness, reduction, and quiet, as well as the renuncia-

user stood to nature: *heroically*, enhanced by the neopagan landscape garden with its irrigation ditch; *sentimentally*, attuned by gateway and arbor; *nostalgically*, in a return to Rousseau's nature garden; *experimentally* and selectively, as Charles Darwin in Down; *according to nature* and in a spirit of *reform of life* with the garden-city movement between 1880 and 1933, or with the vegetable farming colony of Eden (founded in 1893).

5. As once during Hellenism and the Renaissance, many garden-wishes and paradise-promises are in competition today. For instance, option *Decameron*—the rhetoric of 'blossoming landscapes' in Europe; option *annual pilgrimage*—ecstasy pills in the Berlin 'Garden of Pleasures'; option *Xenophon*—aristocratic garden-farming; option *Zen*—the little garden of private transcendence; option *Diana*—cult of heroes with garden ditch; option *Darwin*—experimental fields for genetic engineering. The archetypal radiance of a paradisiacal garden, in which the corporeal and good are united with the useful and the intransitory, will probably also inspire a future global civil religion.

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→ *Eating/Nourishment, Environemtalism, Forest/Tree, Heaven/Sky, Landscape, Nature, Prestige, Salvation, Work*

Hemma Boneberg

tion of any symbolism. Meditation in the garden is possible in either of two ways: during a ritual sitting exercise (*zazen*), the monks can contemplate the garden from a terrace constructed of wood, or—as shown here—by daily gardening, by which weeds and leaves are eliminated and the gravel raked. (Hubert Mohr)

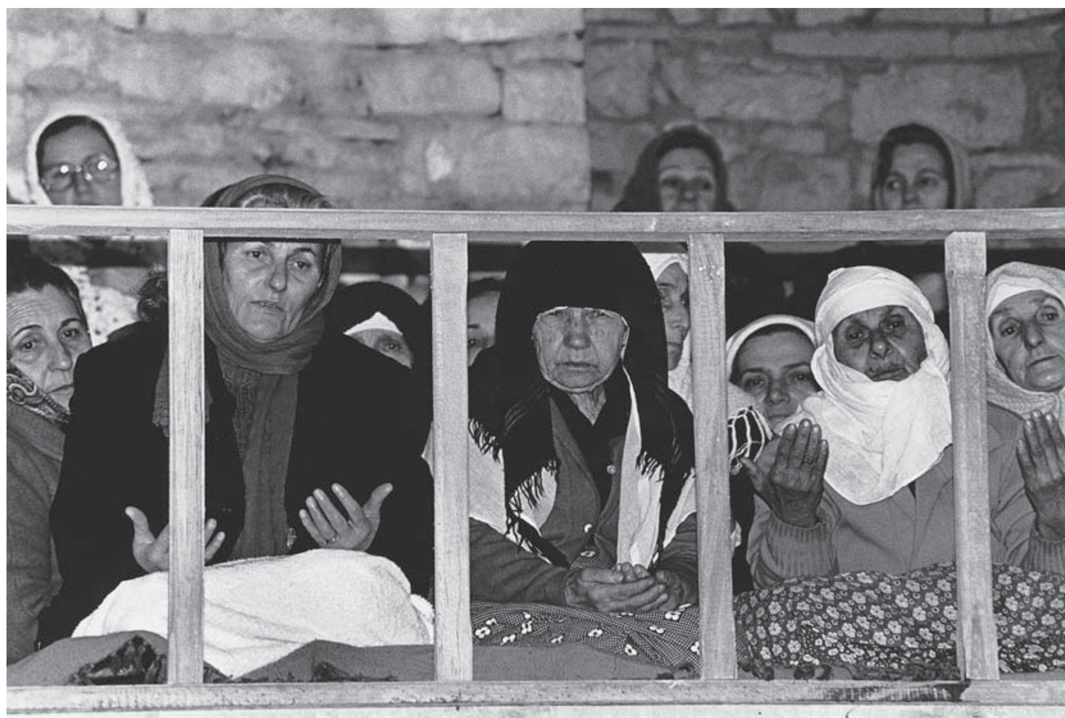
Gender Stereotypes

Thematic Overview

1. Through prescriptions, myths, narratives and theologies, religions have a strong influence on imagined and real gender roles. 'Gender' is usually differentiated from 'sex' as denoting the social and cultural construction of the differences between male and female, while the latter refers to the biological differences. Images of the 'real man,' or of the 'feminine' or 'unfeminine' woman and her place in society, work, and family mark individual identities, social and political structures, and their changes (visible, for example, in the discussion in Islamic feminism of a culture-specific image of woman). Especially through the stereotyping of gender images—as also the reference to 'public' and 'private' space, and their various evaluation—women and men develop distinct, frequently subtle strategies to gain influence and to exercise power. Religious role images reproduce (partial aspects of) reality, and affect it, but are not identical with it.

Images of Woman

2. There is often little to be learned about the reality of women's life in the writings of the monotheistic religions, addressed as these frequently are only to men by men (cf., e.g., the Commandment: "You will not covet your neighbor's wife"). The monotheistic religions are distinguished from other religions, whose gods have gender and biographies, by the conceptualization of a God above gender, who is nevertheless to be addressed as 'Lord' and 'Father.' Female figures with whom one might identify include the historical women of the Bible, and the wives and daughter of Muhammad (Khadiya, Aisha, Fatima). The image of the esteemed Greek *hetaire*, the 'temporary marriage' co-stipulated by the wife (possible spaces of self-determination), and counter-worlds such as the menacing ancient society of the → Amazons, are as absent as are the goddess figures of competing religions. Father and husband have legal power of determination over the daughter and wife. *Islamic law* excludes her from public life as too strong a seductress, but assigns her husband not only the right to her chastity, but the duty of her sexual satisfaction. *Jewish law* also provides within marriage for a sexuality lived in joy. Woman's role is reflected in the cliché, 'Jewish mother': highly respected, on the one hand, because she promises the existence of the people of Israel. (Both people and religious membership are transmitted by the mother). On the other side, her monopoly on influence in the home (child-rearing, and a management of the household that frees the husband to study the Torah) is criticized and caricatured. Depository of family piety, she is nonetheless present only passively in the synagogue, in a sequestered area; this has changed in the Reform Judaism of recent decades. The Hebrew tradition conveys the models of seductive Eve, of the imperious and demonic woman



The enclosed prayer space, and the head coverings (→ Veil) of these praying Muslim women in Albania are, obviously, outward signs of religious sex discrimination. For the observer, as for the women themselves, the function and meaning of these signs can be most divergent. Although women make up a great portion of the number of believers, and thereby are vessels and vehicles of the religion on the level of decision-making they are not—or only by way of exception—visible in the public sphere.

(Lilith), of the companion and wise counselor (Esther, Abigail), of the hero (Judith), or of the woman whose active (Ruth) or forbidden (Lot's daughter, incest) sexuality ultimately contributes to the salvation history of Israel. A description of the 'ideal woman' is found in the biblical 'praise of woman' (Prov 31:10-31); male gender as a religious privilege is reflected in the daily morning prayer, in the form of the expression of gratitude for not having been born a woman (Menachot 43b).

The image of woman in *Christian tradition* is interpreted in a controversial manner today. In terms of cultural history, the division of female sexuality into Eve and Mary, witch and saint, mother and whore had most powerful effects. In the tradition of the Fathers of the Church, woman—as the Eve of the Fall—became identified with sexuality, with the body, and with evil. In salvation theory, she means danger, and man's deflection from his relationship to God—justification for her massive annihilation as witch; socially, she is the agent of procreation, and of necessary drive-satisfaction (1 Cor 7). The image of the passive female 'vessel' for the fruit of male seed has survived, from ancient ideas of procreation to the Christian view of the human being, and then to nineteenth-century medicine. Women's capacity for redemption is called into doubt theologically (has woman a soul?—is she 'created equal' to man?)—or she is connected in her world and life to the imitation or approximation to the life of the morally and corporeally unblemished Mother of God, → Mary.

Over against this, it is feminist theology especially that draws a direct line from the Jesuan tradition to socio-historical 'women's liberation.' Adduced:

—Jesus's interaction with women as underprivileged of society;



This picture of Pope John Paul II in the circle of German bishops at his 1996 visit in Paderborn represents, for one thing, the supreme hierarchical level of an institutionalized religion, and its public presentation, and for another, the male construction of this image (association of men). The seeming obviousness of male religious power—here supported by dress suggestive of gender neutrality—has been analyzed and criticized as a product of concerted power-strategies. The gender question has become today one of the key touchstones of traditional religious organizational forms.

—creation of humanity in the image of God as man and woman (Gen 1:27), as over against Eve's second rank as 'image of the image' in her creation from the rib of Adam (Gen 2:21-25, 1 Tim 11:15);

—the large number of female disciples at the time of Christianity's inception;

—the establishment of monogamy, understood in terms of esteem for woman;

—the abolition of gender discrimination in Christian worship and community, initiating a nonsexual contact between women and men, and thus contributing to a modern ideal of partnership.

Biblically grounded feminism, usually concretized in a greater participation of woman in existing structures (women's ordination), forms the basis of new religious phenomena (e.g., equality of the sexes in American community groups of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and a considerable part of the women's movement. The 'new piety' of recent decades has expressed itself in the search for models of feminine spirituality. The interpretation of woman's images in foreign or past cultures as prototypes of a 'female identity' of today often overlooks the facts: even in tantric sexual practices, woman functions only as a means of men's salvation. New female ideals of 'motherliness' tend to maintain the Marian symbol of the moral superiority of the (religious) nurturer of the nineteenth-century middle-class family. In terms of the history of mentalities, woman's place in the body-soul schema has had its effects down to our own day. The sole model of woman as a spiritual being is the asexual nun, whose opportunity for salvation is seen in her 'masculinization': a concept of woman that endures as well in labor, politics, and science. Against this background the rediscovery



Pop singer Madonna uses religious (Christian) stereotypes as a dramatic means to sacralize eroticism (e.g., in "Like a Prayer," 1989), and to eroticize the religious, as, here, the posture and attitude of prayer or in her fashioning as a 'Madonna' ("Like a Virgin," 1984). The various stagings of this figure are not for the purpose of establishing a new role image, but are playing with the stereotypes of saint and whore, mother and vamp, and thus produce a modern connection between emancipated sexual self-determination and passionate 'religious' dedication.

and positive interpretation of female role models (witch, priestess) is crucial for a modern 'female spirituality.' For example, the Wicca religion (→ Witch/Persecution of Witches) connects the female with a special knowledge of nature and the body and places emphasis on 'experience' in contrast to 'dogma.' In this respect the 'repression of femininity' is a pivotal pattern of religious criticism and new forms of spirituality as well.

3. A problem with the religious analysis of images of men is that, in most religions, the male experience is considered to be the norm for the human being across the board. The man who controls or overcomes his sexuality is the measure of the ideal human being, that operative subject of religious writing and, as active, creative principle, authentic representative of the 'human race.' Although such ideals fail to express the reality of individual men, the religious, political, and family power of men down the centuries goes without saying. That 'masculinity' nevertheless is a salable cultural product is shown in numberless religious rituals for the transition of the child to male adult. Few cultures look on masculinity as something that does not arise in extreme or brutal actions, and separation from the status of a being to be nurtured (Gilmore 1989). The averting from the feminine in the monotheistic religions goes along with the essentially superior evaluation of the man. The religious man defines himself by 'unfeminine' (that is, spiritual) activity, and by 'pure' (in the sense of legitimated) relations to women (matrimony), or he must be protected or separated from woman's seduction, as in celibacy.

Encouraged by the feminist criticism of the 1970s, (→ Women's Movement/Spiritual Feminism) men have recently confronted anew the relationship between maleness and religion, especially Christianity. Assessing their spiritual and emotional deficits, they now seek to sketch the image of a 'new man.' Here they frequently make reference to Jesus as the 'first new man' (F. Alt), or posit a fundamental 'wholeness': that is, 'masculine' and 'feminine' characteristics ought to be integrated. Another current, the 'mythopoetic men's movement,' endeavors to reawaken spiritual sources (myths, folktales, religious writings, archetype theory), in order to repair the sundered relationship of man to religion, and thereby counter the 'new disease of misandry' (Arnold 1994), and draft a male and religious identity. This movement offers the criticism of Christianity that it has 'wounded' man as well, repressing and scorning his once admired aggressiveness. But a responsible masculinity is deemed possible only through the rediscovery within man of the 'inner warrior,' and of the qualities of the 'ruler,' the 'pilgrim,' and the 'man wild and wise.' A third current, 'body theology' (Krondorfer 1996), takes up feminist criticism and the body concept of historical anthropology, and attempts a critical reconstruction of the union of religious conceptualizations and the male experience of body. The idealization of the phallus, of the spontaneous activity and creativity of the erect penis, is regarded as spiritualized in Christianity, and the ideal concepts of male potency are applied to asexual redemption. Thus, the idea of the spiritual conquest of nature, drive, and death as a male power concept of absolute autonomy becomes the fundamental characteristic of (a) the relation to woman: she can be grasped in this idea only as a threat of impotence, and in no case representative of the divine; eroticism is linked to dominance; (b) man's relation to his body: ideal phallic spirituality belies the reality of the body, and calls for its ascetical mortification, unfeeling hardening, and 'immaculateness'; (c) relation to men: through the phallic ideal and the exclusion of woman,

there arises an exclusive power community (union of men), which would be threatened by tenderness or eroticism. Sexuality, then, is relegated to the concept of a 'compelled heterosexuality.'

From this perspective, only the paradoxical veneration of the phallic ideal by way of asexuality opens the door to the feminine aspects of the interpretation of Jesus Christ, whose maleness is still central for the Church's understanding of symbol today. Hence, there is a connection between men's withdrawal from religion, which now oftentimes becomes a private and female affair, and the transition of the phallic power concept to the achievement community (politics, economics, science, the military), along with its ideal of body and sexuality.

Such a reconstruction of religious ideologization of not only the female body poses the open question: how can mind and spirituality be thought of as matching real experience of the body on the part of men and women?

Other Images

4. Heterosexuality is the central model of sexuality in the dominant religions of European culture. Theoretically, if not practically, Islam, Judaism, and Christianity filter out homosexuality, bisexuality, or 'trans-' and 'intersexuality.' Only ancient mythology has positive images of non-heterosexual sexuality. To be sure, relations between men are part of the culturally coded masculine ideal of virtue, and the Platonic interpretation of the male-female hermaphrodite as the symbol of a primal, androgynous perfection stands in stark contradiction with the rejection of real 'effeminate' men. Other cultures have—or had, until they had been missionized—designations and roles for sexual variance. With the Sambia of Papua New Guinea, for example, persons whose sexuality is indistinguishable at birth (pseudo-hermaphroditism) have their own designation and special religious task (healing). Social interchange of gender roles is found, for example, in the cultic transvestism of the shamans (at worship, men assume a role actually proper to a woman, adopting female garb and behavior), or with the man-women or woman-men in Indian culture, who adopt transsexual roles, assuming, in dress, comportment, and sexual partnership the opposite role from their biological sex, and who are ascribed greater powers than univocally defined persons.

Religious models of changing sexes are—without idealization—challenging for the Western debate over gender and sex. In view of the different possible ways of living gender roles, it scarcely seems possible to realize the demand for a more just sexual relationship either through the idea of a 'holistic' and 'integral' sexual identity, or in the framework of the Pauline Christian understanding of 'equality' as the elimination of differences (Gal 3:28: "There is no longer Jew or Greek, . . . no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus").

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→ *Body, Communication, Conflict/Violence, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Homosexuality/Homoeroticism, Identity, Matriarchy/Patriarchy, Sexuality, Women's Movement/Spiritual Feminism*

Alexandra Grieser

Genetic Engineering

The Concept

Genetic engineering encompasses all methods by which the genetic material (genome) of organisms is isolated, characterized, altered and/or recombined with foreign genetic material ('recombinant DNA'), in part across species boundaries. In nature, genetic transfer is only found in bacteria and other microorganisms; it is not possible, using classic breeding methods, to selectively transfer certain DNA sequences. Therefore the term 'genetic engineering' refers to direct intervention of human beings into the genetic material of living organisms. The term '*transgenic*' means 'altered by means of genetic engineering'. Transgenic organisms are plants, animals, and microorganisms whose genetic material has been stably altered using genetic engineering methods and whose altered genome is transmitted to its descendants. Such genetic alterations can even *cross species boundaries*. By means of targeted recombination of genes, in part across species boundaries, human beings attempt to create new performance profiles in order to achieve a certain desired effect and to utilize nature in this way. In so doing, the slow process of evolution is jumped over, which also means that the organisms that are constructed using this method have not stood the test of a long experiential process of evolution. Since the birth of the cloned sheep Dolly and other cloned mammals whose existence shows that it is possible to clone mammals using the method of somatic cell nuclear transfer (SCNT), genetic engineering has posed increasingly profound scientific, ethical and legal challenges. The fact that it is now possible to clone mammals has sparked off a global prospective discussion, which addresses the ethical problems connected with human cloning.

In some areas, genetic engineering has become a common practice, for one in the area of *pharmaceutical* research, where numerous agents for medications are in the meantime produced using genetic engineering. Other applications for genetic engineering such as individual areas of *medicine* (e.g. somatic gene therapy) are still controversial, however, and some are rejected completely or even outlawed, as is the case with germ line therapy on human beings and human cloning, for example. Among the controversial areas of application are *agriculture* and *food production*.

Goals, Expectations, and Fears

The application of genetic engineering procedures for plant breeding is connected with a number of goals and expectations. Hopes are set in genetic engineering as a means of altering economic plants used for foodstuffs and fodder to make them resistant against detrimental insects and herbicides. Proponents anticipate higher yields and a reduction of environmentally detrimental chemicals, with adverse effects on plants and animals in the agrarian ecosystems being minimized and the bio-diversity of agricultural cropland being increased. Not only industrial nations, but also developing countries are expected to profit from such measures, which are purported to deliver the solution to the problem of world hunger. Another goal of genetic engineering is to increase the nutritive value of plants, for example the vitamin content of rice (Golden Rice), and to promote the production of vaccines in useful plants (e.g. vaccine bananas) for the benefit of the developing countries.

Such expectations are countered by the fear of an uncontrolled spread of transgenic agricultural plants and crossbreeds with other plants. The undesirable transfer of resistant genes to plants for which they are not deliberately intended as well as a loss of bio-diversity could result. Moreover, there is a fear that genes for resistance to antibiotics, which for technical reasons are often transmitted when plants are altered transgenically, can also penetrate pathogens, making it impossible to combat them using conventional antibiotics. Another fear is that genetic engineering will not provide the promised solution to the problem of world hunger but rather result in even greater exploitation of developing countries by industrial nations. The key word in this context is *bio-piratry* by firms in industrial nations, i.e. the wrongful appropriation of biological resources in developing countries whereby genetically engineered indigenous plants of these countries are sometimes even patented without these countries benefiting from the profits. Losses in exports and a deterioration of the economic basis of such countries as well as higher unemployment could be the consequence.

Consumers are often very mistrustful of genetic engineering in agriculture because they do not perceive any direct benefit for the end product, i.e. for the foodstuffs and fodder that are produced from the genetically modified plants. Worries about health-hazardous side effects such as allergies, the risks of genetic engineering for the environment, and the possibility that industrial countries might exploit developing countries are highlighted here.

Recent Developments

Research is now being carried out whose aim is to attain useful proteins and pharmaceutical agents from *transgenically modified animals* and to use such animals as pharmaceutically useful 'bio-reactors' ('*gene pharming*'). Intensive research efforts are also being made to breed transgenic farm animals to increase yields and improve product quality in the production of foodstuffs and raw materials (meat, milk, wool etc.) ('*gene farming*') as well as infection-resistant animals and transgenically modified animals for use in transplantation medicine (xenotransplantation, or transplantation of animal organs in human beings). Cloning of transgenic animals is expected to make for particularly effective proliferation. Here the ethical issues raised concern the high degree of animal consumption and possible animal suffering, which even pose problems in the research stage. Another concern is that the negative effects which transgenic modification might have on the well being of these animals and the potential affliction of pain and suffering have not yet been sufficiently investigated. If animals

are instrumentalized in this way, it is necessary to ethically weigh up risks against benefits, especially considering the fact that the utility that such genetically engineered modifications have for human beings remains questionable.

Germ Line Therapy and Human Cloning

Genetic engineering is a particularly controversial issue when it comes to human beings. Those who favor it point out its therapeutic potential for the treatment of serious illnesses. Somatic gene therapy (healing through modification of genetic information to body cells) is in an early stage of development. There have been setbacks here, and so far there has been no indication of success. Selective intervention into the human germ line (*germ line therapy*) is not ethically justifiable due to the risks to developing individuals and to future generations connected with them. Germ line therapy and human cloning would constitute human experiments. The use of human embryos as sources of embryonic stem cells and research cloning are subject to ethical controversy due to the fact that embryos are appropriated and destroyed in the process. Genetic engineering also often evokes horrific visions of human beings being bred (→ Eugenics); the legitimization of each individual case must be examined carefully.

Sweeping objections to genetic engineering based on the premise that it is not permissible to 'meddle with nature or God's creation' cannot provide a basis for collective bindness in our secular society, but with fact-based arguments against certain kinds of intervention into human and non-human nature, the legitimacy of such a view should be carefully examined in individual cases.

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→ *Bioethics, Ethics/Morals, Eugenics, Nature, Science*

Eve-Marie Engels

Genius

Antiquity

In Greek and especially Roman antiquity, the figure of the genius is met, for example, in the conceptualization of a procreative power residing in the male human being. Genius, which is also regarded as a protective divinity, and enjoys cultic veneration, can be ascribed to an exalted personality (as Lat., *genius Augusti*); but it can also, collectively, be seen in the (Roman) people, and, last but not least, in a place (Lat., *genius loci*, 'genius of the place'). The genius comes into view in, for example, the form of a serpent (that from time to time emerges from the earth and attests the 'sacredness' of the place), or of a horn of plenty. After the prohibition of the old worship, by Theodosius I (392 CE), the notion of the genius survived in Christian reinterpretation, as a spiritual principle. From Origen on, a merger obtained between the genius and the Christian guardian angel. The genius of Christian reception also adopted the function of an advocate (on grave markers), and further developed to the popular and ecclesial angel.

The modern notion of the genius first appears in the 'time of the genius,' or literary movement of *Sturm und Drang* (second half of the eighteenth century). Examples of this artistic ideal peep out of Goethe's essay, "Von deutscher Baukunst" (Ger., "German Architecture"), or some of his hymns (e.g., "Prometheus," 1777/78; or "Mahomet," 1774). The notion of the genius gained importance as a concept with which to proclaim celebrate the transition from enthralled vassals to mature, enlightened citizens, and exemplarily in the form of the autonomous poet. The genial poet declares, with pathos, the truths revealed to him alone, an event that implodes in its original creative power, which has him become the demiurge. To him, the extraordinary hero, societal veneration falls even in the present, but still more certain for him is renown in the afterworld. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the form of the genius takes on darker features, as well, and produces the precarious connection between the genius and illness or insanity. As the twentieth century opens, a genial, not overdrawn, personality ideal, as propagated in Dionysiac rapture by Thomas Carlyle, and not least of all by Friedrich → Nietzsche, calls sobering critics to the field—immediately after the First World War, vis-à-vis the lionized genius concept, lined with enthusiastic pathos, E. Zilzel favored a Socratic personality ideal, who devotes himself, with a cheerful and serene heart, to service to the matter at hand. With his contemporary, Max → Weber, we find an altogether similar criticism, which, to be sure, bears even clearer traces of an 'antidotic,' sobering pathos.

Englightenment and Romanticism

The mass efficacy of charismatic genius reached its catastrophic climax in the topos, transferred in terms of National Socialism, of the 'Führer genius,' whose self-appointed herald was Josef Goebbels. Thereafter, things became quieter when it came to the genius. Instead, at least in the area of the new religious movements, new masters now, as well, have emerged in the form of Far Eastern gurus. The question of whether Max Weber's ideal was not, after all, able to promote positive masterly qualities for the personality dedicated to his project, ought not all too flippantly be swept from the table, with all failed, crazy, and extravagant genius experiments.

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→ *Angel, Hero/Heroism, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Georg Hartmann

Ghetto / Ghettoization

The Jewish Ghettos

1. The word 'Ghetto' emerges for the first time in the early sixteenth century, in Italy. Here the Republic of Venice erected for the Jews (once more admitted, after a long banishment) their own closed quarter, which probably got its name from the foundry (Ital., *getto*) in the vicinity. Once the diaspora had begun, the Jews lived together in certain urban quarters just like many minorities, until about the beginning of the second millennium in Catholic Western Europe. At that moment, by church law, they were compelled to withdraw into sturdily bounded and closely controlled urban neighborhoods. In the wake of the Counter-Reformation, many Italian, German, and French cities built 'Jewish wards' ('quarters'), surrounded by walls and locked from the outside at night. Their inhabitants lived under strict conditions. There were regulations on their immigration and population growth, the legal age for marriage, and the number of marriages permitted each year. In the course of the nineteenth century, with the granting of civil rights to Jews, the ghettos were opened for good and all—the last of the kind in 1870 in Rome, once the ecclesiastical state had been occupied by Italian troops.

In Eastern Europe as well, Jews lived in special neighborhoods (in Yiddish, *shtetl*). There were no civilly obligatory, sealed ghettos. The concept then received a new, particular meaning with National Socialist Germany's policy of persecution and annihilation of the Jews in the Second World War. In occupied Poland, they were driven together into living areas surrounded by impenetrable walls and fences, as a preliminary to physical annihilation. The best-known ghetto of this kind was the Warsaw ghetto, where in the spring of 1943 there was actually an armed uprising against the German occupiers, which, hopeless as it was, nevertheless became the symbol of Jewish resistance to the Holocaust.

The Afro-American Ghettos in the United States

2. Today, 'ghetto' generally means any place where → minorities live or must live in freely chosen or compelled separation from the majority of the population. In the large cities of the United States, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Eastern or Southern Europeans, massively recruited for heavy industry, moved as a rule into ethnically homogeneous living areas. Nevertheless, by the second generation at least, and financial

status permitting, they looked for new places to move to, usually in a green suburb. Now they had become emancipated, individual 'Americans'—though the mechanism of the American 'melting pot.'

These short-lived 'ethnic ghettos' are to be distinguished from the permanent Afro-American 'racial ghettos,' the 'black ghettos.' These arose as a result of demographic shifts occurring in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and after, and—paradoxically—in consequence of the twentieth-century political and legal emancipation of the Afro-American population. Now, where there were no Jim Crow laws (legal grounds for *social* distance—factual apartheid in the rural areas of the South until into the 1960s), the majority of the population, of European extraction, reacted with the imposition of *spatial* distance. The emergence of practically closed 'black' residential areas in the inner quarters of large American cities began as had the ethnic ghettos of the Europeans in the eighties of the century before. As the immigrants from the rural areas of Europe, so also many rural Afro-Americans from the South moved to the industrial cities of the North. This development, in part conditioned by the Second World War, accelerated in the forties of the twentieth century, and continued unchecked into the sixties. Of course, the white, majority society forced the Afro-Americans to continue to maintain residence in the black ghetto—simply by reason of the fact that, by tacit agreement, whites would not sell them homes in a 'white' residential quarter. Since the last third of the twentieth century, as 'racial relations' in the United States polarized, so has the nature of the black ghetto. On the one hand, for members of the professional Afro-American middle class, or for successful individuals (entrepreneurs, sports figures, entertainment artists), practically no discrimination is any longer practiced. On the other hand, living conditions for the majority of the 'American lower class' have relatively worsened. Through neglect and exclusion, their neighborhoods today once more meet the criteria of an impenetrable ghetto in the classic sense.

Influence of the Ghetto on Religion

3. In the *black ghettos* of large cities, Protestant (preponderantly Baptist) Christianity at first played a role similar to that of its central influence on daily life in the old South. Their churches were the only institutions that Afro-Americans might themselves control; thus, not only religious, but also, to a large extent, cultural and political life was played out in them and determined them. Even the special religious content and forms of the black churches in the cities corresponded to the origin of these churches in the Southern states. In them, an altogether specific form of Christian faith was cultivated and furthered: here, Afro-Americans were the chosen people of God, and—passively, of course, to a great extent—awaited deliverance from their slavery at the hands of the white male. This outlook often found liturgical expression in melancholy religious songs ('gospel songs,' as, for example, "When Israel was in Egypt's Land"). From a practical viewpoint, the churches in the ghettos functioned as the pivot and organizational headquarters of social life. This role changed only in the 1960s, as a new generation of blacks proclaimed the view that Christianity is a 'white' religion, and therefore cannot be integrated with the struggle for emancipation being waged by Afro-Americans. Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam represented a new separatism based on, and aiming at, power. In reaction, black Christian theologians radicalized the message of Christianity, as well, in the direction of a more aggressive theology of liberation. Recently, an attack by

black theologians on sexism in black churches has been launched as well, and is accelerating.

Development after the Second World War

4. After the Second World War, in the wake of the worker immigration and migration, ethnic neighborhoods have also sprung up in many large western European cities, some of which are designated as ghettos. An intense political debate has arisen with respect to the French *banlieux* (suburbs), home mostly to North Africans, or the Kreuzberg district in Berlin, the majority of whose residents are Turks. The question is whether it is possible for the resulting multicultural or multiethnic society to live in harmony. These questions arise differently in each country and prevailing political culture. For example, it makes a decisive difference whether or not a given ethnic or religious group of 'foreigners' ('others') are recognized as citizens of the country in which they live. The critical distinction is provided by the class status of the (voluntarily or otherwise) excluded. In some western cities of the United States and Canada, there are entire quarters occupied in the majority by Asian immigrants. But it would not occur to anyone, least of all to the immigrants themselves, to say that they lived in a 'ghetto'; these Asians see themselves as highly respected and economically fully integrated members of society, as indeed they are.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Diaspora, Judaism, Migration, Minorities, New York, North America*

Frank Unger

Gnosticism

Problems of Definition

The Greek word *gnôsis* means 'knowledge,' and refers more specifically to a salvational knowledge of one's own Self and its divine origin. Emphasis on gnosis is found not only in the late antique currents and ideas that have become known as 'gnosticism,' but also in e.g. Clement of Alexandria and, notably, in → Hermetism/Hermeticism.

Until recently, it was widely assumed that the 'heretics' attacked in the second and third centuries CE by orthodox Christian authors such as Justinus Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons, Hippolytus of Rome, and Epiphanius of Salamis belonged to an identifiable 'gnostic current' or 'gnostic religion.' Gnosticism in this sense was characterized by a strong → dualism between the completely transcendent God of light whence originated man's inner divine 'spark,' and the dark and negative material world created by an evil or ignorant demiurge to keep that spark imprisoned in bodies and prevent

it from returning to its origin. Although such ideas were certainly held by a number of groups and authors in this period, it has become evident in recent years that the generic concept of a 'gnostic religion' is an abstraction or simplification that does not do justice to the actual complexity of the textual evidence. Michael Allen Williams has demonstrated this in detail, arguing forcefully that the 'dubious category' of gnosticism should better be discarded altogether,[1] and Karen L. King explains how this rhetorical category created by a deeply polemical discourse was eventually reified and mistaken by scholars for a historical entity.[2] The fact is that the very substantive 'gnosticism' was coined only as late as 1669 (by Henry More, see Layton 1995) and that, with only a few exceptions, the early Christian polemicists did not call their opponents 'gnostics,' but labeled them quite generally as 'heretics' (if they not simply called the groups by the names of their respective founders).[3]

While they must be seen as integral parts of a broad type of late antique religiosity that appealed to 'gnosis' as indispensable for salvation—and which could be found in pagan and Jewish as well as in Christian contexts—most of the heretical groups and ideas targeted by the polemicists seem to have been characterized more specifically by the fact that their central ideas are expressed in myths. This mythological gnosis therefore roughly coincides with 'gnosticism' as traditionally understood, but even so, there are various texts that complicate any attempt at clean categorization. For example, the *Gospel of Thomas* emphasizes gnosis but contains no mythology, and a hermetic text like the *Poimandres* (Corpus Hermeticum I) is not considered a gnostic text in spite of its mythical content.

With respect to late antiquity, therefore, one must never lose sight of the difference between 'gnosticism' as an artificial polemical construct, on the one hand, and the complexity and variety of the historical currents rightly or wrongly associated with it, on the other. For later periods the situation is easier: here we can concentrate on the → reception history of the reified construct itself, which took on a life of its own and actually caused new 'gnosticisms' to come into existence.

'Gnostic' Texts

That today we are able to distinguish, to some extent, between the polemical construct and the historical reality of 'gnosticism' is mainly due to the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library in 1945. Until the eighteenth century, scholars were dependent on the anti-gnostic polemics preserved in the works of early Christian theologians and neoplatonic authors (notably Plotinus, who criticized the gnostics in *Ennead* II, 9, later called "against the gnostics" by Porphyry). Although the 'heretical' groups and ideas often had little in common, theologians sought to present them as one coherent current with a genealogy of its own: 'gnosticism' was supposed to have originated with the arch-heretic Simon Magus. The myth of coherence and the preoccupation with genealogy were both inherited by modern scholars, leading to fruitless debates about 'the' origins of 'the' gnostic religion. As part of their polemics, the anti-gnostic writers sometimes transmit long excerpts from original gnostic writings, such as the *Excerpts from Theodotus* in Clement of Alexandria, and the *Letter to Flora* in Ephiphanius's *Panarion*. New original documents only began to be discovered from the eighteenth century on: the *Pistis Sophia* preserved in the *Codex Askewianus* (discovered around 1750), the *Books of Jeû* and the so-called *Untitled Treatise* preserved in the *Codex Brucianus* (discovered in 1773), and the *Gospel of Mary*, *Apocryphon of John*

and *Sophia of Jesus Christ* preserved in the Codex *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502* (discovered in 1896). And then in December 1945 came the spectacular chance discovery of the so-called Nag Hammadi Library: a collection of thirteen codices containing forty-seven different works—including a few non-gnostic ones—preserved in a pottery jar hidden in a cave near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt.[4] This discovery has revolutionized academic research into 'gnosticism,' and has ended up undermining the essentialism of traditional approaches.

Mythological Gnosis in Late Antiquity

In spite of the enormous variety of ideas found in the textual corpus, some stand out as particularly characteristic. They can be seen as variations on what might be called the gnostic 'master myth.' Man's inner self (→ Soul) does not belong in this material world but has originated in a divine world of light (the 'pleroma'), which is the manifestation of a wholly transcendent God. Sparks of the divine light have become separated from their origin and have lost their way in our lower world of spiritual darkness and materiality. Trapped in gross bodies and subject to worldly temptations, they have forgotten who they really are and where they come from. But they can be saved from this tragic condition of ignorance and alienation by remembering their origin. This is the salvational knowledge of gnosis, as formulated in an exemplary statement attributed to Theodotus: true gnostics are those who remember "who we were and what we have become, where we were and into what we have been thrown, whither we hasten and from what we are redeemed, what is birth and what rebirth" (Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpts from Theodotus*, 78, 2). Only he who has regained this knowledge will, after death, be able to move upwards through the seven heavenly spheres—passing by the 'archons,' quasi-demonic beings who will block the way to anyone without gnosis—and finally find the way back to his divine origin.

Every aspect of this master myth was susceptible to a great variety of explanations and developments. Thus there are many divergent explanations—often assuming quite different metaphysical and cosmological frameworks—of how and why the sparks became separated from the pleroma, and how the lower material world came into being. The original, fatal rupture takes place in the pleroma itself, and the creation of the world is a secondary event that eventually follows in its wake. This creation is typically attributed to a lower deity, the demiurge: an evil or at least ignorant being who masquerades as the true God and seeks to prevent human beings from discovering the truth about themselves. Hence the typical gnostic exegesis of the Genesis story: the God who created the world in seven days is really the demiurge, the serpent is a messenger from the true God, and by eating from the tree of knowledge (i.e. gnosis) Adam and Eve's 'eyes are opened': they remember who they are and are freed from the tyranny of this world and its ruler.

Probably because of a wish to emphasize the distance between the transcendent God and the negative world of matter, many texts describe "a cascade of divine entities down from the summit of being."[5] Thus we have the divine qualities or attributes called 'aeons,' who are described in spatial and temporal terms, and together make up the pleroma; there are many levels of reality between the divine world and the earthly realms (a point that was strongly criticized by Plotinus, who assumed only three

levels); and on all these levels we encounter a multitude of spiritual entities. Gnostic mythology flourishes in elaborate descriptions of the interactions between such personalized entities and the dramatic events that result from them.

Nevertheless, the ultimate focus of gnostic mythology is the human Self. Each gnostic could personally identify with the dramatic story of how the pneuma, or spark of the divine light, gets separated from its origin; how it loses its way until it gets entangled and trapped in the world of matter; how it lives and suffers there in ignorance of its real identity, origin, and spiritual destiny; and of how it finally finds its way back to salvation by the grace of gnosis, and is reunited with God. This essentially simple and elegant explanation of the human condition, and the hope that it provided for future deliverance, explains why—in spite of its sometimes abstruse complexities—gnostic religiosity could have a strong emotional appeal to believers.

For Christian gnostics, Christ was an esoteric teacher who saved men by bringing them gnosis. One of the major complaints of the orthodox polemicists against the gnostics was their docetic christology: Christ had no material body of flesh and blood, and hence did not really suffer on the cross. The concept that gnosis meant a radical liberation from this world and all that belongs to it, was interpreted by some of the anti-gnostic polemicists as implying immoral behavior: since they were no longer bound by earthly laws, the heretics—notably the Borborites and Carpocratians—were believed to indulge in sexual licentiousness, perhaps even in a deliberate effort to mock the demiurge who had created those laws. Since these accusations appear only in anti-gnostic polemics, and there are no authentic texts that advocate sexual libertinism, it is most plausible that the ‘libertine gnosis’ was a figment of the polemicists’ imagination. The Nag Hammadi library breathes, rather, a thoroughly ascetic atmosphere.

Medieval Gnosticism?

→ Manichaeism contains elements of redemption and salvation that link this ‘religion of light’ to gnostic cosmologies; but whether or not it should be considered a form of ‘gnosticism’ very much depends on one’s position in the theoretical and terminological debate alluded to above. As for the religion of the medieval Cathars, its frequent characterization as ‘gnostic’ is debatable, as well. Like Manichaeism, Catharism has been associated with gnosticism mainly because of its strongly dualistic worldview, which holds that the material world was made by an evil creator and seeks the liberation of the soul that is imprisoned in the → body. But some of the most central Cathar ideas about the Spirit and the soul have no similarity with those of late antique ‘gnosticism,’ and perhaps most notably: the notion of gnosis plays no significant role in it, and the Cathars never developed a mythology about events in the heavenly world that had led up to the present state of estrangement.[6] To the extent that those two elements—the appeal to gnosis and participation in a gnostic ‘master myth’—are considered central to ‘gnosticism,’ as has been argued above, it would be inconsistent to see Catharism as a gnostic religion. Incidentally, a similar argument can be applied to the heresy of Marcion, who has often been seen as a gnostic because of his dualism, but who emphasizes faith (*pistis*) instead of gnosis, and who claims that man is saved by a wholly alien God instead of returning to the divine origin from whom he has himself been born.

The Modern Reinvention of 'Gnosticism'

Throughout the medieval and early modern period, the polemical discourse that saw gnosticism as "the primal enemy, that had not come from outside, but sat at the very root of the origin of Christianity" (Hans Blumenberg[7]), was entirely dominant. Hence, 'gnosticism' functioned exclusively as a term of opprobrium used by orthodox theologians in their battles with heresy. The earliest example of an apology of gnosticism was written in 1629: it appears in Abraham von Franckenberg's *Theophrastia Valentiniana*, and did not become available to a wider public until 1703, when it was published by Gottfried Arnold (Gilly 2000). Only a few years earlier, Arnold himself had published his famous *Impartial History of Churches and Heretics*, which has made history as the first public defense of ancient gnosticism (and of later heresies).

This new phenomenon of 'gnosticism' as a positive concept made it possible for thinkers in the immediate wake of the → Enlightenment to explore attractive new ways of interpreting its historical role in the ideological and social battles between Christian orthodoxy and heresy. Notably in the context of the *Vernünftige Hermetik* (Ger., "Enlightened Hermeticism") of the eighteenth century,[8] the criticism of Christian orthodoxy and the established churches naturally went hand in hand with a sympathy for the gnostics as their traditional opponents. From such a perspective, it became possible to suggest that the program of the Enlightenment should not lead to the complete annihilation of religion, but rather to the transformation of traditional religion into a new kind of gnosis.

Probably the most influential representative of such a perspective was the important historian of theology Ferdinand Christian Baur, whose *Die christliche Gnosis* (Ger., "The Christian Gnosis") was published in 1835. Baur drew straight connections from the gnosticism of late antiquity to the Christian theosophy of Jacob Boehme, and from Boehme to Schleiermacher, Schelling, and Hegel. From a Hegelian perspective, Baur described gnosis as the quintessential manifestation of the philosophy of religion as such, that seeks to find the true essence of religion underneath its limited manifestations in paganism, Judaism, and Christianity. The perennial goal of gnosis was to arrive at 'absolute knowledge as such,' and it had finally succeeded in Hegel's philosophy of religion (→ Esotericism).

'Gnosticism' and Modern Ideologies

Since German Idealism and → Romanticism were in fact strongly influenced by hermetic-theosophical thought in the wake of Paracelsus and Jacob Boehme,[9] it is not surprising that Baur believed he had found his own Hegelian philosophy back in Boehme. For many later thinkers, who saw German Idealism—and dialectical materialism as its 'reversal'—as the historical root of all modern political ideologies (→ Political Religion), it was easy to conclude from his synthesis that 'gnosticism' was the ultimate root of all the troubles of the modern world. However, because Baur's concept of gnosis itself rested on Idealistic premises, it could hardly be used as basis for a criticism of Idealism; instead, one frequently fell back on the old heresiological model of gnosticism as the 'primal enemy.'

From these foundations derive most of the theories of 'gnosticism' that have been developed by modern thinkers as a tool for analyzing → modernity. One of the most influential among them is the political philosopher Eric Voegelin (1901–1985), who vehemently denounces the 'gnosticism' of modernity in general and the great political → ideologies in particular. In

fact, however, Voegelin's theory is based upon a fatal confusion between gnosticism on the one hand, and apocalypticism and millenarianism on the other (→ Apocalypse; Millenarianism/Chiliasm);[10] as a result, a great variety of modern currents and phenomena that actually have no connection with anything resembling ancient 'gnosticism' are nevertheless presented as such. In Voegelin's imagination, which sometimes borders on the paranoid, 'gnosticism' became the demonic enemy of all true 'classical and Christian' values, and the term ultimately covered the whole of modernity and all that he rejected in it.

No less influential is the theory of Hans Blumenberg, which again reflects a basic terminological confusion. In sharp opposition to Voegelin, Blumenberg sees modernity not as "the gnostic era" but as "the second victory over gnosticism" (for the first victory, by the Christian church, had only seemingly been successful). It is quite clear that for Blumenberg, 'gnosis' actually means the doctrine of Marcion. However, we have seen that Marcion is a boundary case at best: a 'gnostic' who does not appeal to gnosis, and in whose perspective one does not find the basic myth of the return of the divine spark to its origin. Accordingly, the celebrated "Blumenberg-thesis" in fact argues (correctly or not) that modernity is the "second victory over Marcionism," not gnosticism.

Quite similar conclusions can be drawn about most other contemporary constructs of 'gnosticism.' Ioan P. Culianu has argued very to the point (and very amusingly)[11] that almost all modern currents and personalities of any importance have sometimes been characterized by somebody as 'gnostic.' In many cases we are dealing here with dubious associations and intuitions that have their ultimate basis in the heresiological construct rather than in a careful comparison between late antique ideas and their alleged modern counterparts. In the wake of authors such as Voegelin, connections between gnosticism and → National Socialism have been particularly common; but it is quite clear that the intuitive attraction of such comparisons rests mainly upon popular images of gnosticism as the diabolical enemy *par excellence*. In recent years, the genre of cultural criticism based upon the 'gnosticism'-model has been gaining considerably in sophistication: reflecting the burst of new scholarship based upon the Nag Hammadi collection, authors such as Michael Pauen,[12] Kirsten J. Grimstad,[13] or Cyril O'Regan[14] (to take only a few examples) seriously discuss the ancient sources and the problems of scholarly interpretation and terminology before applying their concepts of gnosticism to philosophers such as Jacob Boehme, Ludwig Klages, Ernst Bloch, Martin Heidegger, Theodor W. Adorno, or Thomas Mann. Still, the very title of a book such as Pauen's, *Dithyrambiker des Untergangs: Gnostizismus in Ästhetik und Philosophie der Moderne* (Ger., "Dithyrambics of Decline: Gnosticism in Modern Aesthetics and Philosophy"), relies for its appeal on the suggestion that the old enemy of 'gnosticism' has been responsible for the catastrophe of the Third Reich.

Relatively independent from this entire tradition of 'gnosis'-constructs in the wake of Baur, Hans Jonas (1903–1993) proposed a quite different thesis about "modern gnosticism" in the second edition (1962) of his standard work *The Gnostic Religion*.[15] Jonas saw a profound similarity between the ancient gnostic experience of 'alienation' from the world and the modern experience of *Geworfensein* that is basic to modern nihilism and existentialism. This was a fruitful thesis that has led to interesting insights, but has also been frequently misused. Notably, quite some authors have concluded

that if the gnostics felt themselves to be strangers in this world, it follows that any reference to such 'alienation' is proof of a gnosticism; the result is, again, that countless authors who have nothing in common with the ideas of ancient 'gnosticism,' are confidently presented as 'gnostics' merely because they express some sentiment of alienation.

Neo-Gnosticism

Entirely independent of the tradition outlined above, there have been various attempts in modern history of reviving 'gnosticism.' Up to the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library, such attempts were bound to rely essentially on the testimonies of the anti-gnostic writers. The worldviews, beliefs and practices rejected by Christian orthodoxy could be read as sources of inspiration for those who rejected conventional Christianity and its values, but also by those who saw in gnosticism the deeper core of true Christianity that had unfortunately been rejected by orthodoxy.

The complex myth of fall and reintegration expounded by Martines de Pasqually (d. 1774), and basic to his initiatic order of *Élus Coëns*, is a good early example of the latter approach: the members of this order were required to be practicing Roman Catholics as well.[16] Very different in that respect is the *Église Gnostique* (French, "Gnostic Church") created in 1890 by the spiritualist and occultist Jules-Benoît Doinel: inspired by ancient gnosticism as well as by Catharism, Doinel created a kind of gnostic counter-church complete with a hierarchy of bishops, which spawned several offshoots.[17] This was the beginning of an entire lineage of occultist groups with a special interest in 'gnostic rites.' Among them, special mention must be made of the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO) of Aleister Crowley (1875–1947); in 1913 Crowley wrote a "gnostic mass," full of sexual symbolism and clearly inspired by the heresiological concept of a 'libertinist' gnosis, and which was intended for public service in the context of the OTO.[18] Such a perception of 'gnosticism' as involving sexual rites can be found in various other magical/occultist orders of the twentieth century (→ Occultism), such as Giuliano Kremmerz's *Fraternity of Miriam* and its offshoots, or the *Fraternitas Saturni* founded by Eugen Grosche in 1926.[19]

Throughout the twentieth century, 'gnosticism' has become a standard ingredient of esoteric religiosity. Due notably to the writings and translations of the Theosophist G. R. S. Mead (1863–1933), the known gnostic sources became a source of inspiration in the Theosophical Society (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society). Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels's (1874–1954) extreme anti-Semitic worldview of Ariosophy uses gnostic mythology to describes the Aryan 'man of light' as a spiritual being who must free himself from the darkness, materialism, and bestiality of the inferior Semitic races (→ Anti-Semitism).[20] Entirely different again is the *Lectorium Rosicrucianum* founded by Jan van Rijckenborgh (1896–1968), which combines Rosicrucian and Theosophical Christian traditions with a strong dualism explicitly based upon gnostic models. Gnostic models are basic even to various contemporary → UFO-cults; for example, in 1997 the members of a group called Heaven's Gate decided to leave this material world and return to the spiritual world of light by committing collective suicide.

While all the examples mentioned above rely essentially on the model of mythological gnosis, as the Nag Hammadi Library became more widely known since the 1980s, newly discovered texts such as the *Gospel of Truth* or the *Gospel of Thomas* have become a source of inspiration for those in

contemporary Western society who are searching for a ‘new spirituality’ (→ New Age). Instead of dualistic myths of fall, alienation and return, such new developments emphasize, rather, the universality of ‘gnosis’ as an intuitive rather than a doctrinal road of access to divine truth. Remarkably, those who are inspired by such types of ‘new gnosis’ may see them as quite compatible with an optimistic and world-affirming religiosity.

1. Williams 1996.
2. King 2003.
3. King 2003, 7.
4. For a more detailed overview, see van den Broek 2005.
5. Van den Broek 2005.
6. Van den Broek 1998.
7. Blumenberg 1985, 144 (“den Urfeind, der nicht von außen kam, sondern schon an der Wurzel des christlichen Ursprungs saß”).
8. The term was introduced by Rolf Christian Zimmermann in his standard work on the worldview of the young Goethe (notably Zimmermann 1969, 19-38); for recent developments, see Neugebauer-Wölk 1999.
9. For Romanticism, see e.g. the overview in McCalla 2005. For German Idealism, see e.g. Vieillard-Baron 1999.
10. Hanegraaff 1998.
11. Culianu 1984.
12. Pauen 1994.
13. Grimstad 2002.
14. O’Regan 2001; 2002.
15. Jonas 1963.
16. Var 2005a; 2005b.
17. Toth 2005.
18. For Crowley, and for a guide to the literature on this figure, see Pasi 2005a. For the OTO, see Pasi 2005b.
19. Introvigne 2005; Hakl 2005.
20. Goodrick-Clarke 1992.

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→ *Antiquity, Body, Dualism, Esotericism, Hermetism/Hermeticism, Light/Enlightenment, Meaning/Signification, National Socialism, Occultism, Political Religion, Reception, Soul*

Wouter J. Hanegraaff

God / Gods / The Sacred

1. Should one seek to apply the expression 'God,' 'the Sacred,' or 'the Holy,' academically, one would first have to become clear on the presuppositions involved. The *Christian tradition* has long opposed the one true God to the many false gods, first those of antiquity. God is essentially a 'person,' that is, a 'vis-à-vis.' The concept of God implies evaluations (true/false, good/bad) and a distinction between monotheism and polytheism. The one excludes alternatives, and the other presupposes them. This classification underwent a relativization in the *Renaissance*. Antiquity then became regarded as a positive exemplar of a world of gods. The *Enlightenment* introduced the principle of reason as a norm into the concept of God: God was determined essentially by (the one) reason. Thus the conception of a person vanished: it was no longer the powerful vis-à-vis, but a calculable structure, that shaped the deity. In a counterstroke, *Romanticism* found the experience of the divinity in aesthetics and emotions; God became 'unnamable'; the divine was now but within, accessible only to individual experience, and no longer in a world beyond. In this case as well, a depersonalization manifests itself.

'The Holy'

Corresponding to this modern tendency is the replacement of God as the fundamental religious object, in religious studies around 1900, with an impersonal concept: namely, the idea of the '*Sacred*' or '*Holy*.' Now, this Sacred can be conceived basically in various ways—either as a subjective area, e.g. as a certain experience, or as an element of relation. In the latter case, the Sacred appears as related to a counter-concept, the Profane; or in further relations, as between the Sacred and the Pure.

Since the nineteenth century, religion has gotten into the undertow of *concepts of evolution*. The idea of progress suggested, to culture and therewith to religion, a constant development (→ Evolutionism). Correspond-



God, child, and thespian: Rāma at the Rāmlīlā. A rest period during the thirty-day presentation of the sacred drama *Rāmlīlā* (Rāma's Play, in Ramnagar in the vicinity of Benares). The youth playing the god Rāma sits under an arbor of leaves, clad, painted, and bejeweled as a divine image. For the duration of the presentation, he forsakes his individual name, and himself becomes the god Rāma whom he represents (*svarūpa*). He sits motionless, while men reverence him by fanning him, seeking his proximity and his glance (*darśana*), or reciting the *Rāmacaritamānasa*—textual basis of the sacred drama—and a paraphrase of the Sanskrit epic, *Rāmāyana*. (J. Gengnagel)

ingly, the conceptualization of God was supposed to have unfolded from an impersonal primitive condition of belief in demons to polytheism and then to monotheism. Or contrariwise, the primordial unity (also of the concept of God) has been broken. The two notions returned as academic concepts: as the model of perfectibility and unification on the one hand, as a model of decadence on the other.

Scholars tried to determine the status of the concept 'sacred/holy' (1) as metaphysical, (2) as transcendental, or (3) empirically. In the first case, we are dealing with a 'theological' determination. To it, an antithetical religious criticism corresponds: God or the Sacred is then 'nothing else'

but a projection of unattainable human wishes. Rudolf Otto attempted the second possibility. On this count, the Sacred would be an a priori category closed to further elucidation, but lying at the basis of every concrete religious experience. In modern academic study of religion, the last of the three possibilities, the empirical determination, has prevailed.

2. Looking at the history of theory one must be skeptical of so-called universally valid definitions of 'God,' or of 'the Sacred,' in the sense of alternatives, or of homonymous determinations of being, or even only as constant determinations of function. 'God' and 'the Holy' are therefore being handled here not as the 'basic datum' of religion, but—etically—as concepts of descriptive speech, which denote first of all what one has designated as 'God' and 'the Sacred' in the Western/Muslim cultural context. In other contexts, 'God' and 'the Sacred' can name comparable things; the comparability, however, always has to be demonstrated.

Does Every Religion Need 'God'? Anthropomorphism

a) To describe God as a 'person' suggests an interpretation of the 'other,' or of → transcendence, mainly after the enlarged model of the human being ('anthropomorphism'). There are also other possibilities: interpretations after the form of beasts ('theriomorphism'), of plants ('phytomorphism'), or of other elements of nature (sky, wind, rain, sunset, mountains, rivers, and so on), and finally after the form of buildings, elements of the same, musical instruments, and so on ('technomorphic' interpretations). In many religions, distinct conceptualizations are available for one and the same form. In ancient Egypt, for instance, the deity of heaven could take form as a woman, a cow, the roof of a temple, and the sky.

For the Greeks, this treatment of the gods was striking, since in Greece non-anthropomorphic interpretations had extensively disappeared. Gods, therefore, must first be investigated in terms of the material of their formation.

Superhuman

b) The analogy of the human form, however, typically collapses when 'the other' manifests itself in the deity. Gods are different from human beings, and they manifest their 'otherness' through typical qualities distinct from the human: they are immortal (this is the main characteristic not only of the Greek gods, but also of the Mesopotamian), or else can cross the boundaries between life and death, in either direction. Often—although they guarantee justice!—they are unjust (for example, Zeus; but also rather frequently, YHWH). They are not male or female, but androgynous (as the Egyptian 'primordial gods'), and so on. Otherness is variously accentuated: it is stressed most powerfully in the exclusive monotheisms. For Christianity and Islam, *God is the 'utterly Other,'* other not only from human beings, but from the world as such. The distinction between God and not-God is the fundamental characteristic of these symbolical systems. Nevertheless, anthropomorphism is retained in the concept of God, and this feature leads to problems—which, in each of the three religions, were developed somewhat differently, and were reflected on in different theological ways (although not solved).

c) On the one hand, the anthropomorphic form of the god can be developed in various degrees, and on the other, naturally, it is always dependent on human beings' perception of themselves that is specific to each respective culture. As for the degree of *development*, it is of importance, for example, whether the figure is lent constancy or not, whether it has

a determinate profile, whether it has a name, whether intercommunication with it is possible. This is shown in the very bestowal of the name: figures that appear only once, or that are scarcely perceptible, that express themselves only in aggressive violence, and for whom no communication exists, will scarcely have the word 'god' attributed to them.

An anthropomorphic interpretation of the gods suggests possibilities for the area of differentiation and relationship that are also valid for the world of human beings. Thus, gods are often distinguished by gender (male and female), are ordered according to generation ('old' and 'young' gods, or even three generations: grandparents, parents, and children), have social and economic functions (represent professions, etc.).

Different Gods

Relations among the Gods

d) As a rule, even the individual god of a polytheistic system represents a rich *network of relationships.* In polytheistic systems, for example, gods often mark a social position, certain areas of experience, a geographical orientation, and much else (thus, Zeus stands for rule and government, disposition of the course of storms, he dwells on Olympus and in other particular regions). In gods, then, relations are thematized that stamp the order of the world; the web of relationships among the gods represents this order as a whole. If the multiplicity of the gods is limited to one figure, then the complexity of the latter must increase: it embraces an infinitely great number of sometimes fleeting relations.

Representing the Gods

3. Gods must be somehow open to human → *communication.* Speech, behavior, image, and music are variously suited to express concepts of God. A deity understood as a person can first and foremost come to presentation in speech and image. One can recount of gods, describe them, reflect on them. One can paint them, form them in plastic art, and present their behavior (gods can be presented dramatically or imitated in dance).

Here it is striking that, frequently, only certain possibilities are selected as means to presentation. In many religions, a rich, often also profoundly meditated, iconography determines the presentation of the gods; in other cases, the visually perceptible image may not be permitted—in Judaism, and subsequently in Islam as well, and (albeit in a relativized way) in Christianity.

God in Persons' Lives

The *processes of communication* in which the gods appear can be described from syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic viewpoints respectively. First, *syntactically,* one must describe the other elements of the symbolical system with which gods are connected. *Semantically*, one can inquire after the 'meanings' belonging to a divinity, typical experiences occasioned by it in devotees, when these have to do with them, or 'fields of resonance' in the world of human life with which the effectiveness of a god is connected. The Mesopotamian sun god, for instance, is experienced in the brightness of sunlight and judicial decisions, the Greek Ares in the senseless slaughter of war. Finally, *pragmatically*, one must inquire into the communicational context of application in which a deity appears. 'Gods' are not always the object of concern: there are also 'high gods,' upon whom one calls only in dire need, or 'personal gods,' in whose constant company one abides by way of amulets.

Conversation and Care

While God appears in the view of (religious) scholarship as an addressee of religious communication, God is also a *partner (in communication)*, albeit in an entirely different way. In many religions, an I-Thou relationship stands in the foreground: God can be addressed in prayer or oath, God's image can be 'dealt with' (greeted, clothed, nourished). This activity forms and thematizes a boundary between God and the human being. Further, 'identifying' forms of communication also appear, and in multiplicity: in Australian rituals summoning the 'dream time,' the participant in worship plays the higher beings; but mystical experiences also readily occasion the surrender of the distinguishing I-Thou relationship in favor of an identification.

4. Communication with the god implies certain experiences: *the 'Other'* is established in a region characteristically raised up above the 'normal.' This phenomenon can be described, on the one side, with respect to the social dimension and its varying regulation; or, instead, with regard to a psychological dimension. Here, the complex of the *Sacred* is adjoined to the problematics of God.

'The Sacred': Social and Spatial Separation

a) In a *social* respect, the Sacred can be specified as societally determined and established spaces of experience, which transcend the space of profane experience: for both spaces, particularities prevail in the regulation of behavior and relationship, of communication. However, there are often stages or steps in sacred space, there are distinct non-sacred spaces, there exist different relationships between these spaces and a multifarious drawing of boundaries. One schema is quite widespread, for example, in which the center of spatial orientation, as the place where the divinity or its representation are to be found, is maximally sacred, with particular subordinate spaces being thereupon preferred to others, such as dwelling space, garden, heath, or deep forest (as with the Lugbara). Here, however, multiple relationships prevail between the 'sacred' and the 'foreign' (for example, deep forest), and both regions are excluded from the 'normal.' This is also the reason why connections frequently exist between concepts of the 'unclean' and those of the 'sacred.'

Differently regulated areas are not limited to the world at hand: they also appear in the imagination of a *linguistic or graphic presentation*. In this dimension, the Sacred becomes more flexible: for example, temporal dimensions can be introduced. In paradise God and human beings lived together at the same place. Divisions were established with the 'Fall'—denoting certain important weighty events that are often ambivalent, and therefore not unambiguously unsalutary, and yet without which a 'sacred space' cannot be constituted. Eschatological expectations render such differentiations retroactive, and await a sacralization of the entire world (Paul, for instance, awaits a world in which God is 'all in all')—or else a transformation of all into chaos.

Transition to Sacred Space

b) The *differences in regulation* meet with very distinct dimensions of relation. First, there are certain ethical or ritual prerequisites for approaching a *transition to a special space*; specific forms of 'purity'; frequently, particular → initiations are prerequisite. The transition is accompanied by changes in vesture (removal of shoes, shaving the head—or instead, covering it—donning of special clothing—or instead, nudity), gesturing (prostration at transition, execution of determinate motions, washing and cleansing oneself),

seclusion (→ Penance/Penitent). In sacred space itself, things occur that are otherwise impossible. It is a widespread principle that the slaughtering of animals be limited to sacred space. The killing not only serves the nutrition of persons, but simultaneously puts in motion a communication with the powers beyond, that are in a position to grant life and take it.

Psychic Confrontation

c) The *psychological side*, the quality of the Sacred (or → Holy) by which it can be experienced, has been described by Rudolf Otto in an influential treatise: the essential thing is an experience of ambivalence, which, on the one hand, attracts and fascinates, and on the other frightens and arouses fear. This experience is especially charged with feeling: it remains in the memory, and is thus enabled to render impressions permanent if they are engraved in sacred space. Granted, it must be kept in mind that this ideal experience receives its respective specific societal imprint in each cultural context, and that the intensity of the experience as one enters sacred space is highly variable. And ritual routine can make the extraordinary element in the experience of the Sacred shrink to zero.

5. In cultures whose religious system is subjected to a reflection, the concept of God, or an impersonal correlate, finds a *rational treatment*.

Greek Antiquity

a) In Greece, even in Hesiod we observe a configuration of the image of Zeus as the dominant God developed in this way. In Orphism, pantheistic tendencies arise. Zeus, as the actual being of the world, is transformed into various shapes. In most configurations of Greek philosophy, the premise of a unitary world-principle and its identification with the one God is self-evident. Here proximity or distance vis-à-vis traditional religious practice is ranged along a broad spectrum. While certain currents make use of received cults and their traditions (under interpretative refiguring, naturally, especially in the Stoa and in Neo-Platonism), other approaches to traditional religion are critical (Xenophanes), or at least skeptical. Many groups dissociate themselves from society altogether (Pythagoreans).

Hinduism and Buddhism

In Indian culture, similar speculations occur scattered throughout the Vedas already; then, in post-Vedic time, they form into different 'schools.' Here, first, an impersonal notion of the divine prevails, within a monistic or dualistic interpretation. The depersonalization (and detachment from objective thought at all) becomes unsurpassable in Buddhism, where conceptions of transcendence are completely transformed, and made over altogether to the area of spiritual processes. But personal concepts, as well, are developed (in the framework of Hinduism, in the Bhakti movement; in Buddhism, with the emergence of the concepts of the Bodhisattva). First and foremost, these are elitist concepts of God or the 'Sacred,' which justify the lifestyle of the upper class, who have invented them. Transitions to a folk piety (especially in Indian culture) are nevertheless possible.

Jewish-Christian-Muslim Tradition

b) In the area of Jewish-Christian-Muslim tradition, reflection was challenged by concrete historical events, and this history has determined the image of God accordingly. Here, the personal notion of the 'Other' has prevailed. Monotheism—that is, the sharp antithesis of God and the world—means first of all the immunization of the concept of God from historical questioning: God is uncoupled from the lot and fortune of his

people, his venerators, from the processes and conditions of the world. This separation makes the concept of God more attainable, as it were; but it also makes it more difficult to convey. Religious practices of socialization must be intensified: membership in the *religious* (and not simply the traditional) community is no longer self-evident.

All of this rational configuring of concepts of transcendence, as God or as impersonal transcendence, is marked in a high degree by linguistic discursive moments. That is, types of → theology, and of philosophy of religion, appear that attempt to express the intellectual content of the respective concepts as precisely as possible. To be sure, the aspects not representable through this type of communication win little attention: there remains only an elitist image of God or of impersonal transcendence.

6. In manifold ways, the Western → Enlightenment has been understood as the 'upbeat' of a gradual → disenchantment of the world, and of its deprivation of its gods. Actually, there are various interrelated processes to be observed: the traditional religious symbolical systems have lost plausibility; they are appropriated individually (if at all); and concepts of God, in this individualization, frequently surrender their contours—they are unstable and fluctuating. Social control of the symbolical system has more or less disappeared: individuals have complete freedom of belief, which is guaranteed by the constitution of the modern state. Logical positivism has finally declared the discourse upon God as meaningless. Furthermore, ecumenical movements in inter-confessional, or even inter-religious, discourse have stressed an identity of the God reverenced in all confessions and religions, and movements of revitalization see the traditional gods once again at work. The measure of the dependency on these religious contextual conditions, when it comes to concern with God and the Sacred in religious studies, is not to be underestimated. It was the modern disappearance of the gods that provided room for religious studies to critically consider its objects in the first place, and the new upswing of the religious element would counsel against any underestimation here.

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→ *Holy, Monotheism, Polytheism, Religion, Transcendent*

Fritz Stolz

Golem



The diagram by Mark Podwal is based on a conceptualization that the golem was created with the assistance of kabbalistic alphabetical mysticism. Dancing symbols surround the ten Sefirot (traits of God), which are sketched here as spheres and arranged in anthropoid form.

The golem (Hebr., 'unformed mass'), a figure from Jewish folk mythology, is an artificial anthropoid, whose magical creation is attributed in most literary sources to historical Rabbi Loew (c. 1512–1609). The origin of the legend of the golem is difficult to trace. Its first mentions (in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) refer to a golem narrative said to date from the fourth century BCE. The key setting of the presentation of the golem is most often a situation of need or persecution among the population of the Jewish ghetto in Prague. In order to counter this situation, the golem is made of mud or clay, and appears as a powerful defender, given life through kabbalistic number-mysticism (symbols on the forehead or miraculous amulets). The golem performs persons' labor, and defends the weak. Finally, he goes out of control, becomes a danger—even for his creator—and must be destroyed (becoming earth or loam once more).

Gustav Meyrink's free adaptation of the material in his novel *Der Golem* (Ger., "The Golem"; 1915), and the silent film *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* (Ger., "The Golem: How He Came into the World"; 1920) familiarized a broad non-Jewish audience with the motif. The history of its reception can be traced through theater presentations, comic strips, books, and fantasy plays down to our own day. A related plot is found in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818). In addition to its function as prime image of the monster who is fundamentally good natured, but of uncouth fashion and creation, and therefore unpredictable, the golem became the code for the possibilities and risks of scientific and technological progress.

Gershom Scholem (→ Kabbalah) is deliberately referring to this when he names the first Israeli computer, constructed in the Weizman Research Institute, "Golem Aleph." The intelligent machine lifts burdens from human shoulders, but not all consequences can be calculated. A further literary entry in this vein is Stanislaw Lem's *Golem XIV* (1981), a process calculator with qualities of understanding, which finally becomes superior to its human creators.

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→ *Demon/Demonology, Judaism, Kabbalah, Magic, Zombie*

Claudia Haydt

Government / Rule / Politics / State

Secular and Religious Power

1. a) As Jesus is interrogated before Pilate as to whether he has planned an overthrow of Roman rule, the Roman governor asks him: "Are you the King of the Jews?" Jesus answers (in John 18:33-19:30): "My kingdom is not of this world." The philosophically trained general presses the higher ruler of the world, as he has understood things, to defend himself; however, the latter does not see the meaning of his mission in the preservation of his life: "You would have no power over me unless it had been given you from above." (The expression "from above" is used in order to avoid pronouncing the name of God, which was forbidden to the Jews.) In the Judeo-Christian tradition, principles seem to emerge from this confrontation as to how the relationship between government and religion is to be defined. That is, (1) they belong to discrete echelons of life. (2) The exercise of power is not the task of religion; rather, it is left to secular rulers. (3) But secular power has its limits in the power of God: regimes are introduced by God, and judge themselves in terms of how they have succeeded. Thus, history is left to God's decision—sooner or later.

b) However, the scene of Pilate's interrogation did not permit the positing of supra-temporal principles. The Evangelist John sees, for one thing, the God-human Christ in a struggle against the world. For another, the Jewish religion (except for the four hundred years of the kingdom that lasted until the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BCE) was always under foreign rule; only as the State of Israel was founded in 1948 have Jews had a state of their own (albeit not a religious one). The first Christians too lived in opposition to a foreign rule, and the idea was not basically altered even as Christianity became the religion of the Empire. That religion does not form its own government, but is dependent on a good secular government—the 'two kingdoms'—becomes a doctrine formulated programmatically by → Augustine in his *City of God* (after 410) and by Luther in the 'doctrine of the two kingdoms' (around 1525). Christians regarded resistance to the prevailing political order, then, as something unthinkable, even against the Nazi reign of terror. This makes Christians' deficiency in their understanding of government rather clear.

Separation of Church and State

c) A peculiarity is presented in the Western world by its sharp *separation of government and religion*. In its battle with the absolutist kingdom 'of God's grace,' the French Revolution defined the state in non-religious terms (1794). The reaction was that the churches themselves formed into institutions that followed their own (particular) interests. Especially in France, the conflict became so acute that, to this day, the churches are not financed by public funds; nor may they be represented in the schools, but children are instructed in 'morality.' Émile Durkheim, who fought for the corresponding law in 1905, stamped into religious studies the sharp split of the world into 'sacred and profane.' While in the tradition of the → Enlightenment (Rousseau's *religion civile*; → Civil Religion), the notion of 'morality' denotes a system of values and norms for which society is responsible; the contrary position finds its expression in the formula, "The liberal legal state posits premises that it cannot itself guarantee."[1] The state must hold a "neutral worldview," and guarantee the religions the free space to form conscience (→ Freedom of Religion).



Politics or Religion? The act of then Minister President, and President of the German Federal Council, Gerhard Schröder, who on 24 March 1998 laid a stone on the grave of assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (1922–1995), originates in Jewish tradition, coming down from the time in which grave markers were made of heaps of stones. In order to preserve the grave, each visitor placed a stone on it, a custom maintained even after gravestones came into use. Symbolic gestures such as these belong to the standard repertoire of the modern politician. It seems worthy of note that the boundaries between sacred and profane acts are intentionally blurred: Schröder 'acts as if' he were a member of the Jewish community. (Hubert Mohr)

d) But the state guarantee of religious freedom leads to quite distinct consequences. In France, laicism completely separates church and state; in Germany, the ruler of the region was patron of the church, so that priests were regional functionaries in charge of moral supervision and instruction in the schools. The Weimar constitution (parag. 149) and the German Basic Law (art. 7, no. 3) provide for extensive privileges for religion, for example, in the areas of religious education and church taxes.

e) In the Islamic Revolution, in → Iran and Algeria, the separation of government and religion is abolished once more. From a Western viewpoint, the rationalization of government becomes retroactive. However, this outcome owes less to Islam's having no Enlightenment—in fact, the contrary is true—than to pressure from the colonial powers to introduce the Code Napoléon and a non-religious, liberal form of state. When the constrained separation is removed, it is a question not of a faulty development, but of the discovery of an identity of two cultures in conflict. The liberal state seems a form of rule of the West over the Arab world.

Invisible Foundation of Government

2. a) Government seems to be based on inequality. Since ancient times, government has been founded on the notion that nature (and God as its creator) has willed a system of 'superordination.' The series of creatures becomes a series of ranks—a natural 'sacred order,' willed by God, and termed Greek a → hierarchy. For his fight with democracy in his home city of Athens, Plato, in his *Politics* (c. 365 BCE), maintains that, after the model of the soul, governance must make reason the ruler of the soul, and suppress the desires. Accordingly, in human society, the philosophers (such as Plato himself), with their military subordinates, ought to rule the rest of human beings, who (as Athenian democracy shows) determine politics correspondingly with their desires (interests). Everyone has had his 'natural' place assigned in society. In the Middle Ages, the three-tiered government, with the philosopher-kings, the military, and the people, became the model for the state. The mystical



As military dictator of Iraq, Saddam Hussein had been concerned to ban the influence of religion on public life. Even before the Gulf Wars of 1980–1999, the aim of laicism began its about-face: large mosques were built with public monies, religious prohibitions such as that against alcohol were officially legislated. The dictator was himself shown in the media at prayer. Religion—and this not only in Islam—was once more perceived as a potential for resistance, and as a factor in government.

vision of the first philosopher to be converted to Christianity, Denis the Areopagite, became the basis for Luther's doctrine of 'calling' that transfers to the rulers the calling (i.e., God's 'assignment'), but refuses self-determination to the revolutionaries of 1525. (A Neoplatonic philosopher composed a work entitled *The Heavenly Hierarchy* under Denis's name around 500.[2]) The National Socialists claimed that they stood in the tradition of the three conditions with their dictatorship and its own three conditions—*Lehrstand*, *Wehrstand*, *Nährstand* (Ger., "teaching condition, defense condition, nutrition condition"). They further claimed that these conditions were primordial, namely, the oldest model of government, and that they had originated with the Indo-Europeans themselves.[3] Inasmuch as the fantasy hierarchy is projected into the beyond, and returns as 'God's will,' it is not revisable or questionable. The prevailing order can be justified as a 'holy order,' a norm presented as contrary to the received norm. Terrestrial government is but the earthly division of a comprehensive world order, transparent only to the 'knowing,' but extending down to the least details.

b) But the 'knowing' are not always the governing. Although they have a better understanding of things, they must submit to foolish decisions. The discrepancy calls for an explanation—as they see it—that persons should accept governance that runs counter to their good and, indeed, causes → suffering. The end of the world, whose ultimate cause is the unattainable God, is not expected here and today; thus, conflicts are deprived of a concrete purpose. The best, the genuine, comes only later. Then would religion be the invention of those who govern, or of the weaker, the 'opiate' that makes life bearable? In Christianity, with its concern for the weaker, → Nietzsche saw the expression of a slave morality.

Representation

3. *Representation of government*: a) Rule or government is first of all a claim, a pretension. For it to become reality (power), it must be imposed on the ruled. Government, as Max → Weber defined it,[4] is the "prospect of finding obedience for commands with an indictable group of persons." Government of person on person is rather the exceptional case, however:

it presupposes that both accept the super- and subordination. Government is always an *arrangement*—not always, or 'originally,' a voluntary consensus. Since the governor can seldom personally impose it, its pretensions must be raised through representation: through signs, habituated procedures and institutions, it expects acceptance even when it provides something that the governed (and frequently even the governor) fails to perceive. Belief in an authority ensures a behavior upon which the individual does not personally decide; religion either is itself such an authority, or certifies rule; less often, it forms an alternative. Especially in the Judeo-Christian tradition, in theory, it is reserved to religion to set up a norm in confrontation with actual government; in practice, however, religion usually legitimizes the prevailing governance here as well.

Personal Government or Rule

b) In 'personal governance,' the accouterment of rule is bound up with the person of the governor. He traverses his realm, to be present at times. Normally, however, he is absent. He seeks to bind local rulers to self-obligation by means of oaths: substitutes can represent him locally. A 'service' (in Lat., *cultus*, *officium*), performed before the image or other representations of the ruler, can recall loyalty to the absent ruler. The invisible God, who also becomes visible only in his representation, forms a possible analogy. The Pope, for example, is called "vicar of Christ on earth."[5] The death of the ruler becomes a critical moment. With the end of the governor, the governance ends, as well. Anarchical plundering of the papal residence follows his death.[6] Proclamations must be once more declared by the next ruler, dated 'by year and day,' in order not to lapse into invalidity. Lest power be endangered by this manner of anarchy, *'transpersonal' concepts of rule* develop that survive the death of the ruler, such as that of the 'King's two bodies':[7] besides the mortal body, there is also a body of the 'royal worth.' In actuality, then, the choice of a successor has to be made during the king's lifetime, founded on the 'sanctity of blood' of the ruler's family. In Jewish history, the expectation that, from the family of David, after generations of foreign government, an 'Anointed' one (in Hebr., *mashiah*, 'Messiah'; in Gk., *christós*) would be born, was an important element, even after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE when there was no longer a political and religious center.

Theologies of Empire

c) It was precisely in this struggle with the Romans that the Jews summoned up their courage from a prophecy that the Roman Empire would perish, and that the Lord of the World would come out of the East.[8] The Romans, after the destruction of Jerusalem, could triumphantly proclaim, instead, that the Roman Empire was the last and the everlasting (see Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1:279). The dream that Daniel had interpreted and according to which one realm after the other would be destroyed (Dan 7), a promise to the lowly, became the conservative preservation of the existing government. It provided that the continuation of the *Empire*, instead of the *empires*, must remain valid for history. The Christians adopted this *Translatio imperii* (Lat., "transfer of the Empire") as a theology of empire. The end of the world would come only when the last empire had perished: all of them are tools of God's deeds in history. The hope of Revelations (see particularly Rev 13) for the end of the world, which would reverse present unjust relations into their opposite, became the hope that the present world would exist as long as possible. Here the 'Roman' Empire served as a bastion (the

katechon, Gk., 'restraining' of 2 Thess 2:6) that would delay the end of the world and the temporary victory of the Antichrist. As Islam threatened the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century, the prophecy (under the name of Methodios) gave hope of a continuation of the Empire. This task of the Emperor was extended in the Western Middle Ages. Only with the prophecy of Joachim of Fiore (1135–1202) do the theology and philosophy of history lose their conservative function, and await the ideal government 'of the Spirit' from a third empire. Karl Löwith, in his *Weltgeschichte und Heilsgeschehen* (Ger., "World History and Salvation Event"; 1949), reduced all philosophical outlines of history, including those of → political religion, to the same fundamental Christian model, even in cases when, for example, Marx's thinking would have argued without Christian or even clerical notions.

Government and Office in Religions

4. *Government within the (revelatory) religions* defends its authority on the basis of its claim to the 'true doctrine.' The latter must be demonstrated, inasmuch as competing groups hold that they possess, authentically, the words of their founder. Furthermore, there is need of an uninterrupted succession of the transmittal of those true words through those called to make that transmittal (*successio apostolica*). Thus, the popes presented themselves (1) as representatives of the master, with their authority from Jesus himself ("You are Peter, and on this rock [in Gk., *petra*] I will build my church"; Matt 16:18). This claim competes with (2) the equality of all of the disciples, and leaders of the communities (patriarchates), and (3) the model of summons, upon which Paul bases his authority. In *Islam*, there is the double model of authorization through kinship, or through appointment. After the death of Muhammad, a rift occurred in Islam: the Sunnites regarded the leader of the community, as the one appointed by Muhammad, as equipped to expand the tradition of the written word by *hadith*, while the Shiites regarded his son-in-law, Ali, as the rightful successor (caliph), who could lead the community on the strength of his personal holiness. In *Judaism*, on the other hand, the competing expositions by the rabbis and their pupils were seen as equally legitimate.

Charismatic Government

5. *Charismatic government: a self-contradiction?* a) If religion is essentially to be truth, then it cannot be legitimized by majority vote: it is fundamentally monopolistic, centralistic, without alternatives. In 1932, Carl Schmidt sketched his *Politische Theologie* on the analogy of hierarchical Catholicism as the only legitimate form of political leadership, i.e. dictatorship. Not only this extreme 'doctrine' but many images of Church and religious institutions expressly support the concept of hierarchy, as the body that goes astray without a head, the ship that needs a captain, the solicitous father of a family (father of a country). A one-sided Christian tradition leads to an image of a God of subjugation (*Kreaturgefühl* ['creaturely feeling'] vis-à-vis *the Holy* in Rudolf Otto's *The Idea of the Holy* [Ger. original 1917]). Concepts in the phenomenology of religion like 'might' and 'power' transmit this one-sided idea that is supposed to be uncontrollable by human beings.[9]

b) But there is a contrary position, even in Christianity. Rule or government is conferred on a group, oligarchically. The twelve apostles become heir to the empowerment of the founder. Or representatives of all

Christians meet in synods and councils. Long-forgotten *conciliarism* becomes a principle in the later Middle Ages and the Reformation. This principle is akin to that of the representative democracy. But this one arises from another root, the self-awareness of the cities and guilds, which also determined their religion itself, determined the priest, chose their saint, and did not need to beg salvation from a stranger.

c) In the nineteenth-century confrontation after the French → Revolution, the *monarchical principle* became the counter-principle of a democracy that must come to terms with the reproach of regicide. Flying in the face of all reality, the Catholic Church exaggerates the principle of hierarchy: in 1871, at the First Vatican Council, truth and hierarchy merged in the declaration that the pope is infallible. Let the Catholics of Europe battle the principle as they would, they were accounted as steered from abroad, namely from beyond the Alps (*ultramontane*). The Protestants, on the other hand, posited that no institutional government was necessary in their church, since God himself exercises government and rules through the gifts of grace, the *charísmata* (R. Sohm, 1878). It was only 'early Catholicism' that had founded the offices that made salvation accessible not directly, but by way of 'intermediaries.'

d) But is religion 'democratizable' to begin with? Can democracy be authorized only against religion? In the daily round, this scarcely plays any role, not even with the parties that call themselves religious. Government by laws that have once been legislated has no need to question the validity of these laws. But at this point Max → Weber introduced the fundamental distinction: nearly all forms of government enjoy *legality*, in a formal lawfulness; but their *legitimacy* is open to political discussion. Among the types of 'legitimate' government presented by Weber, democracy is missing. Was Weber correct when he filed democracy under the heading of 'illegitimate'?[10]

Charisma

e) Weber subsequently introduced a religious category that can breach the concept of legality, and that possesses its legitimacy outside the other types of government: the *charismatic* types. This type no longer exists only at the ideal beginning, when founders rebel against the old religion, and inspire their disciples with their → charisma, without having any organization or economic bolster, being unworldly. Weber expresses hope for it even in the escape from the 'steel-hard housing' of current bureaucracy. Although the latter does have rational criteria, Weber holds, and thus is open to planning—unlike hereditary government, where birth and 'seniority' are the deciding factors—but ultimately, bureaucracy too is rational only in its *goal* of maintaining its government. Thus, Weber hoped for a charismatic elite, to open the way to a rationally planned future: a revolution, in the sense that it can perforate empty legality while receiving its legitimacy from outside.

Regulated Anarchy

6. *The absence of governance*: a) Religion does not necessarily have to provide governance with stability, least of all in the institutional form of a hierarchical pyramid of command and control. As the colonial states sought such a bolster in the nineteenth century as would correspond to the Christian tradition of stabilizing rule and governance, and as would function adequately among the governed peoples, they at times grasped at empty air: there are

cultures that simply abide no governance. Against the prejudice that this could only mean chaos, revenge, and anarchy (→ Anarchism), it appears that, in the 'regulated anarchy' (of segmentary societies) there is an egalitarian society, but one that, by 'divine right,' defends the weak (→ Asylum) and prevents punishment from degenerating into revenge (punishment being imposed not by a state power-monopoly, but by the actual injured parties).

The Egalitarian Principle

b) The equality of everyone before the law, and equality as such (in French, *égalité*), is a frequently shrouded or sheltered principle (see Matt 23:8-12; in the Pope's title, "Servant of the Servants," it is the other way around); however, the professionalization of religious functionaries creates structures of government that contradict the basic proposition of quite a number of religions (such as the 'priesthood of all the faithful'). It is not enough to keep theology separate from the institutional organization of the members of a religion. Not even for theology is the image of an absolutist God the only possible one. There are alternatives—for instance, the relationship of God and his people in Judaism is a covenant (in Lat., *testamentum*), by which God too must abide. He has not abrogated his covenant with the Jews in favor of the Christians ('New Testament'), as Paul explains. God and his people each have their rights and duties, and the covenant cannot be abrogated.

1. Böckenförde 1976, 284.
2. Greek text published by G. Heil, Berlin, 1990; Ruh, Kurt, Geschichte der abendländischen Mystik, vol. 1., Munich 1990, 32-84.
3. For critiques, cf. Schlerath, Bernfried, in: Kratylos 40 (1955), 1-48, and 41 (1996), 1-67.
4. Weber, Max, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, 1922, 5th ed. 1985, 122.
5. Paravicini Bagliani 1997, 75-76.
6. Paravicini Bagliani 1997, 149-153; Ginzburg, Carlo, "Saccheggi rituali," in: Quaderni storici 22 (1987), 615-636 (as a *rite de passage*).
7. Kantorowicz 1957; Paravicini Bagliani 1997, 76-82.
8. Tacitus, *Historiae,* 5, 36; cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1:279, the "kingdom without end."
9. Meier, Heinrich, Die Lehre Carl Schmitts, Stuttgart 1994; Gladigow 1981.
10. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, 727-814 (ed. Johannes Winckelmann); Sternberger 1981.

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→ *Anarchism, Civil Religion, Colonialism, Democracy, Freedom of Religion, Law, Mao (Cult of), Monarchy/Royalty, National Socialism, Political Religion, Secularization, Theocracy, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Christoph Auffarth

Grave / Tomb

The grave or tomb is a place of repose for the dead, and a station along their journey. It has (1) the character of a defense in their regard, inasmuch as it preserves them from desecration by persons, from devastation by animals or natural catastrophes, and from hurtful assaults by demons: inscriptions or protective symbols reinforce this aspect. It has (2) a function of security for the living: the dead are kept in the tomb lest, frightening and terrorizing, they be able to penetrate the realm of the living. It is (3) the right place to go when contact with a deceased person is sought for the purpose of interrogation, or when she or he is to be offered sacrifice. Finally, (4) as a memorial, it preserves the memory of the dead person or persons.

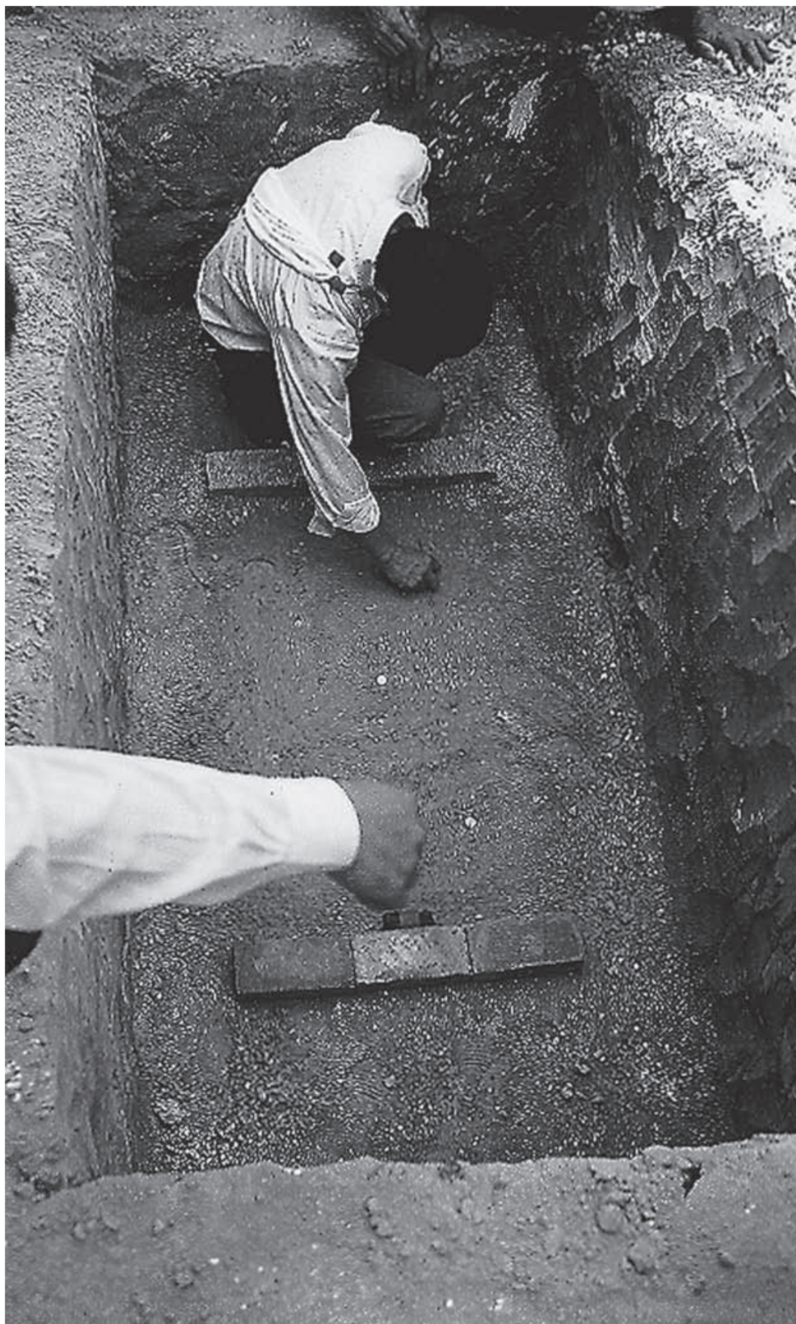
The construction of the tomb provides an opportunity for indirect conclusions regarding conceptualizations of death, although these must not be generalized from particular cases. Family or house tombs emphasize the community of the dead (and in some cases, a cult of ancestors); individual burial assigns stronger importance to an individual destiny in the beyond. Also, the position of the corpse in the grave reveals the direction in which the beyond is imagined to lie: for example, the face may be turned in the direction of sunset. That position may also evince a relationship to eschatological notions that are specific to a given religion. Various architectonic types of tombs (e.g., megalith tombs, Southwest Siberian tumuli, tombs with domes, pyramidal tombs) are to be distinguished primarily in terms of their specific cultural architectural forms, and only secondarily in terms of their function as graves. Only tomb-steles (Gk., *stele*, 'pillar'), such as stone idols, menhirs, or stone circles, emphasize the commemorative aspect of the tomb as 'seat' of the soul.

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→ *Cemetery, Death and Dying, Funeral/Burial, Monument/Memorial Places, Memory*

Manfred Hutter



A Chinese burial ritual, with its basis in the Daoist cosmology, calls for the collaboration of an expert in Feng Shui. This system, called "Wind and Water," is supposed to enable the geomancer to use his knowledge of currents of wind and water to determine the favorable places for domiciles of the living and the dead. Before the body of the deceased may be laid in the grave, a geomancer steps into the grave and verifies whether its lie is in conformity with prescriptions. He places five gold pieces in the excavation, to mark the five directions of the sky, North, South, West, East, and middle. Then, using a thread hanging over the excavation, he determines the directional axis along which the deceased must be lowered. If the place has been well selected, and the → orientation of the grave is good, the deceased, from the world of the ancestors, will contribute to the well being of their descendants. (Kirsten Holzapfel)



Modern science and religion in conflict: In 1995, orthodox Jews have occupied an archaeological site in Israel, a grave, and are reciting the Prayer of Mourning. They are protesting the disturbance of the grave's rest and repose by the excavators. The place of the conflict is a cave, in which twenty-six sarcophagi from the time of the Maccabees (second century BCE) have been discovered. All cultures have sanctions and laws intended to guarantee the repose of the dead; but as a rule, today's Western sciences are permitted to open graves, out of scientific interest, to move them, even to ship the dead in boxes and stack them in museum cellars. This practice in many cases causes conflicts with religious customs. (Hubert Mohr)

Group, religious

1. With few exceptions, religions have always been a social phenomenon. The forms of their community formation and societal nature, as well as their types of social organization, are worthy of inquiry. Individual paths, such as those of hermits, or pillar-dwellers, or mystics, are to be found at least in all differentiated religions. The significance of these "religious virtuosi" (M. Weber) for the shaping of concepts of the saints, for example, and the significance of the paths to salvation that they select, has long since been pointed at, by Schleiermacher and William James. Whether it is individual experiences or collective processes that constitute the origin of religious concepts is a question that frequently cannot be answered, by reason of the very situation of the sources. Let us recall, furthermore, that all of the hermits who withdraw to hermitages 'take along' the ideas of religion that have been transmitted in their cultures. Then, by building on these, and by separating themselves from society, they develop their

own notions. At the same time, their concepts and activities, even in this separation from society, retain their societal connections in other ways. Religion can no more be cut off from history and society than can other cultural creations—and this is verified even for all individual forms of religion.

Definition

Religious conviction can bring groups into being, and weld them together come what may. The more strongly they are distinguished from their social environment, by convictions, way of life, or attire, the more attached they are to their own community. The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, numbering today some 18,000, are a rigoristic offshoot of the Mennonites, or Anabaptists (→ Baptists). By way of an extreme conservatism, they seal

2. A social group must be clearly distinguished from the concept yielded up by its statistical classification. A statistical group concept will be constituted by, for example, all married pipe-smokers over forty years old, without it being taken into account whether they also act together, or belong to one social group. In the latter case, the concept of a group is the product of a consideration of the social belonging of persons in a society who, on at least one point, also act in common (e.g., through participation in a cult, or a common confession of belief), and are "mutually oriented" (M. Weber). This is not the place to discuss the various sociological and socio-psychological theories of 'group.' The theories of these sciences were formed by way of an examination of administrative bodies, businesses, and prisons, and not (or only by way of exception) of religious groups. Nevertheless, the structures of division of work and function, of the leadership hierarchies, of the formal and informal orderings, of group pressure, of the relation of 'in-groups' to 'out-groups,' of the goal models, the continuance models, and the distinctions among members, followers, sympathizers, patrons, and so on, play an important role in religious groups as well.[1]

3. In terms of ideal types, we may distinguish two forms of association in religious communities and societies: (1) obligatory units, in which all



persons must be members of one people, state, or occupation, (2) groups in which, "of a given number of persons, some unite on religious grounds for common activity,"[2] and relate to one another in the same. Their group formation includes repetition of the common activity, and duration. Between these two extreme positions, there are numerous transitions, especially since many—not all, not even the majority—of religious groups seek to hinder a withdrawal of members by social, economic, and ideal measures, and thus attempt to assimilate the quality of a compulsory unit. Or they have developed from a voluntary group, as in early Christianity, to the religion of the state, and later lost this status. On the other side, there are compulsory units that permit their members, or even demand of them, that they join other, religious, units as well. Athens and Rome expected an acknowledgment of the city gods, and in varying measure, participation in their cult. At the same time, citizens were left free to be initiated into one or more mystery cults, to which, often, as in Eleusis, non-citizens were admitted as well. A participation in, for instance, the church choir, or other group formations within the parishes is greeted and promoted by the churches. Exclusive membership in only one religious community is—against the tacit presumption of the religious literature—probably not the normal case, but, seen from the point of view of religious history, an exception especially to be met in the monotheistic religions.

themselves off from any of the technological or social novelties of modern industrial society. They drive no cars, use no electricity, and practice a strictly patriarchal division of roles between husband and wife. To their concern to divide themselves off from outside elements, there corresponds a stanch mutual solidarity of group members with one another. The building of a house—or, as here, a barn—is a group ritual, then, at which the group may appear on the scene. In his film, "Witness" (USA 1985), Peter Weir's congenial camera has captured the euphoria of this manner of common activity. (Hubert Mohr)

Compulsory religious associations included the Church of the high Middle Ages (state church); Islam in most Islamic countries (state religion), since a separation became impossible there (often also for the members of other permitted religions, e.g., for the protection of tax income); Japanese Buddhism with Shintô during the Tokugawa era; the cult of Asclepius in antiquity, since it was forbidden to practice the medical profession without membership in the cult; the condition of cleric in the Middle Ages; the ancient Roman Gentile cult; as well as finally, most tribal religions, since, here, the religious and the cultural societies more generally coincide, and a departure was possible only by way of leaving the tribe.

Compulsory associations and groups represent communities of solidarity, and they demand from their members a minimum of mutual respect and common behavior. In compulsory religious associations, the inner order, the division between the governing and the governed, the legitimacy of the government, and the prescribed way of life, of the individual, and so on, is generally founded in religion. It is not only in Europe that this has led to wars of religion, since the 'unconditional' claims of the various concepts of the saints, of God, and so on, have been contradictory, and have been irreconcilable. Naturally, purely secular interests also play a role here. Finally, if religion and society are understood in terms of a separation of state and church, then religion becomes a private matter. This was the case in Christendom. Many religions have difficulties with the separation of state and religion, the secular and the sacred.

Community of Law and Community of Salvation

4. In modern times, a distinction is made between the state, as a 'community of law,' and the churches (now only partially to be designated in terms of compulsory associations) as a 'community of salvation'; and the religious legitimization of the social order is withdrawn. While the community of law that is the state is essentially limited to the protection of life and property and the production of a framework for a peaceful coexistence, its citizens can seek in the religious communities the paths and

beliefs that lead to salvation, and redemption, or whatever goal may be set before them. To be sure, it will scarcely be possible to realize a strict division, inasmuch as (1) the principles of the community of law do not end at the boundaries of the groups, and still less at those of the compulsory associations, and (2) religious axioms gain access to a determination of state behavior, in, for example, the principle of the social state, which also represents a secular reformulation of the Judeo-Christian commandment of love of neighbor.

Religious Groups

5. State religions, and other compulsory associations of religion, cannot, or do not wish to, satisfy all needs that are regarded as religious. After all, they seek to be universal, and to include all of their members. But a strict understanding of religious prescriptions cannot be established in the long term (see, e.g., Calvin in Geneva). Therefore, alongside these compulsory associations, communities form that are designated as religious groups. In tribal societies, there are sometimes secret cults and associations. In the ancient city-states, the mystery cults form; in the Christian Middle Ages, → orders, and other religious communities, arise within the churches, and the sects appear without (partly driven out). The basis of these special communities is volunteerism, as a rule, although membership in them is repeatedly tied up with privileges or non-membership with disadvantages. In the Middle Ages, membership in a sect meant social degradation, or, in some cases, even persecution. The formally voluntary can be partly determined by a material and social compulsion, so that the distinction as to whether what is at hand is a compulsory association, or merely a group, cannot always be unambiguously determined.

Membership and Group Boundaries

6. As a rule, one becomes a member of a compulsory religious association by birth; through entry or by conquest as a consequence of migrations or population exchanges; by compulsory conversion (Augustine: "Compel them to come in"); or by entry into associations of members of like occupational calling or social status. For a group, it is usually asserted in the literature that one must enter it (Weber and Troeltsch). However, this is the case only for the foundational phase, and then with the mission. There are groups, such as the Theosophical Society, that address only adults, and even renounce a 'socialization' of their children into the group. Celibate groups are constantly dependent on new recruitment (orders, communities of monks and nuns in Christianity and Buddhism). They expect thereby to be put in a position to be able to defend a traditional teaching and way of life by escaping the changes conditioned by the familiar everyday, with its demands, and to prevent a "dilution of the charisma on the model of that everyday [*Veralltäglichung des Charisma*]" (Weber), or an assimilation of special teaching to the social environment. All groups are more or less compelled to mark themselves off from other groups and the general compulsory association. Religious groups could be analyzed, in the sense of Niklas Luhmann,[3] as systems that are defined "through relative invariance of their boundaries from an environment." The inner/outer difference, holds Luhmann, leads to a characteristic structure by which the system enables the group to stay relatively invariable, in another kind of environment, vis-à-vis cases of alteration. However, for numerous religious groups, one will have to hold that they not only separate themselves from the outside, but compromise with the outside, as well, and cancel

the boundaries between within and without. In order to maintain these separations, various paths are traversed—from a radical prohibition of all intercourse with the heterodox, food taboos, and intermarriage and trade limitations, to a different timing of festival and work from that of the generality, a special language for worship, different customs in clothing, and so on, to 'hairsplitting' in prayers, or in the respective teachings that it is transubstantiation, consubstantiation, or memorial that defines the Lord's Supper. Believers of the various confessions are often no longer even aware of these distinctions today, or, at all events, no longer understand them. There are also extreme groups that attempt to shape the whole of their members' lives, from their work, to their families, to their free time; and—as is frequently overlooked—there are persons who seek out such groups in order to receive a social endorsement for their belief or their views, and an orientation, which the greater Church cannot, can no longer, or is no longer willing to provide. In these cases, social contacts are frequently limited to the group, and this limits these persons' experiences. Further, in other conceptualizations and lifestyles these same contacts and experiences are demonized as the 'work of Satan,' so that caricatures develop. In these extreme groups, a social 'inner reality' forms, one endorsed by the group, so that members feel adequate in the inner relationship, but have considerable difficulties with the outer relationship (or in leaving the group.) Group boundaries can become boundaries with regard to truth and morality. In this case, structures of relationship readily form that are specific to each area (cf. Zinser/Schwarz/Remus 1997), and these structures go further than to acknowledge the modern privatization of religion—the separation of sacred and profane—merely in the distinction between public and private. Rather, they introduce it into the various areas of the life of individuals, as well. Now an integration of these areas, with their claims, is surrendered. To be sure, one must be careful not to ascribe the establishment of boundaries of truth and morality to all groups. Actually, they are only to be met with extreme groups, and this not only with religious, but also with political, ethnic, and sports groups, and one occasionally gathers this impression even of the 'scientific community' (see Deikman). Generally, the insight is probable that, today, only *extreme religious groups* are in a position and disposition to breach the premises of the moral and juridical community with a reference to the promised boons of salvation. Indeed, not many other groups attempt to rouse their members to battle against the juridical community at all, let alone, as certain distressing examples nonetheless show, to do so by civil war, murder, and collective suicide (as with the members of the Sun Temple, or the Jim Jones People's Temple in Guyana). When the eternal salvation of souls is at stake, however, the principles of the juridical community seem to turn inconsequential, and to have to 'pull back' (→ Fundamentalism). It is worthy of reflection, whether nonreligious groups too who make this kind of unconditional claim—indeed, who attempt to legitimate a breach with the moral and juridical community—ought not to be investigated from the viewpoints of religious studies.

Group Formation

7. In the literature of religious studies, the point of departure for the formation of religious groups is, as a rule, a 'religious virtuoso' as *founder* and *creator*, around whom pupils and disciples gather. However, a series of religious groups can be indicated for which such a founder cannot be

claimed, or that regard a hero or god as founder. Furthermore, groups have formed through → migration, by which persons emigrate from a country having a state religion into a country structured otherwise in matters of religion, and must organize themselves as a group, without the need of a special founder, or religious specialist. There are, of course, religious groups that have one or more 'initiators,' but these need not necessarily be equipped with special gifts of grace (→ Charisma) or a special relationship to their gods. In this case, it is the capacity to organize persons in groups that is regarded as a charismatic gift.

Typology of Religious Groups

8. Up to the present, the point of departure for any *typology of religious groups* in religious studies and sociology has been the polarity between → 'church' and → 'sect.' This polarity is narrow and misleading, of course, since it takes its orientation from a model that has developed only in Christian history. It takes as the exemplar of all religious group-formations the relation, developed especially in the Middle Ages and early modern times, between a state church, and groups with deviant conceptualizations, the latter being shut out and persecuted. Into the center of the consideration then shifts the polarity between Church as 'general' and sect as 'special.' Sects are thereby distinguished by the measure of tension in which they stand to their social environment (Niebuhr 1960; B. R. Wilson 1970; Johnson 1971; Stark/Bainbridge 1985). But all religions can stand in greater or lesser measure of tension with their social environment. Since they distinguish what ought to be and what ought not to be, they can be stabilizing of government through their teaching, but they can also be critical vis-à-vis social conditions (→ Prophet). Whether this criticism becomes virulent and effective depends from respective societal and historical relations. For an analysis of religious group-formation and the forms of social organization of religion under the conditions of Western society, we may well avail ourselves of the following division, which takes as its criterion the social relations among religious specialists, members, and followers, as well as between the voluntary and the compelled.

(1) *Audience religion:* As they would at a concert, or before the television, participants comprise an audience that strikes a social relationship neither with leaders of the worship, nor with other participants.

(2) *Clientele religion:* This presupposes a relationship between the leader of the cult and its clients, but there arises no stable community with the other clients. When the suppliers of such cults present themselves in groups, they may represent a community of co-workers ('colleague community').

(3) *Community religion:* Here, personal relations develop between the religious specialist and the other members. These relationships have led to a local community, that can also maintain relations with other local communities.

(4) *Bureaucratic religion:* Here, above and beyond the individual parishes arises a trans-regional hierarchical organization that establishes a worship valid for all, as well as a doctrine. Only in community and bureaucratic religions does that cohesion subsist that Durkheim (1912) has explained as an essential characteristic of religion. Whether audience and clientele religions can offer the 'intellectual' convictions for worship, morality, and theology crucial for a religion is doubtful. However, both of these forms do correspond to what many perceive as their individual and

religious requirements, and thereby they correspond to the modern relationships of individualization. A form of social organization, therefore, is not indispensable for the question of what a religion is, what sacred, and what profane. The distinction between sacred and secular, religion and non-religion, is first of all the classifying interpretation of a society or social group. It must be constantly maintained and defended, since otherwise it can continue to claim validity only as a memory. Evidently, there are mingled forms, since even a bureaucratic religion, for example in its sermons on radio and television, addresses an anonymous public, and an auricular confession represents a personal relationship between a priest and the believer who comes forward as client.[4]

Religious Conceptions and Group Structure

9. Up until now, only in individual cases has there been research been done on which consequences follow, for the social relationships and group structures of their followers, from particular religious conceptions, or what consequences for religious conceptions follow from the forms of social organization. Obviously there is a distinction between, for example, the conceptualization of the sacraments and the priesthood in a community religion, and in a bureaucratic religion. Bureaucratic and clientele religions are inclined to ascribe a charisma of office to priests, and to regard sacraments as means of grace that are conferred only by priests, while community religions try to circumvent a special religious qualification for the specialists, and regard the sacraments as communication with God and not as means of salvation. For notions of God, as well as for group formations, gender-specific differences are important that until now have scarcely been researched, at least not in their meaning for group formations and for religious conceptions and actions. Thus, there are cultic and priestly communities like that of the Vestals (see Cancik/Lindemeier), or the cult of the Bona Dea in ancient Rome, to which only women were admitted, or secret societies from which one of the genders is excluded.

10. Unlike, for example, experiences of physical pain, truths of faith are uncertain and doubtful for many persons. They have need of social endorsement by a group, then. In such a group, the structures of perception and interpretation of experiences and phenomena as well, are set forth to give adherents orientation and the certitude demanded by their religions, and to represent an assurance with respect to religious bestowals of meaning. For most persons, therefore, religious group-formations in one form or another, aside from purely inner-worldly works of social organization, are absolutely required for the certification of extra-worldly concepts.

1. For ready information, we may refer to Kehrer 1993.
2. Kehrer 1988a, 97; cf. Weber 1964, 37.
3. Luhmann 1972, 24.
4. Zinser 1997, chap. 7.

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→ *Church, Cult, Fundamentalism, New Religions, Order/Brotherhoods, Priest/Priestess, Sect, Society, Specialists (religious)*

Hartmut Zinser

Guilt

Category "Guilt"

1. The essential notes of the category of guilt are two. For one, 'guilt' evinces the *person* as the author of a delinquency to whom the consequences of his or her actions must be ascribed even beyond the concrete deed. For another, 'guilt' indicates the *instances* before which the person becomes guilty. Guilt stands the person before a court of justice—God, others, and one's own ego (→ Conscience)—before which his or her responsibility can be established and attributed for the consequences of an act or omission. This attribution is made only after an assessment of intent, and a measure against a concrete norm—a 'should,' in the form of → law, morality, and ordering.

Freedom to act and ascribable responsibility before some instance for the consequences of some action, are the two prerequisites for the modern, enlightened conception of the category of 'guilt.' Here a distinction is made between the religious dimensions of sin and guilt, between what is unethical in moral terms and what is unlawful in legal ones. The canon of modernity, with its Christian roots, clearly marks off the concept of guilt from the everyday religious conceptualization of a mythical interlacing of guilt, → fate, and doom, along with its intertwining of guilt, atonement, and punishment. The remarkable outcome of this boundary is the modern idea of human value. The latter sunders the direct connection of application of guilt, atonement, and punishment (→ Human Rights).

Freedom of the Will: Distinction between Guilt and Sin

2. The question of distinction and connection among the legal, ethical, and religious dimensions of guilt, and capacity for guilt, on the part of the person is addressed especially on the basis of the problem of the *freedom of the will*, i.e. of the relationship between freedom and determination (→ Determinism; Fatalism). For juridical, punitive law, the category of guilt must include freedom of the will (except in the special case of an inner incapacity for responsibility for one's deeds). This freedom must be presupposed in the person as part of the latter's 'self-responsibility' for the results of an act or omission. But the religious concept of → sin identifies the lack of freedom of the will as abiding together with the kernel of volitional freedom

itself. This notion corresponds to the theological distinction between guilt and sin. In the perception of the Reformers, the religious denotation of 'sin' (*peccatum radicale*) bears on a subject's crises of orientation, isolated state, and loss of an ability adequately to respond, to 'answer,' that can be bound up with the possession and use of freedom of the personal will on the level of creaturely intercommunication—a matter of 'not being responsible.' By contrast, the concept of 'guilt' (*peccatum actuale*) concentrates on the external lapse vis-à-vis commands of morality, and on transgressions of norms of tradition and law.

Christian religion regards guilt and sin from the perspective of their quality as forgivable before God. In the process of God's judgment upon human beings' strayings and deviations, upon their incurring of guilt, the redeemer wins out over the judge (doctrine of justification).

Anti-Religious Theories of Demonstration of Guilt

3. Moralistic constrictions, and an ignorant confusion of guilt and sin in the ecclesial rhetoric of the proclamation of doctrine, as well as in ritual practice, pedagogy, and cure of souls, have of course considerably contributed to a particular attribute of the Christian piety of the everyday: its inability unconditionally and permanently to escape the notion of a vindictive God. Evidence includes the history of Christian 'culpabilization' of strangers (see Delumeau), of others, or of third parties, or of their exclusion as scapegoats in connection with crises of societal orientation. We may recall the history and semantics of → anti-Semitism. Thus, the nineteenth century marks the beginning of the anti-religious theories of a demonstration of culpability, and the resonance of these theories throughout society.

Friedrich → Nietzsche defines Christianity in terms of the deleterious operation of its 'guilt morality.' For Nietzsche, the imposition of the Christian 'maximal God' is coupled with the cold notion of owing this God debts that can never be paid—and thus of a maximal feeling of abasement and pathological guilt feelings (→ Psychopathology). Only the triumph of the God-less gospel ("God is dead") will promote human beings to a state of 'second innocence,' and help them to 'better health.' In the tradition of the theorem of the unmasking of guilt stands *Sigmund → Freud*. To be sure, the unmasking takes on a negative and passive connotation. According to Freud, the 'guilt feeling' must be taken as a pathological expression of an irresolvable conflict of ambivalence between a need for love and a lust for punishment, between Eros and the death drive. Freud knows the feeling of guilt in his deterministic view only as a form of pathological neurosis: cultural development is an aggression-charged institution of compulsion. Finally, a negative philosophy of history, psychoanalysis, and the neo-Marxist critique of capitalist theory, give life to the concept of guilt as an archaism, now no longer to be distinguished from the concept of fate and doom (Benjamin, Adorno).

Ironically, the neo-Marxist notion of guilt comes in contact with the concept of *collective guilt,* discussed as such in German postwar history (1945, 1989), which subsumes the person in a collective body, in a manner that ultimately imputes the deed of each individual as the deed of all. The concept of personal responsibility in a juridical and moral view is thus stipulated into nonexistence: the old religious concept of the 'guilt of original sin' is here exaggerated in a religiously blinded and profanely moral manner.

Rites of Exculpation

4. Rites of exculpation consist (1) in a liturgically ordered and usually sacramentally supported accomplishment of the acts of confession, penance, and remorse. Confession of guilt and entreaty of pardon, as well as the generation of moral conversion before God (privately) and the community (publicly), belong in this ritual association. To be sure, (2) the everyday ritually assured practices of self-justification, inculpation of others, and magical forms of self-masking, silence, and silencing are to be reckoned among the canon of rites of exculpation. In addition, there are (3) the symbolic acts of self-incrimination, self-humiliation, and gestures of humility. For the public area of the political, and the dramatization of the private, in the magnification of the mass-media resources of modernity, these rites play a role not to be underestimated. Finally, (4) the practices of cleanliness and order, as well as rituals of waste disposal in token of conversion of what is impure (clean/unclean), as well as the typology of rites of exculpation (5) form compensation and restitution by way of special deeds of equalization, as well as the practice of gift giving and exchange at special festive moments. Like all → rituals, rites of exculpation are open to instrumentalization and show an inward ambivalence.

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→ *Conscience, Determinism, Ethics/Morals, Fatalism, Human Rights, Penance/Penitent Sin, Will (free)*

Joachim von Soosten

Guru

1. Derived from the Sanskrit root for 'heavy,' 'mighty,' *guru* denotes an outstanding religious personality and teacher—originally one's natural → father, who undertook the religious education of his son, taught him parts of the *Veda* (→ Hinduism), and arranged his → rites of passage (*saṃskāra*). Soon, however, religious specialists undertook these duties as *ācārya* ('teacher') gurus, who instructed the sons of the upper three → castes (*varṇa*) in the Vedic literature, in religious and socially (ethically) correct comportment, as well as in profane subjects. Through fulfillment of the *dharma* (→ India; Hinduism), they were to be advanced to a state in which they might attain a more favorable rebirth, or indeed, the upward escape from the cycle of rebirths. Preferably (but not obligatorily), gurus come from the highest caste, that of the Brahmins. They are treated as disciples of the ancient seers (*ṛṣi*), who, according to the traditional conception, had seen the sacred knowledge (Veda) in a suprasensory way, or had received it from the gods. On the



Krishna devotees in Riga, Latvia, strew rose petals before a statue of their Bhaktivedanta guru Swami Prabhupad (1896–1977). A true-to-life wax image, cast after the death of their master, compensates his pupils for his bodily absence. The same figure, presented in many ISKCON (→ Hare Krishna) temples, is accorded divine reverence. In various centers it is placed exactly opposite the high altar with its statue of Krishna. (Benita von Behr)

basis of their knowledge of the sacred texts and rituals, they are regarded not only as ideal religious teachers, but also as suited to social power and leadership generally.

2. Ideally, in the course of his life, a man should traverse four stages, of which the first is that of the Veda student (*brahmacārī*), followed by the stage of householder and head of a family. Afterwards, should he so desire, he may advance to the status of forest dweller, and finally transfer to that of the wandering ascetics (*saṃnyāsi*) who renounce the world. As a pupil, he is bound to his *ācārya guru* and his family by a vow of fidelity, lifelong, although he may change gurus with his → master's leave. In his youth dedication, he experiences a ritual 'rebirth' (→ Initiation) under the spiritual fatherhood of the guru, becoming 'twice-born' (*dvija*), and has access to the Vedic tradition. During his school years he ordinarily lives in the guru's house (for at least twelve years). The guru's words to his pupil at the ceremony of reception resemble those of the bridegroom to the bride at a wedding, just as the pupil's relationship to the guru is like that of a wife to her husband (who is also accounted her guru). Consequently, to the pupil's duties belong the performance of housework and other services that regularly fall to the wife. He must offer his master loyalty, unconditional obedience, and divine respect. At times he may even be his heir. Murder of the guru is equivalated with parricide, and sexual relations with the guru's wife is deemed incest. It is true that the guru must not require any monetary compensation for his instruction; however, it is altogether customary for the pupil to contribute labor to the economic basis of the guru's household, of which, after all, he is a member, and, upon completion of his education and training, to offer him a suitable and proportionate sign of his gratitude. When the pupil becomes a householder, in certain cases his son enters upon instruction with the same guru or his successor.

3. With the development of the mystical doctrine of the oneness of *ātman* (personal self) and *brahman* (universal self) in the *Upanishads* (some eight centuries BCE), and of the soteriology of the completed realization of this oneness, the already long-existing ascetic movement (*śramaṇa*) gained in popularity and currency. It entailed the distinction between the

saṃnyāsi guru type from the other types of guru, the former a "charismatically endowed, soteriological figure of grace . . . to which a . . . relationship of obedience, love, and reverence was possible, indeed was shown to prevail, in that there was ultimately no room for the pupil's individuality."[1] A new dimension in the instance of authority eventuated through a newly appearing designation for the pupil as *śiṣya* (Sansk., 'one who is to be reared, to be instructed'). The *ācārya guru,* in principle, was still fallible, since, after all, he functioned as instructor in the profane sciences; but the *saṃnyāsi guru,* already 'delivered' (*jīvanmukta*) during his lifetime, and now identified with the Absolute, was infallible. By way of renunciation of the world, and ascetic discipline, he was supposed to have attained supra-sensory and occult powers, and could convey salvation to his pupil by his own power. The *saṃnyāsi guru* is free of all ties to caste and family, and can receive pupils of any extraction. Secular juridical decisions do not bind him. He lives in close community with his pupils, either apart from civilization in the life of an itinerant, or in retirement in an → ashram. Since the route to ultimate liberation is looked upon as very dangerous, the guru must have special didactic capacities at his disposition. Indeed, in order to lay open to his pupils the absolute truth, which is not conventionally communicable, he may even introduce unaccustomed means.

4. In the traditions of *bhakti* and *tantra* (→ Mysticism; Hinduism; Buddhism), the guru ultimately counts as *avatāra* (Sansk., 'descent'), i.e. as (partial) embodiment of the divinity (*sad guru*), and as such as equal to or even superior to the divinity, and identical with absolute truth and supreme meaning. "The guru is father, the guru is mother, the guru is the god Shiva. When Shiva waxes wroth, the guru is redeemer. But when the guru waxes wroth, there is no recourse."[2] True love and full surrender (on occasion, even corporeal) to the *sad guru* is regarded as capable of overcoming all shortcomings. Faith in a direct transmittal of power and salvation from the *sad guru* to the pupil plays a key role here. The guru is the potter who forms and re-creates his pupil.

Indian society is mightily fragmented through the caste system. It is especially the figure of the *saṃnyāsi guru*, and variations of the same figure, that plays a role in its reintegration not to be underestimated: after all, this institution transcends all ritual and social distinctions.

5. The concept of 'guruism' is a polemical concept, mostly applied to religious movements in the West that evince an exceptional master-pupil relationship, and which relate to Asia as the region of their origin. Thus, movements such as the Neo-Saṃnyāsi (→ Osho Movement), Ananda Marga, and → Hare Krishna are designated with this expression. At first, Hindu movements spread in the United States and Europe that had already been marked, for their part, by Western culture and philosophy in the colonial period (neo-Hinduism, Vivekananda). Even today they determine the image of Hinduism. Beginning in the late 1960s, however, guru-centered movements with popular elements reached the West from India as well, simultaneous with a growing discontent on the part of elements of the population with society and state (Cold War, Vietnam War, armament). Devotion to a guru is thought to be ultimately capable of effecting a societal change, above and beyond the transformation of one's own personhood.

1. Steinmann 1986, 75.
2. Kulārṇava tantra XII, 49; following Steinmann 1986, 100.

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→ *Ashram, Buddhism, Hinduism, Indian Subcontinent, Master/Pupil*

Christian von Somm

Hair

1. Regarded physiologically, hair is one of the derivatives of skin. Being without a nerve, it cannot directly communicate sensory impressions. Nevertheless, it is the material basis of the metaphorical description of experiences, in linguistic applications like 'hairsbreadth,' or even 'hairy [situation].' In its quality of being bound to the body, and yet separable from it, hair is everywhere to be found as a component of the symbolism of the body.

Coiffure as Characteristic of a Group

2. The various symbolical meanings communicated by 'headscarf' can in general be seen as examples of the embodiment of a conceptualization of values, with which the physical body is transformed into a 'social body,' and made the object of behavioral prescriptions in society.

Thus, the long, untrimmed hair of the Frankish kings was a symbolical expression of the sacred character ascribed to royalty, corresponding to the legitimization of rule by God's grace, and prepared through an extensive complex of regulations referring to the physical body of the one seated upon the throne.

As a component of the picture of the bodily presentation of religious specialists, hairstyles are found connected with ascetical ideals. Traditionally, Catholic monks wear the 'tonsure,' a bare, circular area at the crown of the head; members of Buddhist monastic orders shave off all of their hair; Orthodox priests and monks have beards and hair. The shaping of the hair as a means of expression of group membership and community formation frequently stands in a negative, delimiting relationship with that of surrounding groups, their values and symbolism. In the history of India, *Sikhism* as a salvation doctrine was distinguishable, even in the corporeal appearance of its followers, from already established world-renouncing yogi or Sannyasi brotherhoods, whose members either allow their hair to take a matted form, or shave it off. Sikh men associate their uncut hair (*kesh*) with strength and vitality; and, in conjunction with additional symbols, it articulates their identity as members of the 'brotherhood of the pure' (*khalsa*). In Judaism, men of the Orthodox current are distinguishable from Conservative and Reform Jews by their beards and

ringlets (prohibition of shaving, Lev 19:27, Deut 14:1). The *Rastafarians*, who formed in opposition to racist oppression in the West Indies (especially Jamaica), symbolize their religious and ideological opposition to the oppressor ('Babylonians') with dreadlocks and beards, underscoring their African identity.

Hair in Ritual

3. In a framework of the rituals of marriage, initiation, and mourning, the cutting, shearing, and even tearing out of the hair of the head mark the transition from one societal state to another. Here, ritual scarfing can be exceptional, and the returning hair the symbol of the new socio-sexual status, as in the *first haircut*, which in Islam is part of the initiation of a newborn boy. But the new scarf can also be retained as a permanent status symbol, as in the case of the shorn heads of Orthodox Jewish wives.

The shaping of the hair in the context of rites of *mourning* can be just as varied. In India, the hair of the mourner is untended during the phase of grieving, while cutting the hair betokens the completion of that period, and thus emergence from temporary uncleanness. Brahmin widows alone, who are prohibited on ideological grounds from remarrying, keep their shorn heads in token of their permanent relatively unclean status. In purification rites connected with rites of passage (marriage, birth, burial), especially in India, rites of cleansing are encountered that include the washing of the hair (→ Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming).

Communication with Gods and Saints

4. In *communication with gods and saints,* the body language of scarfing is a means by which believers bring their humility to expression, for example by covering the head in Judaism and Islam. Furthermore, the release of hair usually bound up, especially that of women, can be an expression of ecstatic states of → possession by and surrender to a god or saint.

Hair can symbolize a personal relationship between its wearer and the gods. Ecstatic female Hindu ascetics in Sri Lanka conceive their wild matted hair (*jata*) as a gift from the gods, through which they can share in the power (*shakti*) of the latter, and effect the bestowal of grace on others. Sacrifices of hair, as a return gift to a saint or to God, are to be found in a context of vows offered for male progeny in regions of India that have been influenced by Buddhism or Islam. If the wish is granted, the parents sacrifice the hair of their son's first haircutting, and thereby reinforce the relationship of all three to the saint or God.

As a component of reliquary cults, one encounters the veneration of the hair of saints. In Islam, the beard of the Prophet Muhammad, honored and sworn by, warrants a special truthfulness on the part of the person making the oath.

Women's Hair

5. It is especially in Judaism and Islam that women's hair symbolically connected with of the values of sexuality, intimacy, modesty or chastity, and honor. Corresponding to this ideology, it redounds to the honor of a husband, and to high regard for the wife, when the latter wears her hair covered (wig, headdress, → veil) in the presence of mature male relatives and guests. That women wear their hair covered was and is interpreted by Western feminism as a sign of her oppression, whereas that ideology demands that she take possession of her own body. Symbolically, feminist women have maintained their value with, among other things, closely

cropped, or long and unbanded hair, in contradiction of the feminine image in patriarchal societies.

6. As a means of expressing the identity of its wearer, hair is interwoven with other tokens, whose meaning depends on the respective context and the wearer's intended self-presentation. The group a person belongs to, and the values he or she upholds—hippie, skinhead, punk, neo-Nazi—are not always determinable, even in an era of stylish haircuts, from hair alone.

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→ *Body, Group, Magic, Sexuality, Veil*

Claudia Naacke

Handicapped

1. Human life is always accompanied and endangered by the impairment of health. One speaks of a handicap rather than of an illness when the impairment cannot be overcome by therapeutic measures, and a person's life is permanently marked by it. In this sense, handicap is an umbrella concept for physical, mental, and spiritual impairments. The World Health Organization (WHO) distinguishes three levels on which a handicap affects a person's life: first, directly, as an organic damage (impairment), second, in the restriction of abilities (disability), and third, in social disadvantages in consequence (handicap).[1] From time immemorial, religion has had its share in the overcoming and/or control of the handicap, as well as in the social evaluation of the handicapped. The general reason for this may be that, in the handicap, people see or experience an enduring loss of capabilities and potential, and thus find themselves confronted altogether concretely and directly with life in its limitation and frailty. The stress of this confrontation has usually led to the religiously motivated exclusion of the handicapped. At the same time, religious traditions show that they are capable of protecting persons with handicaps.

The Handicap in Pre-Modern Societies

2. The distinction between illness and handicap is still relatively new, and is due to the growth of medical and psychological knowledge in the modern age. Generally, the two were not clearly distinguished, and handicap merely meant an especially conspicuous condition of illness. In societies

in which religion stands in close connection with a mythical picture of the world, illness and handicap are as a rule interpreted as an indication that the victim has lost the gods' favor. The condition is seen as punishment for individual guilt or that of one's forebears. The handicapped are seen as unclean and impure, and therefore as having fallen from the divine order of things. Unless people wished to place themselves at risk as well, they had better avoid them. As a rule, this means exclusion from the social community: the handicapped become outsiders, 'others.'

In ancient Israel, as in many other religions, physical integrity or wholeness was demanded of → priests. "For no one who has a blemish shall draw near, one who is blind or lame, or one who has a mutilated face or a limb too long, or one who has a broken foot or a broken hand, or a hunchback, or a dwarf, or a man with a blemish in his eyes or an itching disease or scabs or crushed testicles" (Lev 21:21-20). Nor, according to Canon 1041.1 of Catholic church law, may persons having a permanent mental or psychological handicap be admitted to the priesthood. In the time of the New Testament, illness and handicap were regarded as the work of demons. Persons having psychological or mental handicaps have particularly been the subject of mythical interpretations. Beginning in the Middle Ages, Germanic folk belief, in tandem with Christian notions, led to mentally handicapped children being looked down upon as changelings: the devil was supposed to have exchanged them at birth. It is reported of Martin Luther that he counseled the drowning of a twelve-year-old mentally handicapped boy in Dessau because he regarded him as a changeling without a soul.[2] Despite all advances in medicine, religion continues to play a role in promoting respect for the handicapped: Lourdes receives some 5,000,000 pilgrims annually, among them 70,000 ill and handicapped who hope to be healed of their afflictions.

The Handicap in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

3. In modernity, the handicapped are assimilated very ambivalently. On the one hand, a society of achievement, oriented to functionality, sports, and the ability to work, is confronted, in the physical, mental, and psychological handicap, with the fact that human life does not always abide by the 'norm'; this tension affords encouragement to the sidelining of handicapped persons. On the other hand, enlightenment with respect to causes of the handicap that have lain in the organism, or in socialization, has provided for a certain deliverance from mythical ideas. The development of methods of rehabilitation and political measures for social integration have been able to contribute considerably to the improvement of the environment and living conditions of handicapped persons. Here the diaconal organizations (→ Charitable Organizations), developing since the nineteenth century, have made contributions of great importance.

One of modern history's darkest chapters in behavior with retarded persons is the → 'euthanasia' (from Greek, 'good dead') of the time of → National Socialism. Some 100,000 persons, with, especially, mental handicaps, were the victims of *Aktion 4*, disparaged as 'lives unworthy of life.' Thus did the Nazis become the executants (and executioners) of the ideologies of nineteenth- and twentieth-century social Darwinism and eugenics, as well as the murderous expression of a modern belief in progress. Only since the 1980s has public debate on the human right to life and the protection of handicapped persons once more been strongly engaged. For one, the theses of Australian utilitarian bioethicist Peter Singer, and

his position that, under special conditions, profoundly handicapped infants/fetuses should be put to death, have aroused considerable debate.[3] For another, the draft of a bioethics document of the European Council provides, within certain bounds, for experiments on persons incapable of consent. Now that genetic research has shown the possibilities of a pre-natal diagnosis of handicaps, the fear seems not ungrounded that the right to life of the handicapped versus the 'avoidability' of handicap will be more and more debated. Against this background, religious traditions that protect the right to life of the handicapped are once more growing in importance.

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→ *Bioethics, Body, Charitable Organizations, Ethics/Morals, Euthanasia/Assisted Suicide, Illness/Health*

Hanno Gerke

Hare Krishna Movement (ISKCON)

1. A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupāda inaugurated the Hare Krishna movement, which calls itself *International Society for Krishna Consciousness*. It belongs to the Vishnuite group *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Saṃpradāya* ("Bengali Vishnuitic Tradition") that goes back to the Bengali Bhakti-saint Caitanya. In the sixteenth century the latter founded a Krishnaitic missionary movement whose way of salvation was the recitation (Sanskrit *japa*) and communal singing (Sanskrit *saṃkīrtana*) of the names of Krishna. Around 1850, this movement was reestablished in Bengal in

the *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Māṭh* ("Monastic Center for Bengali Vishnuism") of Bhaktivinoda Thakur (1838–1914), which eventually strove for a mission in the Western world. ISKCON members attract attention with their pouch, in which a prayer chain (*mālā*) is transported, and with their traditional Indian raiment: white to yellowish for men and multicolored saris for women. The men are shorn, except for a plait (*śikhā*) on the back of the head.

History

2. ISKCON's founder was born Abhay Charan De, in Calcutta in 1896, studied English, philosophy, and economics, and adopted a mercantile career. It was in 1922 that he first met his later guru Bhakti Siddhanta Sarasvati Thakura (1874–1937), son of Bhaktivinoda Thakura, and thereupon began to compose a commentary on the Bhagavadgita. Initiated in 1933, he received from his guru the task of carrying Krishna consciousness to the West. Still, he remained in India. In 1950 he withdrew from wife, children, and workplace, and devoted his life exclusively to preaching, and to the translation of the Vishnuite literature. In 1959 he pronounced a vow of celibacy, and adopted the Sannyasa condition of full renunciation of all that is of the world. In 1962, Prabhupāda published the first volume of his English translation and commentary on the *Bhagavata-purāṇas*, a principal work of Krishnaism. In 1966, at the age of 69, at the behest of his master he moved to America, without any possessions or means, to spread Krishna consciousness there. He found his first followers in New York, in the hippie milieu, to whom he offered a counter-model to 'materialistic Western society.' In the same year he founded ISKCON, with its first centers in New York and San Francisco. He also established the *Bhaktivedanta Book Trust*, intended for the distribution of all of his books and translations. Further centers in the United States and Europe, as well as a great temple in Vrindavan (1974) appeared, along with the world headquarters in Mayapur. As early as 1970, Prabhupāda founded the *Governing Body Commission* (GBC) to which he later entrusted the organizational functions of leadership. Then shortly before his death, he designated eleven of his followers as *dhīkṣa guru*s ('initiation gurus'), with the right to initiate new devotees. Prabhupāda died in 1977. Through his consistent example of a life according to his strict religion, he had moved thousands to follow him.

Schisms

Several divisions of ISKCON appeared, as, for example, that of American Kirtananda Swami Bhaktipada, or of German Hansaduta Dasa.

Despite these divisions the movement repeatedly enjoys moments of sustained growth. Since the opening of Eastern Europe, ISKCON has aroused great interest there. In the meantime, however, alongside the initiated members, there is a large surrounding field of laity, confessing to Krishna consciousness in varying degrees. If one includes these tendencies, the number of practitioners of Krishna consciousness today can be reckoned at 200,000 worldwide, in the care of a scant one hundred gurus.

Organization

ISKCON has (1) temples (*nama hatta mandir*), (2) preaching centers (*nama hatta kendra*), and (3) simple centers (*nama hatta*). Meanwhile, worldwide, there are 325 temples, restaurants, radio stations, and television series. ISKCON operates a Food for Life program through which

free meals are distributed to the hungry in more than sixty countries. The Booktrust produces up to 4,000,000 volumes per year, of various titles. The largest project is the construction of a city, Mayapar City, near Mayapar, birthplace of Caitanya, in western Bengali, whose center will be a "Temple of the Vedic Planetarium." The GBC, meanwhile, has been transformed into a larger administrative apparatus, besides which, for various parts of the world, responsible representatives are in charge of eighteen 'ministries' (e.g., for finance, health, women, education, book distribution). In precise contrast to the early movement, the administration of ISKCON today is distinguished by transparency, openness, and democratic structures. For example, an explanation of the cases of child-abuse occurring toward the middle of the 1980s in the *gurukulas* has been energetically fostered.

Teaching

3. The directing doctrine, maintained according to Indian tradition and a strict Vishnuite mold, is a monotheism, expounded in a scholastic mode, as taught by Caitanya. Prabhupāda returned not only to the Bengalese text *Caitanya-carita-amṛta* ("Nectar of the Deeds of Caitanya"), but, especially, to the Bhagavadgita and the Bhagavata-purāna, both of which he ascribed to the Vedic literature. Philosophically, Caitanya belongs to the dualistic stamp of the Vedanta school, more exactly named the *acintyabheda-abheda* doctrine, the 'unthinkable dividedness and undividedness' of God and soul. But at the same time, the soul is also a part of the servant of God. It is not aware of this nature, however, because it identifies with the material body, and thus is submitted to the cycle of rebirths according to the laws of karma.

Ritual Practice and Manner of Life

4. By way of fully devoted service (*bhakti*) to the god Krishna, especially by the recitation of his name in a certain → mantra—*mahāmantra,* the "Great Mantra" ("Hare Krishna Hare Krishna Krishna Krishna Hare Hare, Hare Rama Hare Rama Rama Rama Hare Hare")—human beings can once more be delivered from this cycle. Other mantras are prescribed, as well as devotional songs (*samkirtan*), ritual veneration of the statues of the gods and of the spiritual master, the reading of Prabhupāda's books, and the four principles of the manner of life (pure vegetarianism, no sort of intoxicant—not even tea or coffee—no gambling, and no sexuality unless it serves procreation in marriage). All contemplation and aspiration is directed to Krishna. The *mahāmantra* is recited for hours, *sankirtan* is sung in the group in ecstatic wise and accompanied by dance, the rituals and prescriptions are followed, a detailed Hindu calendar of feasts is strictly observed. This strict practice of religion has occasioned the high respect of ISKCON, especially in India, where priests educated by ISKCON may perform the temple service even in Hindu temples of other orientations. Along with dedicated priests to perform the rituals, there are other specialists for many attendant activities, from cooks, musicians, and preachers, to Superintendent of the Temple.

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→ *Anti-Cult Movements, Guru, Hinduism, New Religions*

Karl-Peter Gietz

Hasidism

Hasidism—a Jewish Awakening Movement

1. Hasidism, a mystical awakening movement in Judaism, arose in Eastern Europe around mid-eighteenth century. Since the → Shoa, it has maintained its centers in New York and Israel. Israel ben Elieser ("*Ba'al Shem [Tov]*," c. 1700–1760) is the founder of the movement, which was systematically organized by his successor Dov Ber (d. 1772), the *Maggid* ("Preacher") from Mesritsh, and propagated through emissaries. A variety of directions from the very outset, ordinarily named for their European cities of origin (e.g., Lubavitch in Byelorussia, or Bratslav in the Ukraine) came more and more under the leadership of a certain dynastically selected *Rebbe* (Yiddish, 'Rabbi') or *Tzaddiq* (lit., 'Righteous'; essentially, 'Holy'). As spiritual leader, intermediary between God and his community, miraculous helper, counselor, and judge, such a *Rebbe* at once formed around himself a social and cultural network, with schools and social institutions, and, in the diaspora of today, also saw to the disposition of kosher foodstuffs.

Today a part of Jewish Orthodoxy, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Hasidism closely questioned the received forms of Judaism, and settled them on new foundations. Therefore it was keenly persecuted from 1772 onward, yet at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was reconciled with its 'enemies' (*mitnagdim*) in view of what was felt to be a threat facing both sides, namely the Enlightenment and assimilation. Statistics from 1982 trace a growth from some 313,000 to at least 5 million members in pre-war Europe.

2. a) The Hasidic movement, portrayed so often in a folkloristic, romanticizing color—especially under the influence of Martin Buber—as a movement turned to the world and hallowing the everyday, was every bit of this. Granted, the *Hasidic mysticism of oneness* in Judaism popularized a reevaluation of the world, as it had previously been represented, even by medieval Platonizing philosophers, and especially through the → Kabbalah from the thirteenth century. More than anything else, however, it was an idealistically inclined worldview—to the point of → pantheism—according to which everything in the world is directed by the Divinity, and yet only a scintilla of the fullness of the Godhead remained, from which the human being must not decline.

The Ba'al Shem Tov

b) The founder of the movement, Ba'al Shem (Tov), "Master of the (Good) Name [i.e. of God]," which worked by magic, had adopted ancient traditions of alphabetical mysticism and understood the emergence of the world from the divine One as a *linguistic* event. For him, the Bible's divine word of creation was the self-unfurling of God through the alphabet, and



Satmarer Hasidim arrive in New York with their rabbi, the *Rebbe*, in traditional holiday raiment and aprons of mazzo. Mazzos are thin loaves of unleavened wheat, rye, barley, and oat bread, eaten on Seder Evening, the first evening of the Feast of Passover. They recall the biblical departure of Israel from Egypt, when the people had no time to leaven their dough (Exod 12:34,39). (Hubert Mohr)

the plenitude of God is concentrated in the first letters of the alphabet. The world is a comprehensive text, and the Hebrew names of things and persons their God-charged being. God's ubiquity in the world makes possible, and demands, the 'clinging to God,' the *devequt*, at every place and in every manner of activity. The Hasidim call it 'service to God in materiality.' The climax of *devequt*, meanwhile, described by the Ba'al Shem's successor as perfect mystical unification (Lat., *unio mystica*), has its place especially in the study of the Torah and in ecstatic prayer, at which the God-filled language is present in an undisguised manner. *Devequt* is the wellspring of Hasidic gladness, which must not be misunderstood as joy in the world, but, rather, seen as an 'earthly enjoyment in God' (→ Emotions/Feelings; Kabbalah; Mysticism).

c) However, the persevering *devequt* called for by the *Tzaddiq* is purely an elitist accomplishment, scarcely adapted to popularization. And yet the *community-creating deed of charisma*, called for by Hasidism, did reach the Ba'al Shem's most faithful pupil and intermediary, Jacob Josef of Polna'a (d. 1782), in the first published Hasidist work (1780) *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef*. According to him, the Hasidist community, comparable to Christian conceptualizations, is a mystical body, whose soul is the *Tzaddiq*, whose body the Hasidim. As with the human individual, where the soul alone possesses a likeness to *devequt*, so it is as well with the *corpus mysticum* of the community. The *Rebbe* generates for his community a mystical contact with the Godhead. As a member of the community body, the simple Hasid now enjoys an indirect unification with the Godhead, rendered accessible to him even without the traditionally required schooling in the Torah.

The Tzaddiq

3. The Hasidist *Rebbe*, or *Tzaddiq*, is Hasidism's key religious reference. He has joined manifold religious functions and types of the long Jewish tradition to himself, and thus corresponds to a multiplicity of human needs satisfied until now by various specialists. It is the task of the *Ba'al Shem* who assists in escaping earthly needs, to be a messianic leader of the soul, a prophet who, in the holy spirit, knows sins and ritual impurity. He is a preacher and revealer of mystical truths. An especially important additional function is intercession before the heavenly court, to which the *Rebbe* can undertake ecstatic ascensions at all times. The Hasidim have glorified the deeds and wonders of the Hasidic saints, the *Tzaddiqim*, in a great number of legends. These became familiar worldwide by way of the expressionistic existentialist reinterpretations of Martin Buber. They conveyed not Hasidic theology and mysticism, but faith in the wondrous succor of these 'righteous men,' together with the everyday problems and hopes—not peculiar to Hasidim—of Eastern European Jews.

New Societal Forms

4. The doctrines of Hasidism have generated an extensively new societal and religious scale of values, thereby occasioning a complete restructuring of Eastern European communities, which still exist today in New York, Israel, and Antwerp. Highest value was assigned no longer to schooling in the Torah but to ecstatic prayer, and especially membership in the Hasidic community, which was possible even for a member with scant education and simple profession. The celebration of feasts at the 'court' of the *Rebbe* ranked over their celebration in the domestic circle. Hasidism subdivided Jewish society according to numerous different loyalties to individual *Tzaddiqim*, some of whom did not even reside locally. The new Hasidic leadership has taken over functions of the local community authorities, and pretends to the regulation of simply all social and personal life. The *Rebbe* entreats for his society the blessing of heaven, by prayer and wonder, and the society supports him with material goods. Despite numerous activities of individual mysticism—to the point of a contemplative annihilation of the person, the ego, and the world—the community is at the center of Hasidic life; the community may take advantage of dance, tobacco and alcohol, and unbridled joy, to support the ecstasy of the soul, and thus also that of the *Rebbe*. The Hasidic group most active today is that of the Chabad-Lubavitcher, which has subscribed to the inner-Jewish mission. It is this group that presents publicly its high-tension messianic expectations.

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→ *Diaspora, Judaism, Kabbalah, Mysticism, Shoah*

Karl E. Grözinger

Heathen

Heathen are always the 'others': Muslims, freethinkers and atheists, cannibals—even Catholics or Protestants, as you prefer. 'Heathen' is a collective, 'exclusive' (excluding) concept: in the Hebrew Bible, the 'others' are the *goyim* (Gen 10:5, Isa 14:26); in the Greek New Testament, they are *ta éthne* ('the tribes'), or, as the part for the whole, *hoi Héllenes* ('the Greeks': John 7:35, Mark 7:26), the '(other) peoples,' those who do not belong to one's own (religious) community. 'Heathen,' then, is one of those collective appellations that sets up a 'we/they' distinction, so as to designate an 'out group,' and, as rule, to deprecate them vis-à-vis the 'in group.' 'Heathen,' the English equivalent of the Greek *ethnikós* ('belonging to a [foreign] people'), doubtless reflects the socio-religious relations of → late antiquity, separating as it does the (already Christianized) 'city dwellers' (Lat., *urbani*) from the 'rural dwellers' (Lat., *pagani*; → Paganism/Neopaganism). Thus the heathen are depicted as inhabitants of the flat lands, scarcely Christianized as yet, if at all. The conceit with which so many a city-dweller looked down on 'the ones from the country' made the appellation perfect for being generalized and whetted until it developed into a motto of Christian Europe across the board. Used polemically, it developed its danger when, for example, other-thinking and other-believing persons fell into the Inquisitorial search-and-destroy mission, or when the 'mission to the heathen' entered the service of colonial interests. Although it is still a favorite negative correlate for the Christian missionary task, positions and religious group-identities have nonetheless developed in the modern age—similarly to what has occurred with 'witch'—that actually lay claim to the word 'heathen' for their own role, their own self-image. Alain de Benoist's "Comment peut-on être pain" ("How to Be a Pagan"; Paris 1981) is a battle-slogan of the rightist critique of Christianity, just as it is of radical feminism.

→ *Mission, Paganism/Neopaganism, Reception*

Hubert Mohr

Heaven / Sky

Dimensions of the Concept

1. The conception of heaven, together with its possible antitheses (earth, hell) and overlaps (paradise, the beyond), belongs to the most important group of influential religious symbols in the history of ideas and piety. Adapted in depth by the folk culture, it permeates many religions, and is further developed even outside explicitly religious traditions. In the Judaeo-Christian tradition, this conception combines several dimensions of meaning.

(a) First of all, in terms of daily human experience of the world, even today heaven or the sky is an expanse reaching over the earth, the space marked off by sunrise and sunset, the air space in which clouds and winged animals move, the expanse lit by the stars. Supported by this obvious experience, early notions of cosmology and science managed to



The 'Delivery of the Decree of Pardon' is part of the Daoist ritual of the dead. A Confucian master of ceremonies takes over the funeral, while Daoists are concerned to ease the heavenly ascent for the three heavenly souls of the deceased (in addition there are seven earthly ones, according to their conceptions). The photograph was taken in Southern Taiwan. It shows a Daoist master with his disciples. They have climbed onto benches and stools around a raised table, in order to be closer to heaven. The ritual takes place in the open, so that communication is not impeded. The Decree of Pardon is seen as having been issued by the 'Chancellery of the Three Heavens,' overseen by the first 'Master of Heaven' and founder of the Daoist religion, Zhang Daoling. As an official in the service of the government of the universe, the Master takes delivery of the Document. Then it is entrusted to the 'Officer of Pardon' (a figure on the table) and sent to the lower world, to effectuate the deliverance of the deceased. The journeys on high and below are presented by one of the disciples in pantomime. Descending to the lower world, he springs backwards from the bench. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

conceptualize the sky as a hemisphere ranged over the earth, with the stars mounted ('firmament') and the heavenly waters being above it; or as a platter standing on props.

(b) Attached to this conception of space, heaven or the sky is the place of emergence of the reality of inescapable natural, historical, and social forces. Human beings receive rain from it and regard themselves as in dependency upon the powers and forces of weather, as important natural conditions that affect the framework of their life.

(c) At the same time, heaven is the residence or *place of the gods* and highest beings. It is the region of the celestial court, with its various supernatural or angelic beings and powers. In the conception of the biblical scriptures, heaven is the throne of God. The fact that God dwells in heaven guarantees an action of ordering and coordinating, and an ultimately reliable interconnection, in this area of creation so inaccessible to human beings.

(d) Heaven or the sky as the place of the divine presence, or of God's dwelling, can be all but equated with God himself, as occurs for instance in a comparison of the *transcendence of heaven* with the transcendence of God. However, in Judaism, since the second century BCE, the word 'heaven' (or 'sky') has been used in order to avoid pronunciation of God's ineffable name. Against the idea of a sky with many gods, the Judaeo-Christian tradition insists that earth and heaven are creatures of God and parts of the world. The inaccessible heaven is of the same basic creatureliness as the accessible earth. Accordingly, Judaeo-Christian hope is in a new creating of earth and sky (1 Pet 3:22). These religious understandings lead to a model of a graduated transcendence, in which an absolute transcendency of the God of heaven and earth, inconceivable for humankind, is to be distinguished from a relative transcendency of God in heaven, that is, of the presence of God in the space of the created world that can be conceptualized. The notion of God as dwelling in heaven, then, can express at once his relative nearness, and his transcendence and distance (Jer 23:23-24).

(e) Heaven is often seen as the *place of human life after death*: the righteous—human beings living according to God's will—will be with God everlastingly. In the sense of an unambiguously positive counter-world, one delivered from ambiguities and suffering, heaven makes possible a happy life that infirmity and death can never remove. Here the conception of heaven overlaps that of paradise (McDonnell/Lang 2001), since the latter describes an original condition, now lost, of salvation and happiness to which, under certain conditions, the dead return (→ Garden/Paradise). In this connection, the conception of → hell takes form as a negative counter-world, set over against heaven, in which human beings are at a definitive distance from God. In many religious traditions, this paradise is partially accessible to selected pious people through someone or something that leads them to heaven, a journey to heaven through → visions, rapture (2 Cor 12:2ff.), or forms of ecstasy.

Conceptions of Heaven

2. In the writings of the *Judaism* of pre-Christian times (beginning in the second century BCE), the conception of heaven undergoes a powerful broadening. Heaven becomes the place of the just, a place consisting of various levels, of which the highest extends to God's very heaven (1 Enoch 16). Beginning in the third century BCE, a reverential avoidance of the use of the name of God has led to the substitution of the word 'heaven' (1 Macc 3:18). But at the same time, the designation of God with the concept of heaven has the consequence of blurring the sharp boundary between God and heaven as set forth in the thought of the creatureliness of heaven and earth.

Conceptions of God in *Islam* demonstrate a close proximity to those of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, with a radically sensuous conception of paradise, and the thought of judgment in the sense of a revealing of the deeds of human beings being set in the foreground. Although the Qur'an does not set it forth directly, the Garden of Paradise, into which the righteous may enter, is presented as divided into several levels or regions. The promise of a fulfillment and enhancement of earthly happiness in the regions of paradise is regarded in various sectors of folk piety as compensation for earthly renunciation and suffering (e.g. in war), although formal Islamic theology expounds and emphasizes the metaphorical character of the presentations.

The central interest in *Chinese religious traditions* is in a harmony between heaven and earth. Harmony in human concerns, and lawful behavior, lead to a harmony with heaven, whose forces are influenced by nature and culture at once. The cosmos is determined by heaven, and forces and events emerging from heaven, like earthquakes and floods, are understood as heaven's reactions to a failed behavior on the part of human beings, and especially to the 'wisdom' and actions of those responsible for the political domain. Events beyond the field of human beings' direct influence are ascribed to the will of heaven—which, as active principle of world order, and as the power that rules, reacts to the behavior of human beings with castigation and benediction.

Unless the rationality of the Judeo-Christian heaven-symbol is traced primarily in the aspects of the firmament determined by natural cosmology, it becomes clear that heaven is an early symbol of real universality, which comprehends indeterminable, unavailable, inapproachable, and non-manipulable areas of creation, whose forces determine and impregnate

biological as well as cultural life in a sensory way (M. Welker, J. Moltmann). In the present understanding of the world, (a) in a 'modal logical' understanding of reality, it is clear that *possibility*, but, far more, (b) the *future* as a paradigm of transcendence, has captured, at least partially, the position or function of a heaven unavailable to displacement (J. Moltmann).

Receptions and Operational Behaviors of the Concept of Heaven

3. a) *Iconography in Christian architecture*: to this very day, the presentation of the 'spherical' (Gk., *sphaira*, 'sphere') presentation of a bounded, (solid) crystalline sea beyond the firmament is culturally significant. Through the centuries, the (usually blue) spherical form of the world, as attribute of Christ, becomes the attribute of government and rule. In the architecture of the West, with the adoption of ancient models, the cupola, the apse, and the vault become the portrait of the cosmos, and simultaneously the locus of the epiphany of celestial forms (*Pantokrator* [Gk., 'all-controlling' or '-governing' Christ], the Mother of God, etc.). The symbolism of the cosmos is also reflected in Gothic rose windows.

Criticism of Religion

b) Many forms of piety, taking their point of departure in one-sided interpretations of biblical propositions of heaven as the country of Christians (Phil 3:30) in the life to come, and as an everlasting dwelling (2 Cor 5:1), hosted the development of an individualistic thinking of compensation and consolation, to which the *modern → criticism of religion* reacted with the massive reproach of flight from the world. To this critique, heaven is a projection screen for human wishes (Ludwig Feuerbach). Here one sees the ambivalence of positive, heavenly, counter-worlds, out of which vital standards for a life orientation can be drawn, but which can also lead to an erosion of responsible activity.

Receptions in Popular Culture

c) The motif of heaven, with its antitheses (earth, hell) and overlaps (paradise, the next life), has undergone a multiplicity of processings in the artistic imagination over the centuries, especially in literature. Although the invocation of God in heaven is a secure component of the Christian Lord's Prayer, the meaning of heaven has been lost to popular Christian piety. Strikingly, however, with the withdrawal of the conception of heaven in current forms of piety, a persistently strong reception of the motif of heaven marches forward in the 'secular' audiovisual popular culture of the present. Here we may list, by way of example, its lyrical development with music groups like Queen ("Heaven for Everyone" [CD *Made in Heaven*, 1995]), Led Zeppelin ("Stairway to Heaven") or Dire Straits ("Ticket to Heaven" [CD *On Every Street*, 1991]), and artists like Belinda Carlisle ("Heaven is a Place on Earth"), Bob Dylan ("Knockin' on Heaven's Door" [LP *Billy the Kid*, 1973]), Tracy Chapman ("Heaven's Here on Earth" [CD *New Beginning*, 1995]), or Eric Clapton ("Tears in Heaven" [CD *Unplugged*, 1992]). In these vignettes of the motif of heaven, that concept designates a salvific and beatific, indeed beatifying, condition in close connection with the conception of paradise in a psychic, sexual, social, political, economic, or ecological outlook. This condition, of course, in a de facto adoption of the philosophical critique of religion, is being predicated of, or required for, earth itself. While in commercial advertising altogether simplified comparisons of happiness and heaven are dominant, there are differentiated adoptions and elaborations of the heaven motif in film, as, for example, in Wim Wenders's *Himmel über Berlin* (Ger.,

'Heaven over Berlin,' 1987; see photograph at → Angel), or *In weiter Ferne, so nah* (Ger., 'So far and yet so near,' 1993).

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→ *Angel, Garden/Paradise, Hell, Hereafter, Myth/Mythology*

Günter Thomas

Hell

1. The word 'hell' (from Old English *hel*, in turn from *helan*, 'to cover,' 'to conceal') in Germanic languages denotes a 'hidden' realm of the dead. The corresponding words in romance languages mean, more precisely, a 'subterranean realm' (Lat., *infernum*, akin to Eng. 'infernal'; Fr., *enfers*). In the earliest traditions, the underworld is the region where all of the dead continue their existence—where earthly existence endures in reduced format (Heb., *sheol*; ancient Gk., *hades* [Homer]). Punishment and retribution are not yet the foremost connotations. A further basic conception of the hereafter in the worldviews of many peoples has been a *neutral* one, that of a 'second world': an actual world under the earth, conceived geographically, peopled by rational beings, and administered through institutions analogous to those of terrestrial cultures. This idea is at the root of the concept of a spatial intercourse between earth and underworld: through darksome valleys and beyond volcanoes, or across a river of the dead both worlds come together. Journeys and passages, as well as dreams, visions, and ecstatic trances, afford access to the underworld.

2. a) In religions whose moral systems are conceived individualistically, the underworld has the form of a sphere, in which dead people—or more precisely, the dead individually—are punished for their transgressions (Egypt, Orphic ideas in Greece, Jewish prophecy, Islam). Conversely, with the views of heaven and paradise the reward of attaining life is expressed. *Christianity*, especially, has developed an eminently negative conception of this element of the hereafter: a place in which penalties are undergone for unexpiated unrighteousness, a *hell* in the narrower sense of the word. In apocalypticism and the literature of monastic visions, the influence of penal law and popular belief on theology and pastoral ministry leads to an inflation of the awful. The everlasting castigations of the damned are the judgment of sin, which is offense against the infinite worth of God. In the Middle Ages, hell is distinguished from other regions of the afterlife, such



In Jean-Paul Sartre's drama *Huis clos* (Eng. as *No Exit*), hell comes off without physical torments. In a drawing room, furnished with three settees and a repulsive bronze casting, three deceased persons meet once more. Each has incurred guilt vis-à-vis the others, and now each is sleepless, under everlasting electric light, condemned to the other pair. Their conversation promptly betrays their weak points. Alliances switch, and by turns, the characters assume the role of victim. In this drama, atheist existentialist Sartre has conceptualized a modern hell, built on each character's personal decision. The purpose of their having been locked up together is determined by themselves: to impose psychic hellfire on one another. Open-eyed, they enter the diabolical game. "Hell," observes the character Garcin, "is other people." Even when the door suddenly opens, none of the three dares to leave. They will continue thus throughout all eternity. The photograph shows the first presentation of *Huis clos* at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier, Paris, in 1944. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

as purgatory with its temporal duration; the underworld is divided up, and the dead are ranged in categories and assigned to their places of punishment (eminently in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, 1311–1321).

b) This hereafter represents a mighty *store of threat*, conducive to the maintenance of social and political order, and to the success of the Christian mission. Post-mortal punishments are in correspondence to earthly transgressions, for whose retribution they lie in wait, composed after the law of retaliation. The kind and gravity of the offense are reflected in the proportionate severity and duration of the sanction. This repressive function of the graphically depicted pains of hell was accompanied by sadistic tendencies. In art and folklore, the identity of the denizens of hell is permanently shattered, through manifold species of agony. 'Intelligent fire' burns the damned without burning them up. Ghastly surroundings (stench of brimstone), like the terror of the everlasting satanic dismay

wreaked by the devil and his demons, have no end. Retribution and deterrence in the spirit of penal law, moral edification, and religious conversion are important functions of this gigantic scenario of chastisement.

Belief in Hell: Modern Conceptions and Critique

3. Modern times have seen a pluralization, a recasting, and an extensive critique of hell, in both its cosmological and its religious sense.

a) Even the ancient church set forth the hell of the damned not only as a place, but also as a condition, free from local connotation. The conceptual distinction between hell as a punitive *condition*, on the one hand, and as a *place* of punishment, on the other, was widespread even in the Middle Ages. Such pathways of 'demythologization' were further traversed in the Reformation, especially in the presence of the question whether Christ must suffer the hell of God's wrath not only on the cross, but in the underworld as well.[1]

b) Through the influence of the philosophical → *Enlightenment* (Bayle, Diderot, Voltaire), and Christian currents like *Pietism* (J. W. Petersen), the old concept of hell and the idea of a cruelly avenging God who punished unto eternity were surrendered, as irreconcilable with a theology of the love, goodness, and mercy of God.

Concepts of Hell in Social Philosophy

c) The metaphorical use of the term 'hell,' however, delivered from religious indices, has a firm place as a *negative topos of existence* in the analysis of the modern age. At the hands of a Georges Minois, the concept of hell is subjected to an in-depth analysis at the hands of social philosophy, in function of the destructive tendencies of an absolutization of, on the one side, egoism, and on the other, altruism.[2] The existentialist philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre interprets hell as the ineluctable relationship of one human being to another: "Hell is other people" (see photograph). In modern literature, philosophy, and art, as well as in film, 'hell' stands for the numberless needs of earthly life; for psychic chasms, alienation, illness, the excesses of power and sexuality, perversions and sadism.[3] On this level of meaning are also settled the 'trips to hell' of war and extreme adventure.[4]

The Christian Churches

d) In the large churches today, hell no longer plays a leading role. Theologically regarded, heaven and hell are bound up with the moral and religious earnestness of human behavior. 'Hell' means the possibility of ultimate distance from God and subjective failure, without positive contentions as to the locality of an underworld and its torments. However, hell as a subterranean reality belongs to those religious themes whose survival is assured in the *ecclesial subculture*.[5] Private revelations (→ Vision/Auditory Experience), for example in fundamentalist Catholic currents, afford richly detailed glimpses into a subterranean hell (e.g. the Marian cult of Fatima). Such considerations of hell, and of the eternity of its torments, are bound up with, for one, the masochistic spirituality of the suffering of atonement, and for another, aggressive threat and ideological propaganda against modernity's 'Babel of sin.' However, surveys show that faith in a hell in which human beings are punished after death is not reserved to a subculture: it increases in proportion to church allegiance, as indicated in the frequency of attendance at church service. Belief in hell is founded, as a rule, on a keen sense of justice, that will not reconcile itself with unrequited earthly injustice.

Cultural Satanism

e) The demise of the threat of hell opens the way for a mischievous appropriation: the devilish actor (or, in the sado-masochistic version, the helpless sacrifice) is played coquettishly, in a theatrical 'spectacle of hell.' In *advertising and everyday culture*, hells and devils like these are richly attested: in the motorcycle gang Hell's Angels, in rock music (Heavy Metal), or in sports (→ Satanism).

Concepts of Hell in Non-European Religions

4. Unlike the biblical hell, that of the *Qur'an* is very graphic and rich in imagery. Individual responsibility before the divine judgment is stressed unambiguously. But unlike the Christian hell, the Islamic one is without utter hopelessness and despair. God's mercy is basically open to the granting of a pardon at any time. In *Hinduism*, disparate concepts are handed down. These include subterranean hells, with torments portrayed in rich detail. Again, the idea of a wandering soul, and rebirth, means an experience in hell—ever and again to have to enter the hell of earthly suffering, rather than reaching nirvana. The sojourn in a terrestrial and subterranean hell is but a transient one, whose purpose is a purification of evil souls. In other Far Eastern religions, as well (*Buddhism*), the sojourn in a hell is fastened to the great cycle of rebirths, and does not have the Christian imprint of ultimacy.

1. Herzog 1997, 302-315.
2. Minois 1991.
3. Cf. Kuschel, Karl-Josef, in: Biesinger, Albert/Kessler, Michael (eds.), Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer, Tübingen 1996, 31-54; Pike 1997; Minois 1991.
4. E.g., Ebert, Wolfgang (ed.), Höllenfahrten. Forscher, Abenteurer und Besessene, Cologne 1998.
5. Cf. Vorgrimler 1993, 401-428.

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→ *Angel, Demon/Demonology, Devil, Ethics/Morals, Heaven/Sky, Hereafter, Satanism*

Markwart Herzog

Hereafter

A *hereafter*, in the raw sense of 'the other side,' necessarily corresponds to the fact that a boundary is traced when a dead person must be withdrawn

from the world of the living, to be buried *beyond a boundary*, a stream, or a cemetery wall, in a special area. Here, in ambivalent reciprocity, are both the 'disposal of' the corpse, lest the living suffer the peril of contamination (→ Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming), and the 'provision for' the departed in the life after death. But the conceptualization of a life after death also requires other images and spaces, to palliate the demands of this real event, and bestow plausibility on an existence beyond the moldering of the earth. The dead live in a counter-world: on an island ('of the blessed'), in a garden (paradise), in a secure city (Jerusalem), in a cave under the world, or in the sky (heaven). The living, at any rate, cannot experience these places. The hereafter extends the order of present; only very rarely does it reverse relationships. The castigation of the 'others' renders one's own reward sweeter still.

By limited analogy, and by escalation, the residence of the gods is conceived. In addition to the 'house of God' in the world below, there is the castle beyond, with its throne, music, festive meals, and countless servants. All of this subsists on a dominant mountain, or in heaven.

A systematic conception of 'the other' is applied, if the hereafter is in no way submitted to terrestrial conditions—if it is thought 'transcendently.' No anthropomorphic notions, no concrete and practical, everyday notions are used any longer; the speculative logic that obeys an inner systematics opens up a counter-world standing athwart it as an abstract norm. Then for the dead the hereafter is attainable only through a test, and thanks to 'grace' and the salvation of a divine judge.

→ Death and Dying, God/Gods/The Sacred, Heaven/Sky, Hell, Metaphysics, Spirits/Ghosts/Revenants

Christoph Auffarth

Heresy

The concept of *heresy* (Gk., *haíresis*, 'choice') originally denotes the opportunity of a selection to be made among various ancient philosophical schools. With the appearance of the Christian → Church and its orthodoxy, the word receives the polemical meaning of 'false teaching,' along with that of 'particular direction' or 'tack.' The struggle with the heresies (Arianism, Donatism, → Gnosticism) helped a Christianity in the process of formation, itself a particular direction of Judaism, to produce an inernal unity among its communities, and to bound itself off from similar religious groups or Greek philosophical directions (Neoplatonism). The imputation of heresy was also used, however, from the beginning, to suppress criticism of the ecclesiastical → hierarchy. Any contradiction of an acknowledged recognized dogma, and any attempt to take a position outside the clerical structure, was implacably persecuted as heresy, and punished with excommunication. But the continuous confrontation with heresies compelled Christianity to see to an exact fixing of its faith teachings, which contributed decisively to the production of → dogma and theology, and helped mold Western thought. Here, emphatically, the teachings of the heretics were not only deconstructed and abolished, but reshaped as well, adapted, and adopted.

The battle against the heresies always had a *political and juridical dimension*, as well. Heresy, it is true, is a Judaeo-Christian concept, but its equivalent is to be found in all of the great religions, to the extent that the latter cooperate with the power of the state, as in the Japanese Buddhism of the seventeenth century. With the unification of church and state in the late Roman Empire of the fourth century, heresies were persecuted from the secular side as well. Now it was possible to have delinquent heretical ecclesiastics physically liquidated at the hands of the state. Systematically and as a matter of principle, this operation was then practiced from the twelfth century onward by church and state, with assistance from the newly developed procedures of the Inquisition. The most powerful heresy of the Middle Ages, that of the Cathari in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, threatened the power and riches of the secularized clergy with its 'gnostically' based teaching of poverty and equality. The latter, however, called parts of the intra-Catholic poverty movement of the Franciscans and Dominicans to the fray. At the fiery stakes of the Inquisition, as well as in crusades, the Cathari, and many of the uninvolved, were murdered. In the theoretical confrontation with the 'heretics,' it was especially the Dominicans, such as Thomas Aquinas, who made outstanding contributions to the development of scientific thought, although there was much that was problematic as well (development of a demonology, upon which to base a construction of the → witch model).

That treatment of heresies was always partially dependent on the times, power structures, and societal relations, is to be seen in the modern age. In 1415, reformer Jan Hus was burned as a heretic; a hundred years later, there was no question of anything of the kind succeeding against → Luther. His heresy was successful, and became a church itself. The sequel to the → Reformation, then, was the collapse of a central authority of belief that could control heresies (→ Papacy). The concept of heresy widened by leaps and bounds, and lost its political meaning in society. With the unraveling of the church-state connection after the Thirty Years' War, secular penalties for heretics were rescinded. In the pluralistic society of today, it has been argued, there is even a 'heretical imperative' (P. Berger), since the individual must choose among the religions being offered.

In sum, the term 'heresy' is an emic category applied in religious discourses of identity. It is of no definitional use as an etic term for the academic study of religion.

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→ *Church, Demon/Demonology, Gnosticism, Hierarchy, Inquisition, Luther, Middle Ages, Reformation, Theology, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Nils Grübel

Hermeneutics

The expression "hermeneutics" (from Gk., *hermeneuein*, 'to translate,' 'to interpret') denotes the methods of interpretation of a text (→ Text/Textual Criticism) when seen as part of its exposition. Hermeneutics is of key importance especially for religion, when the latter is no longer temporally and locally embedded in the context in which a proposition or relation has found its *Sitz im Leben*. One way of 'translating' such a text into the present consists in expounding its 'deeper' sense, its meaning for times and places other than those of its original 'context.' With the sacred texts of the religions, this will typically mean their interpretation in a sense that will maintain their correctness throughout the ages. "Something can mean something different from that which it expresses literally" (allegory). By way of instrumental complementarity, historical-critical hermeneutics seeks to elucidate what the literal meaning of a text has been originally, for its own place and time. Only after this question has been answered can the text in question be 'trans-lated' to other temporal and local contexts.

In philosophy, hermeneutics has received a new meaning. Instead of being an ancillary science—one that seeks merely to decode languages and texts—it has become the prerequisite and aim of the very enterprise of 'understanding' its object (often in contrast to 'explanation').

→ *Canon, Language, Literature, Science, Text/Textual Criticism, Theology, Translation, Writing*

Christoph Auffarth

Hermetism / Hermeticism

The Term "Hermetism"

"Hermetism" is a term used today to describe the authors of Late Antique instructional texts which feature the personage of Hermes Trismegistus ("thrice-great Hermes") as instructor or interlocutor. In these texts, Hermes discusses and describes magical, astrological, alchemical, philosophical, and mystical ideas and practices. The variety of Hermetic subjects testifies to the absolute dominion of Hermes over every sort of learning: he was a personification of knowledge itself. As the Hermetic genre evolved, it came to take on an esoteric tone (→ Esotericism), from which the modern, occult-tinged reception of Hermetism and even our contemporary sense of the word 'hermetic' derives.

Hermetic Texts

Hermetic texts (commonly referred to as *Hermetica*) concerned with astrology and iatromathematics circulated as early as the first century BCE. Various Hermetica on other subjects, such as magic, alchemy, and the occult properties of natural objects continued to appear over the course of the next two centuries. While they were written in Greek, many most likely had an Egyptian provenance; the name Trismegistus, though Greek, was a redaction of an appellation ("great and great and great") originally applied to the Egyptian deity of knowledge, Thoth. In these early appearances Trismegistus regularly found the company of Egyptian deities, such as Isis and Horus, to discuss astrological and magical matters. While the various Hermetica contained Greek, Egyptian, and Persian learning, Trismegistus's identity was certainly that of a cultural hero of Hellenistic Egypt, which despised Greek, and later Roman, rule.

Middle Platonism

The first and second centuries CE saw renewed philosophical interest, long-dormant during centuries of dominance by Hellenistic schools, in the works of Plato, particularly the *Timaeus*. Thinkers such as Philo of Alexandria and Apuleius of Madaura concocted an admixture of Platonic and Stoic teaching commonly referred to as 'Middle Platonism.' Middle Platonists argued in favor of the transcendence of the first principle of the universe and its differentiation from a demiurge, who created the cosmos by means of a *logos* (Gk., "reason-principle"), found in and linking together all things. Like the Stoa, they believed that the cosmos—and everyone in it—was governed by a series of seven planetary beings, which in turn were ruled by *heimarmenē* (Gk., "fate"). The Middle Platonists were very interested in the subject of the soul and its relationship to God (the transcendent), the cosmos, the intermediary astro-principles or governing beings, contemplative life, and the *logos,* by which the essence of all things could be apprehended. With the teaching of Plotinus (third century) Middle Platonism was transformed into the more systematic Neoplatonic school.

The Second Wave of Hermetica

Sometime between the late first and early third centuries, as production of magical and especially alchemical Hermetica continued, a new genre of Hermetica emerged. It was almost exclusively concerned with Middle Platonic ideas: the soul, its composition, its descent from and ascent back to God through the seven planetary governors. A fundamental, accessible interrelationship existing between all things, natural and divine, remained a consistent theme: hence the famous Hermetic dictum, "as above, so below." Axiomatic in earlier magical Hermetica, it was now explained in terms of "sympathy," a Stoic term which also took root in Neoplatonic thought. Apart from this very general Middle Platonic discourse the content of this second wave of Hermetica cannot be summarized as a series of doctrines: they are disparate and often contradictory. Of course, there were many authors posing as Hermes, and they were not in agreement with one another on every issue. Another possibility is that the various teachings *did* form a single Hermetic path to wisdom, in which some doctrines were abandoned as one's spiritual development progressed. In this sense a Hermetic student could, at an early stage, discuss the glories of creation but eventually come to scorn them in favor of ascetic meditation on the transcendent.

This second wave of Hermetica also saw alterations in the Hermetic cast and pedagogy. Now there were *two* Hermes Trismegistuses, one of re-

mote antiquity, another being his homonymous son. This Hermes had his own son, Tat. He conversed with a new deity, Agathos Daimon (Gk., "good demon"), and had a personal vision of Poimandres, a spirit that calls itself *nous* (Gk., "mind") and delivers to Hermes a revelatory cosmogonical myth and the mission to preach truth to the masses. Alongside typical philosophical discourse, he now employed an esoteric, initiatory pedagogy of secrecy, concealment, and revelation with his own interlocutors to stress the difficulty of the path to divinity and the inexpressibility of ultimate knowledge. He also employed rituals: liturgy and hymns (probably influenced by contemporary Egyptian Jewry), incense, the animation of statues, incantations, and silent contemplation.

Egyptian Platonism and Gnosticism

Hermes Trismegistus retained his Egyptian patriotism. He employed the apocalyptic genre to describe the destruction and revival of Egypt as Earth's spiritual nation and disparaged the Greek language for its inability to capture Egyptian meaning. No Hermetic document praises Greek wisdom, but, nonetheless, the new Hermetic teaching was clearly Platonic. Porphyry (third century), a Neoplatonist himself, recognized Hermetic teaching as Platonic. This combination of Middle/Neoplatonic ideas, initiatory pedagogy, and ritual practice was widespread in late antiquity, particularly among the late Neoplatonists and the Gnostics (→ Gnosticism). Indeed, one of the most important of the esoteric, ritualistic Hermetica, *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth,* was discovered at Nag Hammadi amongst a plenitude of Gnostic treatises. It is likely that, just as there were small circles of devoted students who cohabited with a single Gnostic or Neoplatonic instructor, some groups studied Hermetica in the same manner.

Reception in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

In antiquity, the Hermetica were admired by Iamblichus (third/fourth century), the alchemist Zosimus (fourth century), Stobaeus (fifth century?), and the Christian Lactantius (fourth century), who argued that Hermes had been a contemporary of Moses. Augustine knew some Hermetica and disparaged them. They were compiled into collections (including the *Corpus Hermeticum*, which contains most of the later, Platonic Hermetica) in medieval Byzantium, where they were controversial and, most likely, partially destroyed for their overt pagan content. Psellos (tenth century), but apparently not Plethon (fourteenth–fifteenth century), read Hermetica. There are also very many Hermetic documents in Arabic from the medieval Islamic world which have of yet received little study, aside from those which were translated into Latin in the twelfth century. The latter includes the famous *Asclepius* (a fourth century Latin translation of the Greek *Teleios Logos,* "Perfect Discourse").

Hermetic Texts in the Renaissance and the Term "Hermeticism"

In the fifteenth century, the *Corpus Hermeticum* flowed from Byzantium to Italy, was translated into Latin by Marsilio Ficino, and achieved instant popularity. This newfound availability of Hermetica in Europe fertilized the already flourishing alchemical, astrological, and Platonic discourses of the Renaissance. Thinkers such as Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Giordano Bruno, Ludovico Lazzarelli, and Robert Fludd all featured Hermes as a central progenitor of a *philosophia perennis* (Lat., "eternal wisdom"), which could be found in all great philosophies and religious traditions. They expounded the perennial philosophy as a response to the bloody religio-political conflicts

of their time. Yet each was also a self-identified Christian, and their Hermes, like Lactantius's, presaged the Christian revelation. Hermes's contemporaenity with Moses was debunked by the great sixteenth-century philologist Isaac Casaubon, who identified the *Corpus Hermeticum* as a product of the centuries following Christ. Nonetheless, Hermetica continued to be read by enthusiasts of alchemy, astrology, and esoteric thought. This Renaissance reception of Hermetica, and its own reception amongst modern occult movements, is commonly referred to as "Hermeticism."

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→ *Antiquity, Astrology, Esotericism, Gnosticism, Magic, Platonism*

Dylan Burns

Hero / Heroism

Leading Figure

1. A hero (Gk., *heros*, 'hero,' originally 'free man') is an individual who stands out from the crowd of ordinary persons by his corporeal or spiritual assets, and who provides a model for ethical orientation. The heroic charisma rests on extraordinary (or superhuman) traits, and it draws human beings into the spell of the hero's personality. The hero constitutes a type: thus, the stories of heroes' life and works follow similar patterns in different religions, and make real or fictitious persons into vehicles of the actions of heroic myth. Regarded socio-psychologically, the hero is a symbolic leading figure, and serves his venerators in terms of an identification with a common, ideal "I." With the assistance of rituals and symbols, those in awe of the hero reinforce the validity of the order for which he himself steps forward. Heroism forms a construct for the interpretation of human experiences, and offers a concept for the defeat of death. In a variety of manners, the cult of the hero is integrated into religions, but it also exists in the area of the profane. The modern yearning for secular heroes can be appraised as counter-model to an egalitarian, anonymous society. It shapes new rituals, for the cultic veneration of its → idols. The emphasis is on the individual, and his and her resources to move the world and to alter prevailing conditions. Through this emphasis, the heroic man of action became savior and vessel of hope, but also destroyer and image of terror. This development appeared especially clearly in the political ide-

ologies of the twentieth century, which all inclined to the honoring of heroes of the campaign.

Antiquity

2. a) In Greek *antiquity*, the hero was a powerful deceased man of action, who inspired reverence, and was to be appeased through cult. A meritorious life was not required of the hero, who might even be involved in crime. In myth, he usually does battle with an adversary who, in a dualistic conception of the world (→ Dualism), embodies the source and essence of evil. The hero overcomes the adversary, and effects redemption and salvation. Other myths tell of a confrontation with the gods, as in the fall of → Prometheus, who contravenes the will of the gods by conveying fire to human beings. This rebellion is punished, and the original order reestablished. With narrative structures like these, myth produces → meaning, explains basic human experiences, and offers solutions to conflicts. In antiquity, not only special achievements (giver of laws and founder of cities), great piety, physical strength (Heracles, winner at the Olympic Games) and beauty, but also the extraordinary circumstances of his death, as well, or death in battle, might occasion his promotion to 'heroism.' From funeral rites and ancestor worship came the cult of heroes. The memorial of heroes was localized at the tomb; frequently a building arose there, or a → monument (*heróon*), providing worshipers with space to conduct cultic celebrations. In celebrations, the story of the hero was transmitted and propagated. Songs and dramas elevated his existence manifold, projected it into a mythical primitive time, and elucidated his being with divine descendancy. At the same time, they warned of the ambivalent power of the dead hero, which could bring blessing as well as curse. With the help of sacrifices, the dangerous dead person could be won as a mighty helper. Rituals of initiation would give his followers the ability to perform heroic deeds.

Middle Ages

b) In the *Middle Ages*, heroes and saints had comparable functions as figures of identification. They were honored as healers, wonderworkers, saviors, founders, and benefactors. The concept that had come down from ancient times, that one could win a blessed hereafter through selfless, pious, and virtuous behavior, was closely tied to the image of the hero, and had dominated heroism since the establishment of Christianity, as the → veneration of the saints and the hero cult influenced each other. A heroic death could now be interpreted not only as a sacrificial offering for one's own group, as it had been even in ancient republican Rome and its tradition of *devotio* (cf. P. Decius Mus, 340 BCE), but also as a profession of faith and belief (Gr., *martyr*, 'witness'; → Martyr). Now heroes gradually lost their disquieting, menacing ambivalence, and became the personified demonstration of community concepts of value. Under these premises, heroism could be the fruit of lifelong exertion, and still be condensed in a single moment of mighty deed, or of self-sacrifice for the cause of good. The sheen of its repute spurred devotees onward to emulation. In cult, they confessed the values incarnated in the hero, and gained strength for the conquest of their own lives.

Modern Age

c) The heroic ideals of *modern times* are composed of various strands of tradition, and combine profane and religious concepts. They reflect the

search for a social force of formation whose common ethos will no longer be that of a single religious institution supplying it for all. Since the rediscovery of antiquity in the → Renaissance, the elevation of the ruler to the status of hero has received new impulse. Literary and artistic apotheoses of princes and kings on the model of Hercules legitimized existing relations of power. However, a transcendent Christian source for the heroic quality was renounced. Instead, mental discipline and the power of the rational will were brought front and center as the notes of the heroic individual. By antithesis, originality and naturalness earmarked the secular *genius cult* of the eighteenth century, with which the economically toughening middle class took its distance from the Baroque veneration of the ruler (→ Genius). Beginning with the Enlightenment, the fading power of old faith principles produced a yearning for new ideals. For a middle-class educated audience, honor paid to heroes replaced traditional religion, and enabled its followers to re-enchant the modern world.

Nineteenth Century: National Heroes

3. With Romanticism's new interest in myths, sagas, and legends, the mechanisms were in place for a transformation of historical persons into mythic heroes. But it was especially the process of the *formation of nations* that called for visible representatives of a political idea. No sooner was the veneration of the saints 'unmasked as superstition,' than the figure of the martyr returned as the profane sacrificial hero. Beginning with the French Revolution and the wars of liberation, the fallen soldier became the modern national saint. In the age of the bourgeousie, the hero embodied the resistance of the personal subject to extinction through anonymous structures and systems. The concept of the personal subject as a power in history functioned as a counter-image to his and her experience of self as the helpless object of a perilous social system. Nineteenth-century historicism, which saw world history as consisting in the deeds of great men, vehemently defended the idea of the hero against the concrete experience of the age itself, which was felt as unheroic and banal. After Thomas Carlyle's *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (1841), idealizing biographies were widely disseminated, and were utilized especially for the patriotic upbringing of male youth. Along with warlike monarchs and victorious generals, discoverers, artists, and poets were transfigured to cultural heroes. Their pictures adorned the public squares, and the middle-class elite honored the dates of their birth and death with expensive celebrations.

Twentieth Century

The heroism of revolution and emancipation has played a key role in the ideologies of nationalism, communism, and fascism. The leading figure in a worldview of military authoritarianism was the *war hero*, who symbolized manliness in its every aspect. The process of obliteration gained aesthetic glory, and was to be regarded as a cost-effective exchange for the loss of self-determination. → *Marxism*, as well, seized upon revolutionary heroism, and, invoking ancient motifs, reshaped it to an emolument of the rational, modern mass society. Vitalism, activism, and voluntarism were the notes of the socialist hero. His figure incarnated a social class, the proletariat, whose all-transforming deed of heroism was world revolution. As 'hero of labor' he found his place in the world of socialism. In the *Weltanschauung* of → National Socialism, the hero was above all the fighter and the victor, who had the task of wresting the survival or the

hegemony of his people from the jaws of defeat. Here the stereotype of the Jew functioned as antithesis and adversary of the hero. The reason for the great danger of the Jewish enemy was that he was gradually killing off the heroic qualities of the Aryan by his skulking adulteration of the latter's blood. The only defense was the absolute maintenance of the purity of one's race, and the physical annihilation of all of the weak and 'unheroic.' In the 'Third Reich,' the glorification of Party members fallen in the struggle for power became a religious → veneration of persons, the object of an unexampled embellishment, and was employed by those in command to justify the unconditional subjugation demanded by the Germans. Without values to which to bind this heroic self-sacrifice, however, in the Second World War (if not before) the hero-ideal was exposed as self-destructive and deleterious of any meaning.

Heroes Today

4. Since the collapse of the hero-cults of National Socialism and Socialism, political heroism has become suspect to most *democratic societies*. The figure of the hero was maintained, after its de-politicizing, in the culture of light entertainment. Its current typology comprises more than the images of the ruler, knight, and warrior, or of the saint and martyr. In films, novels, or comics, the hero, mainly male, wrestles in behalf of culture, civilization, and progress, in the form of the adventurer, discoverer, conqueror, or scientist (→ Fantasy; Science Fiction), or as the musician, artist, or 'pop idol.' The vitality and physical strength of the sports hero engenders and models fantasies of omnipotence and the male image. With all of the criticism of heroism for the abuse with which it is accompanied, heroes do mount a standard of idealistic comportment, and keep readiness for selfless, courageous commitment alive and well.

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→ *Ancestors, Dualism, Fantasy (Genre of), Gender Stereotypes, Genius, Idol, Image/Iconoclasm, Martyr, Marxism, Meaning/Signification, Monument/Memorial Places, National Socialism, Prometheus, Renaissance, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult, Veneration of the Saints*

Sabine Behrenbeck

Hierarchy

Definition

1. Hierarchy (from Gk., *hierá arché*, 'sacred origin,' 'rule,' 'government,' 'order') is a fixed system of subordination and 'super-ordination,' a pyramidal order of rank, with a narrow apex and a broad base. Put simply, a hierarchy is a 'stepladder' of authority or command, whose lower instances are in organic contiguity with the higher. However, it need not always be a matter of hierarchies of power. 'Hierarchy' can also simply designate status. Grounds for differentiation within a hierarchy can be origin (as in the hierarchy of a nobility, or in the caste system), age, professional knowledge, 'seniority' of membership in a group, or achievement (as in a hierarchy of functionaries). In the cultural and political space of society, hierarchy is also a name for the totality of the bearers of a hierarchical order, and in a scholarly area it is applied as a criterion of order.

The Exemplar in the Beyond

2. *The exemplar in the beyond:* The concept of hierarchy was probably first introduced into theology by Denis the Areopagite (a pseudonym), at the turn of the sixth century, as a metaphysical classification. In his *De Caelesti Hierarchia* and *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, he describes a system of 'heavenly hierarchy' in which God is supreme hierarch over his creation. Hierarchy is the principle of order that stabilizes the cosmos. God himself is the creator of this hierarchy. From this point, everything is subordinated, beginning with the angels; then come the clerics—as their image—and last, the laity. God's rule in the beyond (→ Theocracy), then, reaches earth itself, and founds the rule of clerics over the laity. These texts gained importance by way of Denis's translation at the hands of eighth-century John Scotus Eriugena. Besides being influenced by this Neo-Platonic picture, the Christian theology of the Middle Ages was shaped by the interpretation of the Aristotelian cosmology. An important example in literature is Dante Alighieri's (1265–1321) *The Divine Comedy*. This work deals with a journey through the three levels of life after death: inferno (fore-hell), purgatory (mount of purification), paradise. Beyond lie the edifices of heaven, with seven rotating skies, with their planets, and the celestial vault as the seat of the divinity and the highest saints. This image of the world, received from cosmology, indicates a clear ladder of levels, which in other systems is often less clear.

The Roman Catholic Church

3. *In the Roman Catholic Church*, 'hierarchy' denotes the totality of the clergy, as bearers of the 'power of ordination' (*ordo*) and the 'power of shepherding' (*jurisdictio*). Ordination as plenary power of the mediation of salvation forms the religious dimension, and jurisdiction by disposition over sanctions denotes the social dimension. The hierarchies flowing thence, and therewith the series of ranks, are seen as the image of the heavenly hierarchy developed in the Middle Ages. The Pope as Vicar of Christ holds the plenitude of the power of direction: thus, he stands above the hierarchy. In the hierarchy of office, he is followed by the college of bishops. By ordination, bishops, priests, and deacons are successively subordinate. The *Protestant Reformers* altered the bases of the hierarchy of the clergy, rejecting the doctrine of the divine institution of the sacerdotal condition, and opposed to it the foundation of the priesthood and equality

of all of the faithful. The 'two steps' of clergy and laity remain, but now as a functional differentiation, not as a 'divinely instituted' ordering.

Societal Principle of Order

a) *The Indian* → *castes* (*jati*) are hereditary groups, determining status, fixing prescriptions for the division of distinct groups (as by marriage), and establishing the distribution of labor. The caste system is in no sense a purely linear order between the two extreme points of clean and unclean, which would thereby essentially structure the division of social membership. It is a complex system, in which hierarchy is the most important structural note. Hierarchy, here, is the conscious form of the relationship of the parts to the whole (Dumont).

b) Another example of a form of hierarchy is the *structure of the family*. The order of rank within a family is most often bound up with political and economic power, shows status, and expounds the rules of inheritance. In Hinduism, the status of woman is determined by marriage. It is important whether she is the husband's first or second wife, and whether she has been married before. The hierarchy of the sons follows the status of the wife.

Application in the Social Sciences

4. a) Only in the eighteenth century was the concept of hierarchy first applied to non-ecclesiastical organizations. Later, Max → Weber coined the same concept for the linguistic usage of the social sciences. He applies it in connection with forms of government and bureaucracy. Weber's point of departure consists of three ideal types of a government, distinguished from one another by way of their basis of legitimization. He regards charismatic and traditional rule or government as pre-rational, and legal government as rational, neutral, impersonal, and calculable. Weber designates bureaucracy as the purest form of legal rule. It consists of bureau chief, and staff of functionaries, with its membership divided by way of a hierarchy of office. In the super- and sub-ordination expressed here, the higher instances supervise the lower, while the reverse holds in the matter of complaints or summonses: an intervention from below to above is possible. It is generally assumed that membership in higher areas indicate a higher qualification. Criticism was leveled at a waning control over such a system, and at the fragile chance of an intervention that would be adequate to alter this state of affairs.

b) From a viewpoint of the social sciences, hierarchies have arisen historically. The individual is almost always at their mercy. However, this prominence results in compulsions to legitimization, which are then often explained in terms of religion. Today, in sociology and psychology, the structure of hierarchy is criticized. It is said to trammel sociological development and favor the abuse of authority. In theology, the classification of the faithful into clergy and laity is disputed, and the question enters into ecumenical discussion.

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→ *Caste, Church, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Theocracy*

Kathinka Alexandrow

Hildegard of Bingen

1. Hildegard—primer of self-redemption, economic wonder of the factories of alternative health, figurehead of feminists, symbol of integration for a new Europe, comes to us at the turn of the millennium with her salutary guidance. Established for a scant twenty years now as one of the female quantities of the Middle Ages, Hildegard is enjoying a renaissance, standing as she does at the head of a virtual Hildegard community of the most varied interest groups, and inspiring a cultic practice in a wide field of popular culture. Medieval mystic, physician and medical writer, 'God's mouthpiece,' and revolutionary from the "Hildegard Land of Rhine-Hesse," Hildegard of Bingen stimulates great interest today on the part of 'New Agers,' feminists, nuns, scientists, and the faithful. Hildegard's canonization process has been under way since 1227.

Life

2. Tenth child of noble parents, Hildegard was born in 1098 in Bermersheim, near Alzey, in the vicinity of Bingen, and had her first vision at the age of five. Sometime between her fourteenth and seventeenth year, she was received into the Benedictine community of Disibodenberg Convent. It was only in 1150, however, that she founded her own convent on Mount Rupert.

In 1136, Hildegard became head of the monastic community that she led according to the 'divinely willed' principle of a distinction of classes: only noble women might be received. In 1141, she received the 'divine task' of recording her visions in writing, and contrived to have these recognized by Pope Eugene III, so that she might be absolved of the suspicion of moral temerity, and not be prevented from criticizing the grievances of the time in the name of God. Between 1158 and 1170, as interpreter of her times, she undertook four great journeys from Mount Rupert, to preach publicly advertised sermons to clergy and people. Hildegard's renown as a seer had then spread throughout Europe, and it brought her into epistolary contact with popes, bishops, emperors, kings, and scholars. In 1197, after a protracted illness, she died at the age of ninety-nine. Shortly after her death, according to the legends of the saints, her miracles had become so numerous that the Archbishop of Mainz personally visited her grave to forbid her to continue them.

Works

3. In her struggle for the recognition of her visions, Hildegard received a special place in the Church. This position exerted a strong influence on her work. For one thing, she was now provided, partly by way of her own feisty onslaughts, with sources for the spread of her reputation during her lifetime. For another, her visions authorized her personally to certify

her own theological and philosophical works as God-given, and thus in no need of legitimization through the Bible or by theological authorities. Hildegard left a complex opus:

(a) Some three hundred *letters* afford an insight into the cultural and political background of the twelfth century, along with the philosophy of religion that prevailed in that age.

(b) Her *trilogy of visions* begins with *Scivias* (late Lat., "Know the Ways," 1151), and is geared to a spiritual readership. With *Scivias*, Hildegard aims at the moral and spiritual renewal of a spirituality that had become secularized, and attempts to show the clergy a path to redemption. There follows the *Liber Vitae Meritorum* (Lat., "Book of the Merits of Life"), and finally the *Liber Divinorum Operum* ("Book of the Divine Works") or *Liber de Operatione Dei* ("Book of the Works of God"), the 'works of God' being the world and the human being. The last-named contains the so-called "cosmos writing": creation consists of the mutually conditioning forces of God, the human being, and nature.

(c) The *nature and medicinal writings*. The *Physica*, or "Book of Nature" (categorizations of the phenomena of nature), and the medicinal work, *Causae et Curae* (Lat., "Causes and Cures") deal with the question of the condition and constitution of human beings, and their susceptibility to imperfection and diseases since the Fall. According to Hildegard, human beings can become healthy only if they live in harmony with God and nature. This work rests on a historical cosmogony of cure and healing, is powerfully permeated by contemporary folk medicine, and in the thirteenth century, after Hildegard's death, underwent a revision at the hands of physicians and philosophers. Then the work was one calculated to gain popular acclaim and implementation, and contained wholesale prescriptions that rendered Hildegard's recommended therapeutic methods not only vague, but dangerous.

(d) Unanimity prevails, however, in the assessment of her some eighty *vocal compositions*, along with the musical drama *Ordo Virtutum* (Lat., "Order of Virtues"): Hildegard's modern sensitivity to keys was a new phenomenon for her times, and has won her a unique place in the history of music.

Hildegard Today

4. Cookbooks like Hildegard's *Dinkel macht die Seele froh* (Ger., "Spelt Gladdens the Soul"), instructions on the Internet for bloodletting, and publications on her recommendations for poison remedies and the conquest of environmental diseases, gladden the hearts of representatives and organizers of alternative-health lifestyles—and enrage academic physicians, who can only shake their heads at Hildegard's dualistic concept of healing: all good is from God, all evil from Satan. Many another might wonder that the 'good morning' show on the radio seeks to solve the problems of globalization with Hildegard's warning against extravagance and immoderation. Others, again, are astonished that Hildegard's contemplative order in Bingen has become a center for tourism, which advertises spelt pillows for the elimination of snoring, motorcycle and bicycle tours 'in the footsteps of Hildegard,' and cure pavilions for women's seminars. The specially built "Hildegard Forum" offers, among other things, the opportunity for holistic spiritual experience as well as courses in cooking and baking. In addition, Hildegard's music occupies persons in interreligious dialogue between Christianity and Islam. The monastic rampart

against the Hildegard spirit of the times seeks to restore the saint that has become so popular to her original image; however, feminist scientists have adopted Hildegard as woman and authoress in the area of music, literature, and religion. 'New Agers' flood the music market with a musical mix of Hildegard compositions and their computerized creations, using CDs, videocassettes, and written material on cosmic visions, in which Hildegard is ascribed great importance as a 'seeress for today.' Not to be forgotten are those whose relations to Hildegard are in view of their own concerns—and perhaps far from all of the operational hubbub around Hildegard—the believers who make pilgrimage to her grave and beseech her as their personal saint in everyday life.

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→ *Asceticism, Eating/Nourishment, Illness/Health, Mysticism, Veneration of the Saints, Women's Movement/Spiritual Feminism*

Annemarie Gronover

Hinduism

'Hinduism' as a Problematic Term

1. The concept of *Hinduism*, introduced by Western scholars only in recent times, stands for a whole complex of religious currents and social phenomena appearing on the Indian subcontinent, partly in very diverse historical, socioeconomic, and geographical conditions, at various times over the last two-and-one-half millennia. These currents have drawn, in a multiplicity of manners, on a common fund of tradition, so that crisp lines of demarcation cannot be drawn between them. At the same time, they can stand in complete contradiction. Alternatively, then, the term 'Hindu religions' has sometimes appeared as the preferred expression for several years now. In no case does the concept of Hinduism stand for one historically concrete religion as a closed system. Despite many common elements, the individual directions are distinct in essential points, as, for example, regarding the deity to be worshiped, the path to redemption, the sacred scriptures, the cult to be practiced. There are monotheistic, dualistic, and polytheistic directions, the deity may be conceptualized personally or impersonally, sacrifice may be vegetable or animal, priests may be Brahman or lower caste; and in some directions even belong to a caste of untouchables.

The denomination *Hinduism* basically rests on the misinterpretation of a traditional term. The word *Hindu* first appears as the Persian variant of the Sanskrit name *Sindhu* for the Indus river and for the land lying along its banks. In the plural, it designated the inhabitants of this land, the "Indians." To the Muslim government in the North of India, all were



Daily ritual (*pūjā*) at the home shrine of a family in Old Bombay. A home shrine is to be found in nearly every Hindu household, frequently in a special devotional room, or in the kitchen, which is considered pure, and to which outsiders, as a rule, have no access. In this shrine, the family divinity, together with the gods and goddesses honored by individual family members, have their place as brass figures, accompanied by photographs of a guru or saint and the family ancestors. To begin, the believer—often an older family member, who still disposes of the corresponding knowledge and time—purifies him/herself by bathing. Then, with the help of → mantras, the place of ritual is purified, along with the needed implements and utensils, and the evil spirits are driven away. The gods are honored as guests, being washed, clothed, fed, and given gifts. At the climax of the ritual, a lamp is swung before the shine: in its fire the divinity resides, and the faithful receive it within themselves by holding the palms of their hands over the flames for an instant and then touching their eyes.

Hindus unless they were Muslims, Christians, Parsees (→ Zoroastrianism), or Jews—of course without the modern, religious connotation. Only the Europeans coming to India from the early sixteenth century onward, after the discovery of the sea route from Europe to India, used the name 'Hindu' to mean not Indians, but the members of the supposedly single → 'heathen' religion to which all Indians (other than Jews, Christians, Muslims, and Parsees) belonged. Then, from the eighteenth century on, the designation 'Hinduism' gradually gained currency as the name for this 'religion.' The perception that no conflicts seemed to prevail among the various religious currents as to which of them might be superior to another, encouraged the European notion that all Indians 'belonged to the same religion.' The further determination of the concept materialized toward the middle and end of the nineteenth century, with the adoption of the concept of a unified Indian religion in a context of the appearance of representatives of



A woman has prepared a *kolam* at the entrance to her home in Badami, in the South of India. Kolams (also called *Rangoli*s or *Alpana*s) are folk variants on mandalas, and are deemed to repel demonic powers, bestow blessing, and guarantee fertility. The adornment of home courts and walls with magical diagrams is a widespread practice in India, practiced exclusively by women and girls, and learned in the family. It consists in first scouring the clay and cow-dung ground, then sprinkling it with water and making it smooth, before it is strewn with ornaments of rice powder. Ordinarily, kolams are designed symmetrically and contain floral patterns. The wave designed here is ascribed special meaning and importance in India. As the area of transitus from 'private' to 'public' space, on the one hand it does require special care and protection, and on the other hand it is a sign of invitation and hospitality. (Benita von Behr)

the burgeoning national independence movement. These latter welcomed the concept as the image of a 'national' identity, in the absence of any other such denotation predicable of a group of peoples of such frank cultural and ethnic variation. It was a matter, then, of a primarily political postulate of a unity among the Hindus. Accordingly, today's Hindu self-understanding is stamped in terminology and content by India's encounter with the West. A truly acceptable Indic equivalent for the concept Hinduism does not exist, but the Sanskrit concept of *dharma* is usually employed for 'religion,' and *sanātana dharma* ('eternal dharma') for 'Hinduism.'

Vedic Traditions

2. Concrete data as to the point in time of the appearance or the founding personalities of a given Hindu direction are available for only a paucity of instances. Rather, the production or formation of the Hindu religions is to be understood as a process, and one that spans centuries. It is not the purpose here to address speculations on the extent to which elements of a religion (unresearched even today) of the Indus Valley culture might also have appeared in later developments. The *Vedic religion*, named for its traditional poetry, the *Vedas* (derived from the Sanskrit root *vid*, 'to know') is one of the earliest extant sources of Hinduism. The attribute 'Vedic' or citations from the Vedas have often been used in the recent past to supply modern intellectual material with the authority of older texts. Factually the content of the Vedas plays no great role; but they have become a synonym for the absolute, unassailable truth. The three or four Vedas (*Ṛgveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Yajurveda*, and the later included *Atharvaveda*) were the sacred texts of the Indo-European Aryans who migrated to India, in several waves, during the second millennium BCE. For centuries they were only handed down orally—they were not conceptualized as official proclamation for all, but as knowledge to be preserved (because dangerous when misused or falsely applied) for a few specialists. Consequently they reflect Vedic culture only in snippets. In keeping with the originally nomadic lifestyle of the Aryan tribes, Vedic religion knows no sacred images and no temples: places of sacrifice were prepared and then dismantled again. This feature explains the great importance of the spoken word—of the Vedic texts. The heart of Vedic ritual was *sacrifice*, or more precisely, the offering of soma or fire. (Soma was an intoxicating drink whose composition is still unknown today: some suppose that it was pressed from a consciousness-altering kind of fungus.) The idea of redemption is still as foreign to Vedic religion as are conceptualizations of *karma* and rebirth. A world beyond the present one was thought of as consisting of various skies or heavens. Vedic gods are beings who play a role in human life and with whom it is possible to communicate, as well as ritually manipulable forces of nature. *Agni*, God of Fire, of course plays an important role in the fire sacrifice, as a messenger. *Indra* is often seen as King of the Gods, analogous to Zeus. He bears traits both of a god of war and of a god of weather or thunder.

Brahmanism and the Reform Movements

3. In the course of time, the sacrifice developed into an independent power. Its success was no longer dependent upon the gods' good pleasure, but exclusively on the faultless performance of ritual actions, and the impeccable recitation of hymns by the priests. At the same time, it was no longer a means to the attainment of earthly advantages and goods, but an important prerequisite for the maintenance of the world (order)—and thereby a means of power in the hand of a small minority, the Brahmanic priests, after whom this period in Vedic religion (first half of the first millennium BCE) is called Brahmanism. It was, among other things, this concentration in the hands of the priesthood of religious power on the one hand, and economic and political power on the other, against which the ascetical reform movements of → *Buddhism* and *Jainism* were mounted. Thereby, it is true, they satisfied the requirements of the non-Brahman city classes, which were growing economically stronger around the middle of the first millennium BCE, but they also met the needs of secular rulers, and this capability was decisive for the measure of their success. To sacrificial

ritualism, the Buddha opposed a rationalistic ethic, which enabled every person, in principle, independently of his or her class or background, and without the help of third parties, to reach redemption from of the cycle of births, which was regarded as basically painful.

Synthesis of Classical Hinduism

It speaks for the extraordinary popularity of Indian comics, which take their material from the rich mythology, narrative literature, and history of the subcontinent, that, since the end of the 1960s, they have appeared in over thirty languages and in editions of millions of copies. The strip shown here presents a scene from a Shivaite myth. The treatment of many Hindu myths is sectarian—that is, it is so constructed that a particular Hindu god counts as the highest. Frequently these myths are constructed according to a determinate schema: world and gods get into difficulties, from which precisely this highest god alone can deliver them. And so the gods gather to honor him and beg

4. The waxing influence of Buddhism and Jainism represented a massive threat to the priestly class, the Brahmans. It was met along a route for which Hinduism is still known today: that of the integration or monopolization—depending on how one evaluates the process—of foreign elements. In a unique synthesis, ascetical ideals as well as a variety of forms of religious practices of lower or non-Aryan classes of the population—that until then had been neglected, under protection of the authority of the Vedas and the privileges of the Brahman class—were included in a new picture of the world. To put it another way: the 'Great,' or Sanskrit Tradition (the tradition of the Sanskrit texts, of the educated upper classes, of the inter-regionally venerated deities) took in the 'Little Tradition' (the tradition of the lower classes of the population, the tradition of village and tribal deities of local importance). In practice, this meant that the local deities were now likewise venerated in the village shrine, and that, with the help of myths and legends, they were brought into connection with the Hindu gods. The local gods were identified with them, or (as in the case of Vishnu) regarded as his incarnations (*avatara*), or became one of his 'family members.' For the bearers of these traditions, who frequently stood outside the caste system, this development had the consequence that they now were likewise taken into this system. Thus the *process of Sanskritization or Hinduization* was a 'win/win situation': the preeminent position of the Brahmans, and their value system across the board, were not only maintained, but actually stabilized; for the new members of the community, on the other hand, the Brahmans' ascent was bound up with a considerable advance in prestige.





his help. The first frame shows (left to right) divine emissary Narada and gods Indra, four-headed Brahma, and Vishnu (with conch shell, lotus, and club). Shiva is on the right in the second frame, recognizable by his leopard skin, hair knots, and begging-bowl, as an ascetic or great yogi. This image is his classical manifestation, in which Shivaitic Sadhus often appear as well. Trident, crescent, and serpent necklace are likewise Shiva's symbols.

a) With this synthesis (in the first half of the first millennium CE) the enlargement of Hinduism began along many different routes. The literary sources that reflected these developments or their results are the two great Indic epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*—which stood in the tradition of the older bardic literature—together with the subsequent literature of the *Purāṇa*s. The *Bhagavadgītā* as part of the Mahābhārata reflects the beginnings of the veneration of Krishna. The *Rāmāyana* tells of Vishnu's incarnation as Rāma, and how the latter's quest for his abducted consort Sitā led him from Ayodhyā, throughout India, to Sri Lanka. The *Purāṇa*s (the Sanskrit *purāṇa* means 'old,' that is, 'old narrative') are a group of texts truly encyclopedic in character, whose most ancient manuscripts appeared toward the middle of the first millennium BCE. They deal with the most varied themes, mainly religious in nature (myths that include local legends, descriptions of rituals, philosophical and theological discussions and debates). The epics, as well as the *Purāṇa*s, in translations and adaptations, continue to be extremely popular today. They are widely distributed, and thus exert a great influence on broad circles of the population. The uninterrupted popularity of the ancient materials in India is evinced in their vast presence in modern media like film and television, as well as in comics. Each distinct Hindu religion, furthermore, possesses its own collections of holy scriptures and religious lyric (→ Tantra, Bhakti literature).

Vishnuism and Shivaism

b) The development of Hinduism was joined to the ascent of two gods especially: Vishnu and Shiva, revered in *Vishnuism* and *Shivaism* respectively (the two main currents of Hinduism) as the highest deities. Both main currents, however, are again divided up according to theological and regional viewpoints, in countless subgroups and sects, each with its own sacred scripture, cult, and tenets of belief.

Vishnu

Vishnu hosts a confluence of traits: traits of the Vedic sun god Vishnu, of the sun god Prajāpati, likewise Vedic—as well as of the hero emerging from North Indian warrior classes, Vāsudeva-Krishna, in the devotion of the image and temple cult of the non-Aryan population. Vishnu is first and foremost a royal, gracious god, revered by his devotees with 'loving devotion' (*bhakti*) and surrender. In the cosmic revolution of becoming and dissolution, Vishnu adopts the role of protector and preserver. When world order, human beings, and gods are endangered by evil powers, he intervenes in one of his incarnations (*avatāra*) to save them. Vishnu's most familiar *avatāra*s are Rāma, hero of the Rāmāyana, and Krishna, mentioned above, in whom various cults have fused in the course of the centuries—both reckoned today among the best-loved gods of the Hindu pantheon.

Shiva

By contrast, the origin of the god Shiva is to be sought mainly in pre-Aryan Dravidian traditions. Corresponding to his extraordinarily ambivalent nature, he is, on the one side, the life-negating god of the ascetics, and himself the mightiest ascetic. Shiva is the god of annihilation and destruction. Nevertheless, the *liṅga,* the phallus symbol, venerated by his devotees, interprets the god's powerful creative and regenerative aspect. Shiva combines all of the contrarieties of the contradictory phenomenal world. Unlike Vishnu, Shiva is a fear-inspiring god—he is reverenced in order to be appeased. In the view of many Shivaites, however, the images of destruction and annihilation are

nothing but metaphors for the removal of obstacles on the way to salvation, to the redemptive knowledge of the oneness of all being in Shiva—the annihilation of ignorance and of the (false) consciousness of a multiplex world. As an ambivalent god, Shiva also possesses a feminine aspect, venerated as his *shakti* (energy), and incarnated in the mythology of his consort Parvati.

Shaktism—the Great Goddess

In some regions of India, however, as in Bengali, the goddess (*devī*) is herself revered as the supreme divinity. Here the pre-Aryan cult of the mother goddess was especially powerful. In these currents of Hinduism, the goddess alone is the ultimate cause of the creation, preservation, and annihilation of the world. Like Shiva, she is venerated both in her lovely, motherly aspects and in her cruel, wild or erotic forms. Accordingly, she is honored under an innumerable variety of names and shapes: black goddess Kali, riding on a lion, and demon-slaying Durgā are but two of them. The corresponding currents of Hinduism bear on *Shaktism*, but the goddess here is more than the mere *shakti* of a male god.

Classical Hinduism bears both polytheistic and monotheistic traits. Whether a Hindu honors Vishnu or Shiva, that god of her or his 'own' will be the sole and the highest, while others will belong to lower phenomenal forms (and nevertheless will be honored). This will be possible by way of a conceptualization of the gods in which God unfolds at various levels. At the top stands an impersonal Absolute, of which only negative predications can be made. Here is a reality not to be described, not to be known. It is this Absolute that manifests itself in various personal divinities, that create the world (Brahma), maintain it (Vishnu), and destroy it again (Shiva). In practice, however, followers of one god will attribute all three functions to him, and will grasp all other gods as standing under him, or as further manifestations of 'their' god. True, the notion of the One, the Absolute, plays no role in the religious everyday. However, it has the effect that most Hindus see no problem in acknowledging other religions as equally authentic paths to God.

Neo-Hinduism

5. Under pressure of a seven-century Islamic domination, and of the subsequent British colonial rule, there materialized among the various currents of Hinduism a sense of mutual belonging that, for the national movement of the mid-nineteenth century, was of all the greater political importance for the fact that neither a common language nor a unitary culture was managing to function as a national bond for all of India. Essential characteristics of this *Neo-Hinduism*, associated with the liberation movement and found especially among the urban upper classes, were to some extent inspired by Western ideas, and to some extent created in conscious demarcation from them. These included a quest for the proper roots of Hinduism, a return to its authentic traditions, and reforming attempts, often connected with social engagement, to renew it spiritually, cleansing it of its appearances of 'decadence' (burning of widows, caste system, superstition and idolatry). We may cite, as representative in this context, the Brahma Samāj (founded in 1828, under the leadership of Ram Mohan Roy), the Ārya Samāj (founded in 1875 by Dayānand Sarasvatī), and the Ramakrishna Mission (founded in 1897 by Vivekānanda).

Basic Propositions

6. In spite of the multiplicity of different currents within Hinduism, it is nevertheless possible to fix a series of leading concepts and basic propositions common to most Hindus.

A key concept is the idea of an order underlying the entire world, and human life: *dharma*. Frequently, the Western concept, 'religion,' is translated as *dharma*. However, *dharma* comprises very much more than religion according to the Western understanding. *Dharma* in the sense of 'law, right, duty, order' means that each being of this world is to behave in a way corresponding to its place in this world—that is, its social position or caste membership, its stage of life, and its gender. Theoretically, a male member of each of the three higher *varṇa* (→ Caste) traverses four stages of life: those of pupil, head of a family, forest dweller, and wandering, homeless Sannyasin. The *dharma* of a youth in formation is different from that of the father of a family, the *dharma* of a Brahman is distinct from that of a laborer, and that of a husband from that of his wife.

Another important foundation of the contexts of Hindu belief is the concept of the cyclical becoming and dissolution of the entire world of phenomena. There is no first creation, and no final annihilation. Even the human being lives more than one life: after a person's death, a part of him or her—what that is, is the object of a wide spectrum of opinions—is reborn in another life. Whether, in this next life, one is rich or poor, healthy or sick, the member of a high or low caste, depends on the *karman* inherited from the life that has gone before. The word *karman* is derived from a verbal root for 'to do,' 'to act,' and *karman* is related to one's actions, one's behavior, in the preceding life. The concept of *karman*, then, on the one hand, explains and justifies the inequality of persons, and on the other, shows that while the outward conditions of a life are indeed posited in advance, that life, within these bounds, can nevertheless be freely shaped, and that individuals must assume personal responsibility for their actions and their consequences. However, the highest goal is definitive redemption from the cycle of births.

In general, 'redemption' is understood as the entry of the individual soul (*ātman*) into the highest reality (*brahman*). Even this understanding, however, is subject to various conceptions. Redemption is possible in three ways, often in combination: the way of activity and the active life (*karma-mārga* denotes both ritual actions and daily conduct in the world according to one's own *dharma:* although—as Krishna describes it in the Bhagavadgītā—without selfish purposes); the way of knowledge (*jñāna-mārga:* knowledge of the ultimate unity behind the seeming multiplicity of the world, as well as the unity of the individual soul and the supreme Absolute through yoga and meditation); and the way of divine love (*bhakti-mārga:* trusting surrender to the God, who, for his part, comes in grace to meet the one who serves him unconditionally).

7. In Hinduism's religious practice, the Vedic fire sacrifice was replaced by *pūjā* (ceremonial veneration of a divine image; see ill.) and *bhakti*. A *pūjā* may be celebrated by an individual or by a family, and may take place before the home altar or in the temple. There is no community ritual service, but the common singing of *bhajans* (praises of God), or public readings of sacred texts, are widespread practices. The key object of a visit to a temple is *darśana*—the 'glance' of the deity, experienced as salvific.

Just as in other religions, the transition among distinct components in the → life cycle of a person is ritually observed. The three most important

of the some forty 'sacraments' (*samskāra,* lit., 'presentation,' 'perfection') today are the → initiation, the marriage rite, and the funeral ceremony. *Initiation* marks the beginning of 'religious' formation: these days, the memorization of a single verse of the *gāyatrī-mantra* to the sun is frequently accounted as doing justice to the latter. Through initiation, the maturing youth of the three higher castes become full-fledged members of the community, and receive the sacred cord. (Often, the bestowal of the cord is merely a formal component of the next stage, marriage.) Girls are theoretically permitted to undergo initiation, with modifications, but it is unusual for them to do so. The rites of the dead, too, are ascribed great importance: from the lighting of the pyre by the eldest son, to the regular ancestor sacrifices in the form of the scattering of small rice balls or the sprinkling of water.

The Hindu festal calendar is traditionally calculated according to the cycle of the moon. Some feasts are observed in all of India, but generally they are local feasts celebrated in a particular temple, or, on the countryside, festivals of the agricultural year. The spring festival *Holi* (full moon of February/March) is celebrated throughout the country with unrestrained merriment, and a sea of colored paints thrown at one another by the revelers. As with the European Carnival, social restraints are regarded as suspended for the day. Of course, some connect this feast with Krishna's slaying of a female demon, others with Vishnu's rescue of a pious demon child from his cruel father. In August/September, the birthdays of Krishna and the elephant-headed god Ganesha are observed, and in September/October, in Bengali, a ten-day festival is celebrated in honor of goddess Durga's victory over the buffalo demon, while in Maharastra (in the West of Central India), Rāma's defeat of demon king Rivana is commemorated. Otherwise worthy of note are *Divali,* the festival of light (October/November), and Shiva's most important feast day, *Shivaratri* (February/March).

Pilgrimages

The pilgrimage is a further aspect of religious life important for many Hindus. The terminus of such a pilgrimage is often a river, the mouth of a river, or a spring (→ Water). Bathing at these places works a ritual purification, while at the same time being connected with a redeeming 'translation' over the stream of ignorance or the ocean of existences. But temples, at times built on the peaks of mountains, or sacred cities such as → Benares, are also places of pilgrimage. On a pilgrimage, through contact with a place in which divine forces operate more strongly than elsewhere, merit is gained, a vow is fulfilled, or the betterment of one's life circumstances is expected, in this life and the next. One of the greatest pilgrimage events in the world is the Great *Kumbha Mela,* at which, every twelve years (e.g., 1989, 2001, etc.), millions of pilgrims meet in Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna.

Religious Authorities

8. Just as Hinduism knows not only one God, not only one theology, so neither is there a central authority, nor any canon of sacred scripture, that would be binding for all Hindus. The immediate points of reference are the home shrine or the village temple. The priest living at the latter need not always be a Brahman (e.g., in Southern India). But there are certainly religious leaders, → gurus, whose renown spreads throughout the country, as well as religious teachers' disciples who hold an authentic office. Ambivalent

characteristics attach to the attention paid to the ascetics who have fled the world and therefore live outside societal norms as *samnyāsin, yogi*s, *bābā*, or *sādhu*). They are highly honored for their spiritual powers, but the force of their curses is feared.

Systems of Signs and Symbols

9. Matching the multiplicity of the Hindu worlds of the gods or theological systems is the system of signs and symbols, the concrete presentation of the Sacred. In temples, whose architecture is reflected in the Hindu conception of the structure of the cosmos, gods are honored who manifest themselves in divine images. Anyone familiar with the language of Hindu iconography reads, in the attitude of body (*āsana*) and hand gestures (*mūdrā*) of the sculptures, in the attributes (clothing, adornment, weapons, jewelry, weapons, musical instruments, riding mount), the name and character of the deity being presented as if in a book. The multiplicity of heads, and the respective multiplicity of arms of many presentations, symbolize the gods' extraordinary, superhuman capacities, while at the same time presenting the most varied aspects of the divinity. From pre-Aryan times, the aniconic reverence of the phallus (*liṅga*) and vulva (*yoni*) that has been retained in stone pillars, or as excavations of stone, has today come into the cult of Shiva and his *shakti*. But the divine can also be manifested in geometric symbols (*yantra*s) or syllables (→ *mantra*s). The adherence of believers themselves to one or another direction of Hinduism can to some extent be recognized by particular signs. Shivaites wear a star sign consisting of three horizontal lines (*tripuṇḍra*), as well as, occasionally, a necklace (*mala*) of the dried fruit of a tree sacred to Shiva (*elaeocarpus ganitus roxb.*). Vishnuites, on the other hand, are recognizable by a vertical star sign (*ūrdhrapuṇḍra*).

Social Lifestyles

10. Hinduism comprises not only religious, but also social lifestyles. The social status of the individual in this system is determined by his or her birth within a particular → caste (*jāti*). The distinct castes are indeed strictly separated from one another by certain injunctions of purity, and hierarchically structured; however, they are also closely connected in symbiotic, normally interdependent relationships (division of labor, professional and trade groups). Under conditions of relations in large modern cities, of course, for example in public transportation, a strict separation of castes cannot always be practiced today.

Reception in the West

11. The phenomenon of Hinduism has been received in very contrasting ways in the West over the course of the last century, and under altogether different conditions. The main variations can be reduced to functions of three contexts: colonial rule, science, and Christian mission. Nineteenth-century Indologists sought after common roots of European and Indian civilization. Thus, demonizing depictions of barbaric customs like those of widow-burning or animal sacrifice, or of a caste system that resisted any enlightenment, came face to face with a romantic yearning for a life in harmony with the forces of nature. → Vegetarianism, and the Vedantic philosophy of the Absolute, stimulated ever more critical opposition to the prevailing Christian background. Toward the end of the century, Hindu intellectual material spread, especially thanks to the Theosophical Society, whose founder Helena Petrovna Blavatsky lived in India from 1879 onward (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society). A synthesis of Western and Indian philosophy and

spirituality was the goal of Aurobindo Ghose (Sri Aurobindo, 1872–1950). Auroville, founded in 1968 in the vicinity of Pondicherry (Tamil Nadu), is still a point of attraction for the followers of his teachings. Since the end of the 1950s, it is not only social dropouts who are drawn by the bonus of exoticism, and by an animated, sensuous spirituality experienced as holistic. Others, as well, turn to the teachings and Hinduism's charismatic personalities, and apply the elements of its practical exercise and symbolical language in their own lives (e.g., yoga, meditation, bhakti, → tantra, traditional Indian garb, → mantras). Among the great organizations active throughout the world are Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's Transcendental Meditation, Swami Prabhupada Bhaktivedanta's → Hare Krishna movement, and the Neo-Sannyas movement of Bhagwan Rajneesh (→ Osho Movement). In India itself, numerous ashrams and meditation centers constitute points of attraction for interested Westerners. But to what extent do the offerings of the seminars or workshops of these centers still correspond, or even intend to correspond, to actual Hindu traditions? What do persons interested in an alternative spirituality and lifestyle actually find here? Esoteric circles work with concepts like *karma*, *cakra*, centers of energy in the human body, or tantra, often completely wrenched from context and interpreted as need be. There are also many persons, however, who, without feeling any attraction to Hinduism whatever, prefer → yoga exercises to unhealthy sports, are enthusiastic about a workshop for Mandala painting, and the like. These elements of Hindu practice have become a part of everyday Western culture.

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→ Ashram, Buddha, Buddhism, Caste, Colonialism, Gandhi, Guru, Hare Krishna Movement (ISKCON), Indian Subcontinent, Mantra, Orientalism/Exotism, Osho Movement, Religion, Sadhu, Tantra, Yoga

Sylvia Stapelfeldt

History

Happenings and Histories

1. The word 'history' is a translation of the Greek *historía* (basic meaning: 'gaining of information,' 'investigation,' 'narration'). Toward the turn of the eighteenth/nineteenth centuries, this word developed into the latinized form *históría*. Between the 'happenings' and *(hi-)story*, however, four fields of meaning can be distinguished: (1) History means past events, connections or structures, how they change in the temporal succession of their human world and environment, and the history of collective groupings (such as nations, societies, families, religious groups), structures (such as cities, roads and routes, institutions, individuals, mentalities), as well as nature (natural history), or humanity (universal history). Here the collective singular (history) can denote the course of the world, in its totality, from its beginning to its end. The facticity, of 'historical' processes and developments indicated with this conceptual field, however, *Geschichte an sich*, (Ger., 'history *per se*'), is itself interpreted linguistically. In principle, past events and their connections are remembered and interpreted against the horizon of whatever 'present' prevails—whence the second field of meaning, inseparable from the first: (2) Interpretations of history and its course transpire in language, usually written, and attempt to order the past and thereby to lend it a concrete sense with reference to the present. The spectrum stretches from genealogies (also orally transmitted), that is, from the literary traditions of the succession of generations, government, or gods, to the special (ancient to modern) history books dealing with temporally and spatially bounded series of events, to the modern, scientific *historiography* of distinct object areas (such as nations, generations, families, art, religion) or epochs (such as Greek history, history of the Middle Ages, of modernity, universal history). In the linguistic forming of the past as history, various interests and evaluations play a role: thus, the legitimization of current relations, or the justification of behavior bearing on the future. (3) Since, beginning in modern times, the writing of history has been done with scientific pretensions, there is a question of the third field of meaning: history as *scientific discipline*. The historical sciences, practiced by way of empirical analysis, are linguistically and chronologically dependent. Further, their behavior with the sources transmitted is necessarily selective, and, to some extent, evaluative. As a result, these sciences are faced with the problem of doing justice to the totality of the course of history. In this state of things in the nineteenth century, especially in Germany, a debate over 'historicism' materialized with respect to the sciences of history, consisting of a discussion on the historicization of all knowledge and on the relativization of values. (4) In connection with the debate on historicism, and with the more recent discussion in the historical sciences regarding the pluralization and literarization of historical knowledge, the everyday use of the plural, 'histories,' in the sense of stories, acquires a scientific relevance of its own. If history is accessible only in 'histories,' in the sense of narratives and accounts, in that case, rather than

making a scientific claim, stories of the past can only make a literary one. There is also, in this connection, the postmodern language about the end of history, which more or less consciously receives a legacy of religious history (→ Apocalypse; End/Eschaton).

An important role is played, in the interpretation of the past, by the process of a regulated work of memory, and by the production of various achievements of recall in terms of culture, as well as, therewith, in terms of the foundation of religions (→ Memory).

New Time/New History

2. a) If National Socialism is dealt with here as a phenomenon in religious history, then an open, neutral understanding of religion is presupposed. However, the transfer of religious themes and language to the socially differentiated area of politics shows, with particular clarity, history's function as bestower of meaning, doubtless characteristic of modern → European history of religion. Religious language and metaphors are used, and a religious claim is raised, in order to ground people and 'race' historically, and to espouse a society-establishing function. Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), one of the main ideologues of the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*, notably ordered the 'movement' into the history of religion, along with adopting a religious vocabulary, such as 'myth,' the symbolism of 'light,' and 'kingdom.' → National Socialism itself then became a phenomenon of religious history. History adopts an important function of legitimization, and determination of conduct. Rosenberg constructed a new world history, extending from the Nordic race with its primordial homeland of → Atlantis to a racist world revolution through National Socialism and a 'new time,' a new age. He legitimized the shaping of the present and future through a reconstruction of the primitive age, and of the development of the Nordic race, by way of religious history, from India to the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Teutons. History became a race history, whose special note was the religious antagonism between the primitive Nordic race, representing light and purity, and the Jewish *Gegenrasse*, 'counter-race,' standing for darkness and chaos. The goal, according to Rosenberg, is the reconstitution of the pure, primordial solar 'myth of the twentieth century.' By promoting the present to the status of 'new time,' he binds primordial time and eschatological time together in a totalitarian meaning of history. This image of history was celebrated through literature, film, exhibits, commemoratives, dedications, and memorial events, and thus transmitted to the public consciousness and established. Rosenberg held that historicism relativized values, and that at the same time it solved the problem, in that it set a race and a people over history. He thought that a parallel lay in Marxist political movements. → Political religions were both a legacy, and an undertaking in competition with the Christian claim on the interpretation of world and history.

After Auschwitz

b) In the second half of the twentieth century, then, the Holocaust (→ Shoah)—the terrible effect and consequence of this construction of history—broached the question once more of a possible conferral of meaning by history, and reinforced its urgency: 'Auschwitz' raises weighty problems of interpretation for Christian theologians, Jewish interpretations of history, and the methods of historiography. This has led to a crisis in the experience of history.

Untouched by all of this, a few contemporary religious communities—

sometimes associated with modern → Esotericism and → New Age religion—also argue from meaning-bestowing interpretations of the course of history. According to this construction, it is ages and epochs themselves that have led to the interpretations of history mounted by these religions. An academic basis in history, and an appeal to Christian and non-Christian religious concepts alike, are cited as having made scholarly religious history available in the first place.

Progress and Decadence

3. a) Past and future cause every known religion a problem of coherent interpretation of the world, together with the problem of a conferral of meaning on the part of activity in the world. How can the past be preserved, what will the future bring? Neither dimension of history can be concluded otherwise than *from the standpoint of the respective present coming between*. They are not open to conclusion from any a priori quality of their own: they are indeterminate, and interpretable. Accordingly, understanding and activity can be motivated and legitimized both from a prestige of origin, or from significant recalled events, as well as from a paradisiac utopia shifted to the future as a counter-world to the present. The course of history thereby receives an evaluation as ascent or descent, and the beginning and end of history are evaluated differently from one another. The models to be maintained divide and evaluate the past as well, this is true, but they usually provide the human being, in the present, with an orientation whose point of departure is in the awaited future (the historian Reinhart Koselleck called this the 'horizon of expectation' [*Erwartungshorizont*] that is in accordance or in conflict with the 'space of experience' [*Erfahrungsraum*]): the course of world ages or epoch can lead either to an extinction of the world, or to a new paradise. This course can be interpreted as a dramatic succession of segments, or else as a continuous course of progress or decay.

Cultural → memory, *Mnemosyne*, on the other hand, is time that has passed since the occurrence of memorable events, referred to the past, and ordered or structured for use of these events for the present. It produces tradition, founds social and political unity, determines the → calendar, and renders possible an → orientation in the present, all by determining history in terms of the present. The meaningful occurrences of history are remembered through the media of language and image, and thus are ritually reiterable.

Cyclical and Linear Concepts of History

b) This arrangement of memory shows that, in the presence of history's constitution and meaning, *cyclical and linear concepts* of the course of history can play an important and reciprocally complementary role. An attempt has been made to maintain a foundational difference of cultures and religions on the basis of these two categories. Recognition of this contradiction between societies with a linear understanding of → time and societies with a cyclical understanding of time, has led to an evaluative opposition of history on the one side, and myth, nature, and cosmos on the other. If this difference is itself understood historically, and used for an interpretation of the course of history, then the notion arises that it is a characteristic feature of history to detach itself from cultures with a mythically determined cyclical understanding of time. However, this interpretation of the historical development of myth to history is itself indebted to a linear

understanding of history. The same typology is applied to a criticism of the Christian understanding of time, and of nineteenth-century confidence in progress. Thus, → Nietzsche appeals to a simplified, partly imagined antiquity, in order to ground, against historicism and Christianity, his doctrine of the eternal return. This criticism of the primacy of history is continued by historian of religion Mircea → Eliade, this time with an appeal to an imagined cosmic religiousness of cultures called 'archaic.' The thought categories 'linear versus cyclical' express more about historians' image of the world than about the objects of their investigation.

Return of Myth

c) The 'return' of myth in *post-modernity* introduces a new normative component, one in contradiction with the linear, Judeo-Christian understanding of history: the end of the great narratives brings with it an upward evaluation of mythic forms—plural, now—of dealing with history; the claim of one history is contradicted, and the multiplicity of histories is promoted to leading principle of legitimization, polymythy as → polytheism.

In the presence of the linguistic shaping of the different orders of history, *metaphors* play a role that should not be underestimated: with the help of metaphors, the course, the order, and the subordinate meaning of history can be put into illustrative connections that will be easy to grasp. Now, whether they come from the realm of nature (history as organic growth, epochs as change of seasons, history as current or as circulation), technology (history as a construction or as a chain), or human culture (history as theater), they reduce the complexity of the course of history, make history enunciable, and "slake a need for meaning that grows out of the wish for the oneness of the world."[1]

Salvation History Secularized

4. a) Today's understanding of history stands in a complex tradition of the history of ideas, coming from ancient Eastern, Judeo-Christian, and Greek sources. Christianity interprets history from the Christ event, and forms the concept of a *salvation history*, which ranges from creation to the Last Judgment. This background, and the opposition of this concept to competing concepts in the environment of late antiquity, led to a number of conceptions of history, distinct from one another, but to which the teleology of history in a final judgment is common in various ways. Against the Christ-centered, biblical interpretation and dating of history, Voltaire (1694–1778) could show Chinese chronicles, just discovered, and thus call for another, universal history. Instead of salvation history, he demanded, there must first be a philosophy of history. Beginning with the → Enlightenment, the concept of 'history' in the singular appeared, and established the modern, European variant of a unitary course of history as universal human history. A metaphorics of epoch, however, cyclic theories, and visions of progress and an end of time, continue in their roles even today. The unity of the course of history also formed the premise of the idealist philosophy of history, which was still marked by Christianity, and which experienced its high point in Hegel's speculation on history.

Historicism

b) Historicism, and the understanding of history proposed by Nietzsche and Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897), led to a dismissal of the philosophy of history. Through historicism, the view of the history of religions arose, and,

at first, there was an effort to justify Christendom on grounds of religious history; but Burckhardt and Nietzsche projected a counter-image of history, based on antiquity and aimed against Christianity and modern times. The unification, secularization, and de-Christianization of an understanding of history that emerged from the Enlightenment, along with the simultaneous production of variously accentuated ideologies of progress, indicated for Karl Löwith (1897–1973) a secularization of world history, and its release from the context of a Christian salvific event. History gradually becomes a meaning-conferring system with its own foundation, and it is emancipated from the given frameworks of the religious interpretation of a Christian understanding of time; and, the other way around, itself becomes the frame of meaning for religion. This reversal occurred in the wake of the debate on historicism that was conducted at the beginning of the twentieth century, in which the issue was the reification of all knowledge and the accompanying relativization of values: under the influence of a gradual de-Christianization of society among scholars like Max → Weber and Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), an interest in religion and religious history was oriented to the problems of the present. This development ascended to the status of a scholars' religion, in which education, person, and the subject of religion were ascribed a key value.[2] Religious history plays a role here, inasmuch as it promotes life options for judging the painful experiences of modernity; through the reception of foreign and past forms of religion, the sources were prepared for an alternative religion among scholars.

Scientifically unbolted history itself became the reservoir for bestowals of meaning of the newly arising religious and political movements of modernity and post-modernity. In the very shaping of the everyday, one relies on the competency for meaningful life lying ready in the history of religions.

Extra-European Cultures

5. The perception and interpretation of history is not a European peculiarity, but occurs in various ways in all cultures and religions. However, the emergence of an academic historiography, of an interpretational framework of history, with the consequence of a historicization of all values and the loss of a monopoly on the meaning of history, so that a pluralization of the interpretations of time and history became a societal consensus—this development is specific to → European history of religion, and extremely closely bound up with the history of European expansion and subsequent globalization.

In *Islam*, the → Qur'an is the document of a universally valid revelation, which had the consequence that history between the act of creation and the last judgment spans, and to a consequence becomes a series of, non-reiterable events. In this case as well, we have a pretension to a universal history, which pretension is already grounded on the history of religions: Muhammad stands as last in the series of prophets, and seals antecedent religious history. In the Islamic world, nevertheless, there was a universal historiography, as well as different eschatologically aimed movements. Only under the influence of a European historiography, with its orientation toward nations, does a regionalization of the historical conferral of meaning occur here as well: the vehicle of history is no longer the Islamic community, but the various nations.

China looks back on a rich, differentiated tradition of historical bestowal of meaning, in which an appeal to historical events forms a key

argument. The criterion of history's course is the harmony of the cosmic model and its societal copy. This congruity was the measure of the success or failure of a government or a dynasty. Epochs, cycles, linear development, and rise and fall are the categories of interpretation. Against this background, China formed a meaningful 'annalistic' and historiographical tradition, and understood the history of China as world history. Despite an asserted meaninglessness of history, from the *Indian* area we have a large number of written testimonials: biographies of rulers, genealogies in the form of hymns of praise, and, from the Buddhist area, Sri Lanka's chronicles and traditions of the biography of the Buddha, as well as further development in function of the acts of councils. There are, besides, in the Indian religions—as in the further development of Buddhism in China, Tibet, and Japan—doctrines of world ages and eschatology that often enough bring out the aspect of fall as well as rise in the development of history.

The recent discussion in anthropology shows that the question of the 'timelessness' and *absence of history* among non-writing cultures is rather the conclusion of European schemata, and prevents a differentiated conceptual grasp of the variety prevailing in an ethnic consciousness of history. For the moment, ethnic groups come under a pressure of rivalry that they cannot escape spatially, and the security of the identity of any of the groups requires a claim to the most ancient origin, and to unbroken continuity (→ Tradition). In other words, that security requires the application of history as argument. History becomes indispensable, in its function as knowledge of the origin of one's own group.

The expansion of Europe entailed not only a colonialization of the world, but also the propagation of a specifically European way of interpreting the world, with its essential appeal to history (→ Colonialism; Orientalism/Exotism). Outside of Europe, the scientific investigation of history developed its own traditions of scholarship, as for instance that of research into the Buddhist history of Japan.

History of Religion

6. With reference to the four cited fields of history, a distinction must be made between (1) the factual course of history of religion, or history in itself, and (2) the religious interpretations it undergoes. *History of religions*, having become an independent discipline at the end of the nineteenth century, (3) now attempts, in demarcation from philosophy of religion and from theology, to create an interpretation to constitute an alternative to those the religions themselves construct of their own past. Not only is their questioning a product of the European history of religion, but they also come into competition with historical interpretations of the religions in the present, and their reconstructions and investigations again influence the course of religious history. Religions are increasingly articulated with an appeal to their scientific status, and the sciences replace religious interpretations of history, even, occasionally, raising a 'religious' claim themselves (materialism, evolutionism). The quest for a conferral of meaning, on grounds of the experiences of the twentieth century (world wars, Auschwitz, nihilism, historicism), on a history more often experienced as meaningless, is then itself compelled to argue historically, in case it inclines more to the dismissal of history. This trend is shown, for example, in the work of Mircea → Eliade. For him, historicism is the premise of an unbiased investigation of the extra-European religions; and yet, on reli-

gious grounds, he rejects it, as an expression of the human being's profane, 'simply historical,' being-in-the-world. In his religious theory, he dared the venture of reconciling cosmic religiousness with history, ascribing to the symbols of the cosmos (moon, water, stone) an inner tendency toward historical development. The cosmic ontology he propagated remains designated a 'fall into history.' This example shows that modern historiography of religion can be part of religious history, and religious history the object of a grip on history on the part of academic historiography. On the other side, it shows that only a part of the historical achievements of orientation are available to historiography of religion in modern, splintered society.

1. Demandt 1978, 450.
2. Murrmann-Kahl 1992, 481-491.

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→ *Academic Study of Religion, Memory, Time*

Jürgen Mohn

Holocaust

The term 'holocaust' was proposed at the beginning of the 1960s by Elie Wiesel, who himself was nearly killed at Auschwitz. This term was intended to designate the unspeakable murder of six million European Jews, whose destruction was bureaucratically organized and industrially executed. Although the term originated in America, it has become current in Europe especially through the American media.

The Greek word *holókaustos* is a translation of a term from the Hebrew Bible meaning 'wholly burned' or 'burnt offering' and describing the type of sacrifice in which an animal is completely made over to God by burning (Cf. Lev 1:3). The complete destruction of the sacrifice distinguishes it from

other types of sacrifice in which not only God, but also the people making or administering the sacrifice receive part of the animal, as when some of the meat is eaten. Thus the term was considered appropriate in Jewish discussion of the Holocaust and the religious and cultural confrontation with atrocities like Auschwitz; it was to invest religious meaning and value in the experience of the Jewish people while reflecting the extremity of destruction experienced. The term also served to preserve the suffering of Jewish individuals from being remembered as mere victimization by characterising their deaths as a sacrifice and therefore something handed over to God.

However, Elie Wiesel has since retracted his original suggestion of the term 'holocaust' as an appropriate designation for the destruction of six million Jews in connection with the Second World War. He considers its association with worship too ambiguous. It is therefore more common, especially within the Jewish community, to use the term → *Shoah*, meaning 'catastrophe' in Hebrew.

→ *Shoah*

Christoph Auffarth

Holy

The word 'holy,' or 'sacred,' denotes an area completely bounded off from the everyday ('profane'), and simply never to be available to the human being. Accordingly, special rules are in force for dealing with sacred objects, buildings, and persons.

A type of theory of the Holy attributes the latter to other quantities, for example, sociologically to society (Durkheim), or to aggression (Girard) in anthropological sociology. On the other hand, the Holy can be conceived as a category of its own, incapable of reduction, as in the phenomenology of religion of Rudolf Otto, who thought to recognize, in the dimensions of feeling—and in the *tremendum* ('terrible,' 'frightening,' 'fearsome') and *fascinosum* ('fascinating,' 'enchanting,' 'captivating')—the essence of the religious experience. Subsequently, Mircea → Eliade developed a morphology of the appearances of the Holy, and diagnosed a decline in the occurrence of such 'hierophanies' in modern society.

Criticism of both conceptions have been raised, against both their anti-religious and religious implications: in the reduction of, as well as in their analysis in terms of, the phenomenology of religion, the Holy is understood ontologically as a special realm of reality, a category *sui generis*, and thereby it can be seen as the impersonal legacy of the Christian God. By contrast, through the use of a functional approach, the relation between Holy and the profane can be reconstituted in the individual historical case: by no means does the application of the concept of 'holy' in the scriptures or rituals of the various religions present a unitary condition, as was suggested by the conception of the Holy as a key concept of religious studies.

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→ *Eliade, God/Gods/The Sacred, Metaphysics, Religion*

Ansgar Jödicke

Holy War

The concept of the *holy war* is customarily associated with the thought of a war whose basis or justification is religious in a special way. The connection between 'holy war' and 'holy struggle' was coined by poets of the time of the wars of liberation against Napoleon, especially Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769–1860). The fact that, after the Enlightenment and the Revolution of 1789, war is presented as holy, rests not on the fact that it was (only) then that the church appealed to war, but on the fact that, gradually, the nation was exalted on religious grounds. Edmund Burke connects this process with the idea, of short-lived (1815–1830) virulence, of the war of intervention. True, it is a widespread notion that war becomes connected with special religious rituals and assertions. But a special type, 'holy war,' can not be distinguished from normal war, not even in biblical Israel or the ancient East: all wars, without differentiation, were waged—in the understanding of warriors and historians—by the supreme God himself (for instance, the 'Yahweh war'). The holy war (*hierós pólemos*) in classical Greece designates an altogether determinate construct, namely the (punitive) war, formally to be determined as such, and contrived and waged by an alliance of states, for the protection of the sanctuary of Delphi, and thus can offer no basis for construction of the modern concept. The holy war is only a special instance of the → Jihad in Islam. Nor does 'holy war' match up with applications of determinate features of European 'wars of religion' (see also → War). As a propagandistic or polemical term, especially since the two Gulf Wars, 'holy war' should be avoided today as a historical or systematic concept.

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→ *Conflict/Violence, Hero/Heroism, Jihad, War/Armed Forces*

Jörg Rüpke

Homosexuality / Homoeroticism

Homosexuality—sexual acts between two persons of the same sex—is found today all over the world, in a multiplicity of societies, and is also historically attested for many cultures. The sources give information principally on male homosexuality.

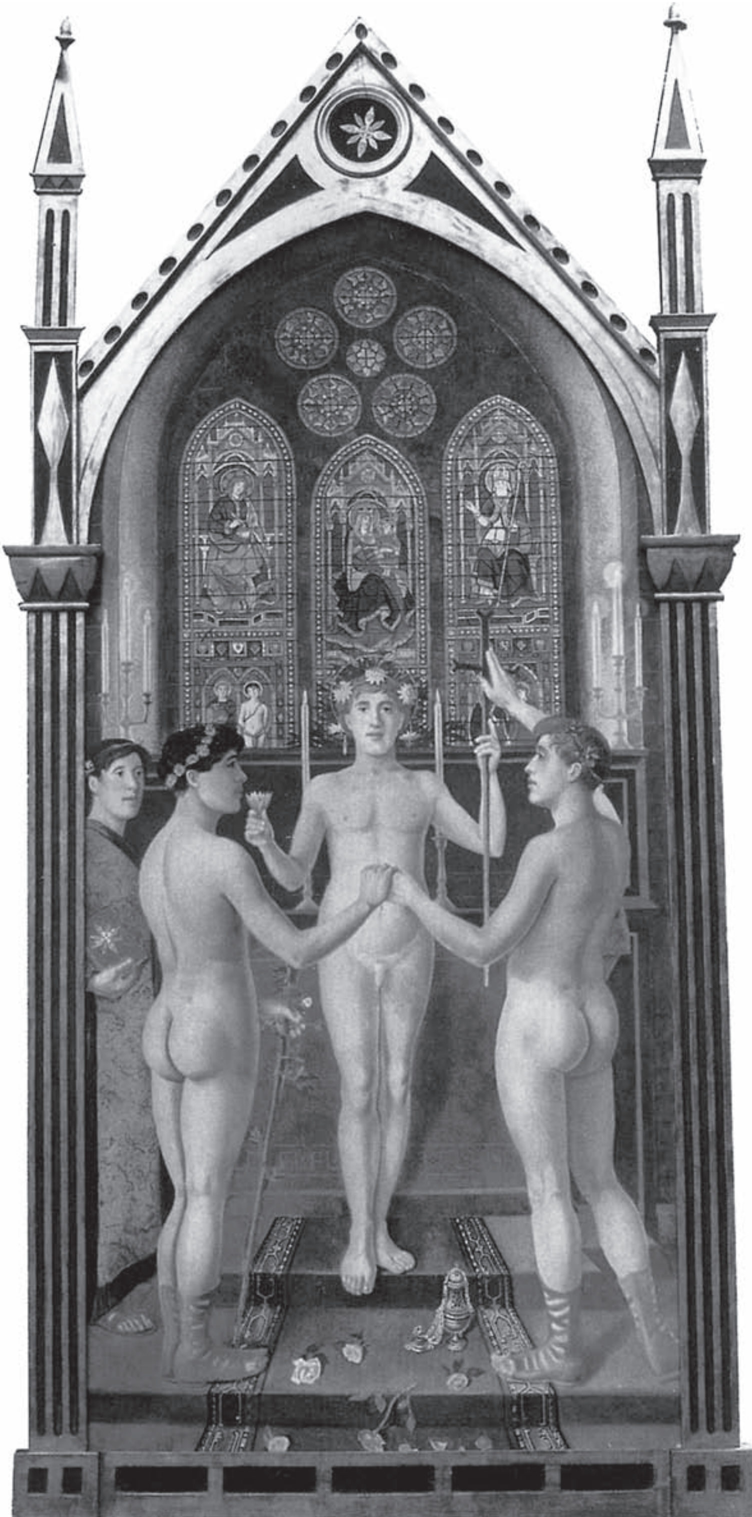
Religious Rejection of Homosexual Activity: the Judeo-Christian Tradition

1. The stance regarding homosexual conduct is very different in different cultures and religions. In many religious traditions, homosexual behavior is subjected to a negative appraisal, as, for example, in the *Judeo-Christian tradition*. In the Hebrew Bible, male homosexual practice ranks among the worst of sexual transgressions, and is punishable by death (Lev 20:13). It is traditionally held to be the ground of the destruction of Sodom (Gen 19:5-8), from which we have the denomination *sodomy* (a reading, however, which is historically highly debatable). The Apostle Paul endorses this denunciation in the New Testament (1 Cor 6:9-10; 1 Tim 1:9-10), and includes in its object sexual relations among women (Rom 1:26-27). Some of the Church Fathers, for instance → Augustine, saw homosexual conduct as sinful, just as Paul had. Meanwhile, they condemned all sexual practice (even heterosexual) as sinful that was not ordered to procreation. In the Middle Ages, however, homosexual activity (just as other sexual practices defined as 'unnatural') became, in church law, a deviation from church doctrine—and thereby heresy. Supported by church law, civil law declared homosexuality a capital offense, as in ancient Israel, and thus punishable by death. The attitude of the Protestant churches toward homosexuality was no less hostile than in Catholicism.

Worldwide, the number of cultures in which homosexuality is approved is large: an anthropological study concluded that, in sixty-four percent of the cultures investigated, homosexual practice was culturally approved at least for many members of that society (Ford/Beach 1965). Frequently, but not always, this approval is rooted in religious concepts, as well. There is no simple explanation why, in some cultures, homosexual practice is sanctioned, and even institutionalized, and in others is condemned. Homosexual practice in institutionalized form was found traditionally in many Indian cultures of North and South America, in parts of Asia and Africa, and in cultures of the Pacific Ocean. In other extra-European cultures, on the other hand, homosexuality encountered public rejection, as in the Aztec Empire of Mexico (c. 1400–1521) and in the Empire of the Incas in Peru (c. 1220–1535).

Where homosexual practice finds culturally acknowledged expression, and is secured even in the area of religion or religious magic, this sanction occurs essentially in three ways or patterns:

a) In many military societies, → *ritual, age-structured homosexual acts* between an adult and a pubertal male partner mark the latter's transition to manhood ('initiatory pederasty'). The best-known example is doubtless that of ancient Greece. Age-structured homosexuality was also traditionally very widespread in Melanesia (→ South Sea/Australia). There, ritualized homosexual acts served to introduce sperm, and thereby substance, into the younger partners. Through the introduction of the male substance, the young man was liberated from the world of women and incorporated into the military life of adult men. The fact of such relation-



'Clarism' was the private religion of painter and writer Elisàr von Kuppfer (1872–1942) and his life partner philosopher Eduard von Meyer. The two propagated the vision of a 'clearworld,' populated exclusively by beautiful, naked young men and butterflies, not only in their programmatic writings, but also in a construction in sacred architecture, the *Sanctuarium artis Elisarion*, (Lat., "Elysian Sanctuary of Art") in Locarno-Minusio (1927–1939). Kupffer himself expressed favorite men in a monumental cycle of frescos and in oil painting. His painting, "The New Disciple" (in Ital., *Il Nuovo Seguace*, 291 × 141 cm including frame, tempera on wood) depicts a homoerotic initiation in a medieval Christian atmosphere: in an altar space, before a Gothic window wall, the initiand (right) swears on the (ritual) sword. A kind of backwards-facing utopia, it is an audacious blend of 'churchliness' with naked, 'pagan' corporality. The painting originally occupied a place in the great rotunda that housed the central sanctuary, and thus is a sacred image in the strict sense. (Hubert Mohr)

ships also precipitated mythic representations: thus, ancient Greek Zeus, Father of the Gods, becomes altogether personally enamored of Ganymede, a mortal youth, whom he abducts to Mount Olympus and makes his cupbearer. Comparable erotic-educational relations in institutional and culturally approved form were practiced between women and young girls. The school of poetess Sappho (c. 617–560 BCE) on the island of Lesbos—under the protective rule of Aphrodite, Goddess of Love—is an example.

b) The second form of culturally approved and religiously legitimated homosexual behavior is formed by *sex-role exchanges*: men take on (usually for life) the role and garb of a woman (or the reverse), and enter sexual relations with the same biological sex. An example would be the *Berdaches* or 'two-spirits' of North American Indian cultures. Here the sex role exchange often ensues upon the behest of a deity or other supernatural being, often during puberty, in connection with the quest for a vision. *Berdaches* or 'two-spirits' are regarded as a kind of third sex, uniting male and female within themselves. On these grounds, and not infrequently, special religious roles fell to them. In many Indian cultures, two-sexed deities were found as well—supernatural exemplars of the terrestrial *Berdaches* or 'two-spirits.'

c) The third kind of culturally approved, institutionalized homosexual relationship is tied to certain *social roles*, and is also ordinarily accompanied by a sex change. Such a social role is often that of the shaman, who changes his sex at the behest of his spirit-helper. He dons women's clothes, and enters sexual relations, at times even marriages, with men. His sex-role change expresses a special spiritual strength. A special role accompanying homosexual conduct is also that of the *hijra*s in India and Pakistan. They consecrate themselves to goddess Bahuchara Mata, dress in women's clothing, gather alms, and are hired to appear at weddings, births, and other festive occasions.

Religion(s) and Homosexuality Today

2. The relation between churches and homosexuality is still problematic today. The same holds true for Orthodox and Conservative Judaism. The Jewish religion was never 'anti-sex,' it is true, nor is it so today. But, as we have seen, the Hebrew Bible, on which Orthodox Jewish rules rest, condemns homosexual conduct. For Orthodox women and men, admission of their homosexuality can mean exclusion from their community—no longer physical death, as in ancient Israel, but social 'death.' As in many Christian religious communities, however, the Reform movement in Judaism has adopted a more liberal attitude toward homosexual men and women in recent decades. Against a background of general homosexual emancipation, several lesbian-gay Jewish communities have been founded in the United States, with their own synagogues, as Beth Simkhat Torah in New York and Sha'ar Zavav in San Francisco (→ California). We observe a trend toward liberalization in many Christian religious communities as well, especially among Protestants. Homosexual Christians and Jews have formed communities of interest worldwide, and are working toward a recognition of their living communities. In the United States, meanwhile, rabbis bless homosexual relations, or even marriages between lesbians or gays. The subject of lesbian and gay marriages is still controversial, however, in the churches.

Homosexual emancipation, at the century's turn, and reflection on a humanistic ethics that emphasizes human rights and a respect for, and integration of, 'outsiders,' is often a privilege of the Western world. In a framework of the colonialization and Christianization of the so-called 'Third World,' homosexuality was often cruelly persecuted. In many places, then, ritualized homosexuality (as in Melanesia), third sexes, and the cultures and religions that respected homosexual behavior in society, no longer exist.

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→ *Eroticism, Gender Stereotypes, Heresy, Prostitution, Rites of Passage, Sexuality, Shamanism*

Sabine Lang

House / Home

Private Domain

1. a) Doubtless there is no society, however simple it be, without some kind of 'housing.' The form of the house is dependent on such factors as climate, environment, societal form (nomadic or sedentary), and social position. In Western societies, the house is the place at which many spend most of the day. The house is the territory of the individual's or family's *private sphere*. Other rules can prevail there than in public. The erection of the house is a copy of one's own self, and any changes or additions will suit the taste of the people living there. This development is rather new: economic conditions make it possible for Westerners to separate their home from their workplace; and they have the money to furnish it with more than minimal appointments.

The Home Orders Life

b) Considered historically, this situation is exceptional, since until around 1800 the ordering principle of life was the home, not the family. Those living under one roof—parents and children, grandmother and grandfather, unmarried brothers and sisters, occasionally maids and servant—lived in a relationship with one another, and were under the authority of the father of the house, or, more rarely, that of the mother. In many developing countries, circumstances are entirely different from those in Western industrialized countries. Nearly all cultures, however, agree that the dwelling is the primary social environment, especially in those cases where there is no separation between residence and workplace. Up until the Industrial Revolution, this held even for European culture, and still holds today for farmers and shopkeepers. The predicate 'private' cannot be casually applied to pre-modern living cultures.

Bond of the Generations

c) In many cultures, not only the living, but also dead relatives inhabit the home. Thus, in ancient Mesopotamia, it was customary to bury the dead in the house, a usage formerly maintained in parts of South America, Africa, and Oceania, as it still is occasionally today. In this case, the dwelling is the place of the bond between the generations. The ancestors also receive their 'fare,' the sacrifice. In the Netherlands today, it is still permitted to preserve the ashes of the deceased in the home; however, this is a different situation since, in European culture, there is no veneration of the dead, and the urn that holds the ashes has a meaning more emotional than religious or ritual.

Copy of the Cosmos

2. a) Beyond the function of protected bedroom, dining room, and workroom, the home can be a microcosmic image of the universe. Thus, some cultures, namely in the Arctic regions of Europe and North America, an architecture is used in which the house is built around a central pole. This pole corresponds to the cosmic world-tree, which is the midpoint of the world and holds it up. We often find this concept with Shamanic cultures. At the same time, this pole is the most sacred part of the house, at the foot of which sacrifice is offered to the gods. The relationship between house



The utopian communities of the Shakers, of whom the first came from England to North America in 1774 under the charismatic leadership of Ann Lee, let their ideals flow into their architecture. A plain, simple lifestyle, order, cleanliness, and harmony were to be promoted through a corresponding environment, which would include their buildings. The dwelling house of the *Center Family* commune in South Union, Kentucky, was built in 1824, at the high point of the movement. Its components are aligned in strict symmetry. Corresponding to their celibate standard, two separate staircases lead from the community dining room up to the brothers' and the sisters'

and world image is more complicated with the Atoni of the Indonesian island of Timor. Their positioning and partition rest on their cosmological classification. The most important of the binary oppositions of which this classification consists is the male—female. This opposition, with the contrasts attaching thereto, such as inner—outer, west—east, and left—right, recurs in the partitioning of the house, with its division between areas for the men and those for the women, and with the naming of the different parts. These examples make clear that the dwelling can be a copy of the respective cosmology.

b) The house also forms a separation between inner and outer world, between the safe world of the inside and the dangerous one on the outside. Accordingly, in many cultures, the house must be protected from evil influences, which sometimes begins as early as a construction sacrifice. In earlier cultures, the victim could be a human being, especially in the building of a city or a palace. In the Hebrew Bible, this is alluded to in Jos 6:26 and 1 Kings 16:34, in reference to the founding of Jericho. More usually, animals are sacrificed. Frequently, sacrifices are also found in a context of moving into a new house. For example, with some Siberian cultures, dogs are sacrificed, one for each corner of the house. Until recently, rites for the dedication of a house were still in use in Western Europe as well. For instance, in Catholic regions, a priest would bless a new house by sprinkling it with holy water. Although this practice is almost never done today, it is still logical and conceivable, since the fact remains that the erection of a new sphere of intimacy is seen psychologically as a kind of act of creation, with a sacred character. The openings of the house must be protected against unfamiliar powers—altogether especially, the door; hence the usage according to which a horseshoe is nailed over a door for 'good luck.' A crueler custom consisted of nailing a living owl to the peak of a farmhouse roof in order to repulse the Evil One. Even today, many cultures have statues of gods or house spirits watching at the door. These sometimes receive sacrifices.

bedrooms, each with four or five beds. To maintain separation by gender, separate entrances, or at least two sets of outdoor stairs, were laid out, as well. The sisters and brothers of the *United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming* met only at house assemblies and at table. The principle of the separate stairways turned out to be disadvantageous for the Shakers: only the community of Sabbathday Lake, Maine, survives, with a handful of members. (Kerstin Holzapfel)

Worship at Home

c) Sacred places are frequently to be found in the home itself. With the Greeks, Romans, and according to the Indian Vedas, the hearth or fireplace was sacred, and not only the architectural, but the cultic center of the house as well. The Greek word for hearth, *hestia* (taken further in the Latin *vesta*), is also the name of the goddess of the hearth. The high importance ascribed to the hearth in Greece is shown by its name *mesomphalos*, 'central navel.' As Delphi was the *mesomphalos* of the world, so the hearth was the *mesomphalos* of the home. Here again we see an analogy between cosmology and home. The stranger at the hearth must not be harmed, and the head of the house was responsible for his safety. Indeed, this constraint occurs with many peoples: no violence may be practiced within the house. The Teutons, for whom the hearth was likewise a sacred place, also practiced this custom of 'house peace.' In India, fire was, and to a certain extent is, the bond between human beings and gods. The word for fire, *Agni*, was also the name for the God of Fire.

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→ *Architecture (Sacred), Cosmogony/Cosmology, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Garden/Paradise*

Leo Tepper

Humanism

There are various nuances to the term 'humanism' which arise out of its diverse uses throughout European history. The Renaissance has often been characterized as the age of humanism because of its fascination with and idealization of human achievement in the literature, philosophy, and art of antiquity, which were then being re-discovered. As an ideological continuation of this trend, humanism came to signify a belief in the value and dignity of the human being and an optimistic image of humanity and its potential. In religious terms, this view often included a criticism of Christian teachings about humanity as basically sinful and in need of redemption. In education, humanism, with its conviction that human beings were destined for knowledge of the good, the true, and the beautiful, motivated the founding of higher secondary schools dedicated especially to the humanities, i.e. to academic disciplines that diverged from the traditional emphasis on Christian theology and concerned themselves with 'human' endeavors such as art, literature, and philosophy. These disciplines also gained greater attention in university education.

→ *Renaissance, Text/Textual Criticism*

Christoph Auffarth

Human Rights

1. The purpose of human rights is to win political and juridical acknowledgment, and to afford effective protection, in a specifically modern manner, of the dignity and liberty of every human being.

An example from recent times: In July 1998, Ruholla Rohani, a member of → Baha'i, was executed in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Over the preceding years, several members of the post-Islamic religious community of Baha'i had been sentenced to death in Iran on grounds of apostasy from Islam. It is not only members of religious minorities who currently suffer repression in Iran. That country's victims of the violation of human rights include authors critical of religion, and conservative Shiite clergy not in accord with the concrete instrumentality of Shiite Islam as the religion of the state.



The Street of the Rights of Man, of French artist Dani Karavan, standing before the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg, is one of the most successful attempts yet undertaken to raise a monument to human rights. Twenty-seven pillars, two head-plates, and a tree each represent (in a different language) an Article of the 1948 United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. In connection with the art, the city of Nuremberg established the International Nuremberg Human Rights Prize, awarded biennially. The attempt to escape with this commitment the old encumbrance of the Third Reich (the *Reichsparteitag*, Imperial Party Conference), which still weighs on Nuremberg's image, was only partly successful: when Karl Diehl, former chief of the armament factory in the city of Nuremberg, was named an honorary citizen of the city in 1997, Karavan announced that he would have the Street dismantled again, unless Diehl, who had used forced labor in his company, were to see fit to publish an avowal of his complicity. (Benita von Behr)

2. From a systematic viewpoint, human rights can be understood in terms of three characteristics in association: (a) standards of rights that (b) make claim to a universal validity, inasmuch as they ought to be to the advantage of every human being, and that (c) in content, aim at the establishment of equal freedom, or equal participation in rights, in which the dignity of the human being finds acknowledgment and recognition.

a) Human rights are first of all a *category of legal rights*. Their claim to validity is not limited to a humanitarian appeal, but finds shape in institutions and procedures of legal rights that have been produced or developed on a national, a regional or popular, and an international level. In the modern constitutional state, human rights are established partly as basic rights available to vindication, which, as one reads in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany, bind "legislation, power of enforcement, and administration of justice" as immediately valid rights (Basic Law, art. 1, parag. 3). The most successful example of the normative formulation of human rights on a regional or popular basis is the *European Convention on Human Rights*, which appeared in 1950 in a framework of the European Council, and has been in force since 1953. The European Convention on Human Rights provides persons living in the region of its member states with the opportunity to demand their rights before the European Court of Justice for Human Rights in Strasbourg. Comparable (although far less efficient) regional popular human rights conventions also exist in the Americas and in Africa. The initial move toward the establishing of human rights standards in a framework of the United Nations consisted in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, of 10 December 1948. Although the first effect of the Universal Declaration is only that of a political declaration of will without immediate juridical force, its symbolic importance as the first catalogue of human rights valid worldwide is scarcely to be overestimated. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights subsequently generated a number of international human rights conventions that have force in the popular law of the participating states, including the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*,

and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights* (both 1966). As there is as yet no international court of justice for human rights, the supervision of the conventions falls to specially erected independent commissions, whose authority of implementation, to be sure, is not sufficient.

The character of human rights as legal rights imposes limitations on their normative claim. An indication of these limitations is important precisely in terms of the inter-religious or intercultural debates, although observations continue to be expressed to the effect that human rights are portrayed as a modern, global 'humanitarian religion,' calculated to repress or even replace traditional religions or cultures. If human rights are understood as standards of political rights, such observations can be discounted. Human rights make no attempt to substantiate comprehensive claims in terms of religion or worldview. They offer no answers to existential questions regarding the meaning of human life and death; they make no pronouncements on the human being's position vis-à-vis the divine or in the cosmos as a whole. Nor do human rights contain any comprehensive ethical instructions on the correct lifestyle of individuals and communities, nor do they offer any symbols and rituals with which persons can assure one another their respect and solidarity above the level of rights. In a word: not even in terms of their normative claim, whose content is so explicitly limited, and which is concentrated at the level of law, can modern thinking on human rights threaten any immediate competition to religions and *Weltanschauungen*, or even to forms of ethos that find themselves cast in religious terms.

Claim to Universal Validity

b) The claim to universal validity is contained in the very concept of *human rights*, which, unlike traditional laws, or even modern citizens' rights, do not comport any particular characteristics, but are supposed to be valid for the human being absolutely. In the Preamble to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we read that human rights are "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." Under the influence of the declaration of the United Nations, the German Basic Law commits itself "to inviolable and inalienable human rights as a basis of every human community, of peace and justice in the world" (Basic Law, art. 1, parag. 2).

On grounds of their claim to universal validity, human rights present a structural affinity especially to those religions that likewise see themselves as universalistic, for example, Christianity, Islam, or the Baha'i religion. From this affinity, a religiously motivated engagement in favor of human rights can result; but there can also be resistances and reservations, especially when human rights are understood as being in contradiction to or in competition with a given proclamation in terms of religion or religious ethics.

Rights of Equality

c) Human rights, as likewise follows from their very concept, are valid for every human being equally, and thus are *rights of equality.* Equality of human rights does not, of course, mean uniformity, but equal liberty and freedom, and not only in equal personal or private freedom, but also in cooperation of equal right in the interests of the community, especially the political community. The orientation of human rights in terms of content, therefore, can be

sketched in the famous triad of the French Revolution, 'liberty, equality, fraternity' (replacing the concept of 'fraternity,' today, with that of 'solidarity' or 'participation'). Although human rights form no comprehensive ethic (let alone a comprehensive religion or worldview), but only standards in political rights, they have their normative focus in the idea of *human dignity* and value, which, in the words of the German Basic Law, is to be respected and protected as unassailable by the state (Basic Law, art. 1, parag. 1), and consequently is antecedent to any state supervention. The complex connection of liberty, equality, and 'fraternity' on the one hand, and the attachment of law to the dignity of the human being, finds formal expression in *Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." Since the idea of human dignity lies at the basis of various religious or philosophical traditions, the possibility of an inter-religious or intercultural 'overlapping consensus' (John Rawls) exists, permitting a religious acknowledgment and positive assessment of human rights. The fact remains, of course, that a connection of human rights with a claim to equal freedom and participation in terms of political rights represents a relatively recent achievement, and religious communities frequently receive that connection with skepticism, if not indeed with open opposition. The recognition of human rights by religious communities can only succeed, then, when accompanied by a readiness for internal criticism and, if need be, reform, together with a willingness to communicate openly with the outside world.

The Idea of Human Dignity

3. The normative idea, underlying human rights, of the inviolable value of every human being finds expression in the *Judeo-Christian tradition* through the concept that human beings—and indeed man and woman as such—have been created after the image of God (Gen 1:26-27). To spill human blood, then, ranks in the Hebrew Bible as a capital transgression (Gen 9:6). The special place of the human being in creation is underscored in Ps 8 ("You have made them a little lower than God," v. 5a). The redemption proclaimed in the New Testament through Jesus Christ leads to the leveling of ethnic and social differences: Paul says, "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3:28). Analogous conceptualizations of the value and essential equality of all persons are also found in authors such as Marcus Aurelius, who praises the thinking mind or spirit of the human being: "And thou forgettest how strong is the kinship between man and mankind, for it is a community not of corpuscles, or seed or blood, but of intelligence. And thou forgettest this too, that each man's intelligence is God and has emanated from Him."[1] However, the idea of the dignity of the human being is not traditionally accompanied by the demand for equality of political rights, or of human rights available to vindication. Slavery itself, in the Biblical context, is not called in question as a matter of principle. When Paul sends runaway slave Onesimus back to his master, he does insist with the latter that he receive the fugitive in the Christian spirit of sibling love (Philem 16), and renounce the castigation that was then customary. But for the rest, Paul recommends that each abide in his or her own status (1 Cor 7:20-21).

Middle Ages

In the hierarchical concept of order prevailing in the Middle Ages, egalitarian human rights simply have no place. Even equality of human rights repeatedly takes a back seat to a hierarchy of *dignitates* that corresponded to the ladder of social status. Not even the Magna Carta of 1215, or similar medieval treaties of governance, can be regarded as forerunners of modern catalogues of human rights. True, the Magna Carta shares with modern human rights its demand for a legal taming of political governance; however, such limitation is meant as an instrument for the security of traditional privileges, and thus stands in conceptual contradiction to the human-rights idea of equality.

Reformation

Even the Reformation provides no direct lane to human rights. The Reformers' championed freedom of belief has its theological meaning as the verso and consequence of the Evangelical theology of grace, and involves no program of political rights for the establishment of a universal freedom of religion. Analogously, the priesthood of all believers, which indeed marks a theological breakthrough with respect to medieval conceptualizations of hierarchy, is not however accompanied directly by demands for emancipation in terms of political rights. Demands for political liberty and equality are first heard only with certain radical offshoots of the Reformation, whom Ernst Troeltsch has defined as 'stepchildren of the Reformation,' including the 'sects' and free-church movements. In the mid-seventeenth century, in the radical Protestant wing of the troops led by Oliver Cromwell in the English Civil War, demands arose for the first time for freedom of belief, freedom of the press, and universal men's suffrage—all, it is true, initially without effect.

Enlightenment

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, John Locke formulated his liberal theory of the state, marked by both Christian and Enlightenment natural-law motifs, which reduced the legitimacy of state government to a dependence on respect for inalienable rights—life, liberty, and property; in case of massive violation of these basic rights, Locke held, violent opposition is legitimate. A scant one hundred years later, Locke's theory of the state, which had been aimed principally against instances of the arrogance of sovereignty by the royal executive, was the object of appeal by American settlers in their struggle against the tutelage of the London parliament. After an appeal to the English common law tradition became impossible with the turn to the struggle for independence, the Americans, in the spirit of Locke's version of the law of nature, argued that "all human beings are created equal; that they have been endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that to these belong life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, for the assurance of these rights, governments have been established, that derive their rightful power from the consent of the governed." Perhaps even more important than these famous lines from the *Declaration of Independence* of 4 July 1776 are the catalogues of rights that, beginning with the Virginia Bill of Rights (of 12 June 1776) were published on the state level, and to an extent took immediate legal effect. In the State of Massachusetts, the juridical demand for his basic rights by a slave in the year 1783 led to the abolition of slavery (which was impossible on the national level before the end of the American Civil War in 1865).

United States

Nineteenth Century

American experiments with human rights also play a role in the development of the French *Declaration of Human and Civil Rights* of 26 August 1789. Supported in its initial phase by broad sectors of the Catholic clergy, the French Revolution very quickly came into confrontation with the Catholic Church on the level of a cultural struggle. This had effects on a European (not only Catholic) church reception of human rights, in the presence of a nineteenth-century association of these latter with antichurch, if not indeed antireligious, radicalism, and of their consequent collision with skepticism and resistance. Official Catholic repudiation culminated in the *Syllabus Errorum* of Pope Pius IX in 1864, in which the freedom of religion and opinion was determinedly rejected. It is deserving of note that it was the labor movement's demand for social rights that made possible the gradual defeat of a Catholic repudiation of human rights, a defeat first acknowledged by the social encyclicals of Leo XIII at the end of the nineteenth century (*Rerum Novarum*, 1891).

Twentieth Century

Worldwide experiences of injustice in the twentieth century—world wars, state totalitarianism, ethnic murder at the hands of the National Socialists—led after the Second World War to the reception of human rights into international law, symbolized particularly in the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights.* Accompanying the same, a new appraisal of human rights appeared among the Christian churches. The founding assembly of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948 came out in favor of a 'responsible society,' in which viewpoints marked by a consideration of human rights were to have key importance. In this same direction, the World Union of Lutheran and Reformed churches in the 1970s issued a number of declarations on human rights. Official recognition of human rights and religious freedom by the Catholic Church came with the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (1963), and especially with the declaration *Dignitatis Humanae* (1965) of the Second Vatican Council.

A look back on the historical development of human rights in Europe leads to two systematic insights that are also important for the interreligious or intercultural dialogue. Human rights do not belong self-evidently to the heritage of the Christian religion: they have arisen in the breakdowns of modernity, and this—lest one succumb to a unilateral ideology of progress—partly as an answer to specific injustices in modern society. Secondly, however, human rights demonstrate an inner affinity for Christianity's human claim; a defense of the underlying idea of the defense of human rights, that of the inviolable dignity of the human being, has always been a key concern of the Christian churches. A Christian commitment to human rights is therefore possible and meaningful, provided that it does not lead to an exclusivistic appeal to a religious or cultural heritage, such as an appropriation of human rights in a canon of exclusively Christian values.

Extra-Occidental Traditions

4. An acknowledgment of the dignity of the person is not an exclusively Judeo-Christian insight. It enjoys a purchase in various religions or cultures—for example in the Confucian ideal of humanity (*ren*), in the Buddhist positive appraisal of the human being's capacity for self-transcendence, or in the Qur'anic distinction of the human being as God's vicar and steward (*khalifa*) on earth. A Project on Religion and Human Rights executed in America comes to the conclusion that "there are elements in practically all

religious traditions that promote peace, tolerance, freedom of conscience, dignity, and equality of persons, along with social justice."[2] Approaches to the acknowledgment of a spiritual home for human rights in non-Western religions and cultures are therefore definitely at hand. Nevertheless, it is to be conceded that the association of human dignity with political rights of equality in freedom and participation represents a specifically modern achievement; nor, in the West as in extra-occidental religions and cultures, can this association become effective without openness to criticism and reform.

Islam

A brief look at the *intra-Islamic human rights debate*, in which a multiplicity of views are currently represented, will be instructive. Positions range from a unilateral Islamization of human rights, to more or less explicit demands for reform, to positive theological appraisals of a secular thinking vis-à-vis human rights in the spirit of Islamic monotheism. In the center of most Islamic positions is an acknowledgment of the dignity of human beings. Their privileged place as God's stewards on earth (sura 2:30) is underscored in the Qur'an through the notion that the angels themselves are to fall down before Adam at God's behest (2:34). Elsewhere we read that God has honored the 'children of Adam' (17:70). Sura 2:256 is frequently cited: "There is no compulsion in religion." True, it is problematic when the conclusion is drawn from these and other Qur'anic loci that there is a specifically Qur'anic conception of human rights, as not infrequently occurs. In this fashion, the normative peculiarity of modern human rights—as standards for the guarantee of political rights of equal liberty and participation, in a universalistic perspective—threatens to disappear from view. And in fact, meanwhile, there are now several (enacted, if not legally binding) Islamic declarations on human rights, in which—in unmistakable contradiction with the human rights norms of the United Nations—the Islamic Sharia functions as a basis of human rights. The most familiar examples up until now are the *Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights* of the Islamic Council for Europe of 1981, and the *Declaration of Human Rights in Islam* of 1990, the latter accepted by the foreign ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in 1990 in Cairo. Through the association of elements of human rights with those of Islamic rights, the critical claim of human rights is largely lost. Indeed, we read in Article 24 of the Cairo Declaration: "All rights and liberties cited in this Declaration are subordinate to the Islamic Sharia." The consequences of this approach are particularly clear in the areas of religious freedom and the gender relationship, in which traditional privileges take precedence over equal human rights. Unlike conservative attempts to harmonize human rights and the Sharia, liberal Muslims like Mohamed Talbi, Said al-Ashmawi, Abdullahi An-Na'im, or Nasr Hamid Abu Zaid call for a critical reevaluation of the Sharia, and for a consideration of modern viewpoints on human rights. Recommendations for reform occasionally reach a (partial or full) de-juridicizing of the Sharia, which word is said to mean not actually 'law' or 'right,' but 'path' or 'guideline.' The Sharia should therefore be understood not primarily as a right coercible by the state, but as an ethical/spiritual orientation, whose leading principles—human dignity, liberty of conscience, solidarity—are to be regarded as compatible with the modern call for human rights. In the conviction of female Islamic women's rights lawyers like Riffat Hassan, strict Islamic monotheism dictates the overthrow of religiously grounded claims of tutelage, and is the foundation of the struggle for universal equal rights. One-sided rule of human beings

by human beings is illegitimate in Islam, say these thinkers, and, now cashiered religiously, becomes out-and-out an act of blasphemy.[3] Some Muslim intellectuals use similar arguments for recognition of secular law as well. Any form of theocratic government is an instrumentalization of the divine Name, and is to be battled as blasphemy, wrote Egyptian Ali Abd-ar-Raziq as early as 1925.[4]

The intra-Islamic debate on human rights demonstrates that thinking on human rights is also developing its effects in 'extra-occidental' religions or cultures, and not only as the reception of Western approaches, but also as a reevaluation of the actual sources of the traditions of these religions or cultures. If it is possible for human beings of distinct religious orientations to re-cognize, so to speak, humane motifs of their own tradition in modern human rights, then this process can foster the development of a universal consciousness of human rights—presuming, of course, that unilateral religious or cultural 'heritage claims' to the idea of human rights are definitively sidelined.

Human Rights and Religion

5. Human rights are more than the common denominator of all basic values represented in the various religions or cultures. They validate a universal, and yet independently modern, claim to liberty and equality that can instead conflict with authoritarian elements in the religious traditions. Thus, an acknowledgment of human rights on the part of religious communities presupposes a readiness for self-criticism and reform. Only in the presence of a such an attitude can the humane claim of human rights—concentrated in a recognition of the inviolable dignity of each human being—be perceived as an opportunity for a (new) opening up of a potential for the meaning of freedom in the religious traditions, and at the same time for religious belief as a motive for engagement in human rights. An emphasis on the quality of human rights as something modern, moreover, does not mean the propagation of an ideology of progress at the hands of a *mission civilisatrice* at the cost of religious tradition and diversity. Not only is the claim of human rights a priori limited in its content by target—the area of political rights. More importantly, human rights take their reference from concrete experiences of their denial in acts of injustice, and this especially in the universal experiences of injustice of the twentieth century, addressed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as 'barbarous acts.' It is in light of the sacrifice of human rights in terms of its violations, that commitment to human rights finds its determination and its obligation. And it is in light of that sacrifice that claims on a cultural or religious legacy of the idea of human rights are just as insolvent as the old overstatement of the civilizing mission of the age of modernity.

1. Aurelius, Marcus Aurelius, The Communings with Himself. Revised Text and Translation into English by C. R. Haines, Cambridge 1987, 335.
2. Kelsay/Twiss 1994, 116.
3. Hassan, Riffat, "On Human Rights and the Qur'anic Perspective," in: Swidler 1982, 51-65.
4. Abd-ar-Raziq, Ali, "L'Islam et les bases du pouvoir," in two parts, in: Revue des Études Islamiques 7 (1933), 353-91; 8 (1934), 163-222.

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→ *Bioethics, Constitution, Enlightenment, Ethics/Morals, Freedom of Religion, Law*

Heiner Bielefeldt

Human Sacrifice

1. Under 'human sacrifice' is understood the killing of a human being—or the use of human blood, flesh, bones—as a cultic offering or → sacrifice, that is, a sacrifice for ritual purposes. The concept of human sacrifice merely denotes the material of the sacrifice more exactly: the intent and external form of sacrificial procedures can be very different. Common to them is the meaning of the renunciation or alienation of the sacrificial material. As a ritual act, (human) sacrifice is usually part of a larger ritual complex, underlain by the most diverse conceptualizations and purposes, the latter imbedded, in turn, in culturally varying worldviews and systems of belief. A unitary theory of sacrifice has been unavailable until now; thus, the attempt to classify human sacrifice takes its orientation in the varying behavior in, and materials of, the sacrifice, as in sacrifices of immersion or drowning, of imprisonment in construction, of burnt offerings, bloody and unbloody sacrifices, partial sacrifices and destruction sacrifices. On the other hand, typological divisions emphasize the intentions of those offering the sacrifices, in categories such as impetratory sacrifice, thanksgiving sacrifice, sacrifice of atonement.

The Sources

2. Archaeological testimonials can provide evidence or indications of human sacrifice; however, a site thought to be that of a construction sacrifice could instead be a domestic burial, or a find interpreted as human sacrifice could be only the remains of a slaying. What is decisive are the contexts of the find that show a sacrificial procedure. Skull worship as the trophy cult of the Munduruku or the shrunken heads of Jivaro should be distin-

guished from human sacrifices. Likewise, there need be no human sacrifice involved when human skulls or bones are used for the production of cultic objects, as with skull mugs or rattles in tantric Buddhism.

Nor are pictorial representations unquestionable. Are they a symbolization of actions of the gods, or the presentation of a real slaying of a human being? Are they simply a pictorial testimonial of an occurrence in war, or do they represent the ceremonial sacrifice of a human being?

Functions—Consecutive Death

3. Human sacrifices as consecutive sacrifices that follow the death of someone else are usually thanksgiving and satisfaction sacrifices for ancestors, as we find, for example, in the Bronze Age Chinese Shang dynasty. They are performed as widow sacrifices, or are collective burials. Functionaries, wives, or servants of rulers were slain, often together with horses and household utensils, and buried in the grave of their departed lord. The idea behind this usage was the belief in survival in the → beyond, for which the dead should receive the same amenities as they have had in their lifetime.

Fertility Rites

The performance of human sacrifices, in order to make life possible, regenerate the fruitfulness of the earth—birth in death, then—is the key theme of *fertility rites.* The Phoenicians sacrificed to Baal—the proverbial 'Moloch' (from the Semitic *Malk*, 'king'; cf. Hebr. *melekh*)—the firstborn of families of the upper class, and buried them in their own burial places (*tophet*), a custom adopted by the Carthaginians. The Aztecs sacrificed a female slave to maize goddess Cinteotl; until mid-nineteenth century, the Khond in Southern India sacrificed slaves to earth goddess Tari Pennu, tore the sacrifices apart, and used the pieces of flesh to 'fertilize' the fields.

Aztecs and Incas

4. It is disputed whether the *Aztecs* practiced institutionalized human sacrifice, consuming the victim's flesh (→ Cannibalism), as shown in their own picture writing and as suggested both in archaeological finds and the testimony of the Conquistadors. Textual critics hold these written testimonials to be unreliable (P. Hassler). The cultural materialistic grounding of the practice in a protein deficiency (M. Harris, M. Harner) is likewise in question. In a comparative cultural analysis of the Aztecs and Incas, Thomas Barthel showed the political and socioeconomic context of the human sacrifices that were offered: while the Incas sacrificed only a small number of children as tribute from the provinces to the mountain deities in unbloody sacrifices (of which the most cruel involved victims, usually children, drugged and exposed, and left to lie at the snow line and freeze to death), the victims of the Aztec sacrifices were usually adult prisoners of war and slaves. One system of gratification that depended on prisoners of war, sacrificed on the part of professional warriors, led to the continual expansion of military campaigns, in which the defeated became the victims of the sacrificial ceremonies. In sharp competition to the warriors stood the less highly respected merchants, whose sacrificial victims, slaves, represented a lower order of human sacrifice. The dynamics of the competition for prestige on the part of these two groups had the effect of 'automatically' swelling the number of human sacrifices. The mythic foundation of these sacrifices is in the Aztec → cosmogony, which centered around a concern for the revitalization of the sun: that heavenly body was to be 'nourished' by the blood and hearts of sacrificial victims.

Human Sacrifice in Saga and Myth

5. Human sacrifice is to be found in *saga and myth* as well. Greek mythology relates the Athenian sacrifice of young men and women as tribute to the Cretan King Minos (myth of the Minotaur, which devoured these young persons); Agamemnon's sacrifice, or intended sacrifice, of his daughter Iphigenia in Aulis for the appeasement of Artemis; and the mad frenzy of Hercules, causing him to sacrifice his wife and children as his enemies.

The myth of the Indonesian Wemale recounts of moon maiden Rabie Hainuwele that she was killed and hacked to pieces, and that the parts of her corpse were buried: from her remains have sprung the nut plants from which human beings take their nourishment. German cultural morphology (especially A. E. Jensen) used this myth to formulate a broad worldview centered around the currently dominant nut plant among farming societies: in rite, the human being is conceived as replicating a primordial event, and thereby renewing it, while the prevailing 'Dema deity' becomes the life-giver through her death. Human beings have embodied this divinity in ritual, and her death in human sacrifice is the condition for the growth of nut plants. However, this long-influential interpretation continues to be ascribed value today first and foremost for its historical interest.

Human Sacrifice as Self-Offering

6. One dimension of meaning in the concept of (human) sacrifice is that of passive suffering (Lat., *victima*). Christianity holds the prototypal self-sacrifice (sacrifice of atonement) of Jesus. It was preceded by the Israelitic transformation of the human sacrifice into an animal sacrifice (vicarious sacrifice); the Hebrew Bible reports that Abraham sacrificed a ram instead of his son Isaac (Gen 22). Although it was precisely Christianity that had spiritualized the bloody sacrifice in the ritual of the Last supper, early Christians had to face the accusation that they sacrificed actual human beings. They were reproached with using the blood of non-Christian children in their divine service—an accusation that, some time later, would be turned against the Jews, in the Christian legend of Jewish ritual murder (→ Anti-Semitism).

Human self-offering can also be expected as an ethical requirement demanded by the community. An extreme exaggeration of this concept was the object of political instrumentalization in the National Socialist sacrificial mythology, which called for a selfless commitment to the Fatherland to the point of self-sacrifice on the battlefield. This self-sacrifice made war heroes of the fallen (→ Hero/Heroism; National Socialism).

The reflections of H. M. Gutman and K.-P. Jörns interpret the 'traffic sacrifice' as the return of the cultic sacrifice in daily life, a phenomenon to be regarded as the human sacrifice of modern society. Archaic relations among human beings are said to resurface when the driver, as hunter, brings the victim down to death. In atonement, at the moment of any collision, drivers offer their lives in sacrificial reparation.

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→ *Cannibalism, Sacrifice, Violence*

Sabine Hensel

Icon

Icons (Greek, *eíkon*, 'image') are the sacred images of the Eastern Churches. Since the Byzantine image controversy (which began around 726 under Emperor Leo III and lasted, through various reversals, until 843 under Empress Theodora), the icon has stood at the center of Eastern Christian theological and artistic effort. The laborious defeat of currents of opposition to and even destruction of images ('iconoclasm') had the consequence that the creation of icons in the Eastern church was subjected to strict regulations; these still prevail today, and have prevented a free religious artistic development like that of Western Europe. In order to be considered an icon, an image must (1) "be understood as an image intended for a context of worship, and have the character of the sacred," (2) "reflect the recognized dogma of the Eastern Church," (3) "correspond to the canon of iconography represented in the Eastern Church," and (4) "be produced according to defined rules and consecrated according to a certain rite" (H. Fischer). This system of control is supplemented by a system of nomenclature: each type of image has a proper name. There are some eight to nine thousand types of images, of which seven to eight thousand are of pictures of the saints and four hundred are various styles of presentation of the Mother of God. Within each image type, as well, each figure must be verbally inscribed on grounds of theological determinability; images not inscribed are liturgically invalid, and thus not icons.

On the one side, icons have a liturgical function, and in Orthodoxy and the other Eastern Churches have their place especially on the iconostasis, an 'image wall,' which divides the altar space from the nave of the church. At the same time, they play an important role in everyday religion: in the houses of Eastern Christian believers, there is always an icon corner. Guests greet this first, before turning toward the hosts. Each of the faithful has a personal icon, that of the patron saint whose name she or he has received at baptism. In many regions of Eastern Europe, curtains are even hung before the icon, making it possible to conceal the image when there is 'something it should not see.'



Greek Orthodox monks preparing icons. Their work is strictly governed by rules, which are set down in particular painting manuals (in Gk., *hermeneía*, items for [enabling] interpretation'). It begins with the creation of a background, on cloth that has been glued onto (usually) a wooden tablet. Then comes the sketch, in which outlines and divisions are traced according to a model or pattern. Before the actual painting is done, the layers of gold are imposed—in this case, as provided in the rule, reserved for background, auras (here, halos), and parts of the garment of the Christ. The colors are applied 'from shadow to light'—first the darkest (readily visible in the left background), then the brighter, as appropriate for the elements of the picture. After the 'chrysography' (application of gold embellishment), and drying (lasting perhaps a year), the icon receives its protective varnish, the secret of each school. Formerly, or indeed as shown here, during the act of painting, the theologically indispensable inscription is applied. The motif in the foreground shows Mary, in an attitude of prayer (*orant*); on her lap, Christ, painted after the 'Emmanuel' (Isa 7:14) style of image, the preexistent logos: as an 'elderly child' (H. Fischer), beardless, with a high forehead. (Hubert Mohr)

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→ *Art/Aesthetics, Image/Iconoclasm, Materiality*

Hubert Mohr

Identity

The concept of *identity* derives from the philosophical tradition, in which it represents most especially a logical predicate. Thus, a subject can be attributed the predicate of identity when, in various perspectives and states of affairs, it can be identified always as *the same* subject. Two subjects (x and y) are identical, then, in virtue of the principle of (non)contradiction, when all qualities of x also pertain to y ($x = y$). In today's linguistic usage, identity has mainly become a concept of psychology and the social sciences: there it is used principally in the sense of a 'self-image,' 'character,' or 'personality constitution,' or else of a 'balance between the internal and the external,' through processes of identification among individuals and groups. Psychologically, *identification* denotes an assimilation of the self-image and object images, in which the objects with which one 'identifies' can be persons, groups, ideas, symbols, myths, representatives, or institutions (churches, and so on). The identification process functions reciprocally, consisting of an active component ('identify oneself with . . .') and a passive one ('be identified by'). When the result of this process is seen as an essential part, or even the core, of the ego, the impression can arise of a collectively shared ego, experienced in a 'we-feeling.' But inasmuch as individuals can never, even in Saint Peter's Square in Rome, become really 'identical' with one another, identity is merely a goal-fiction of assimilation. The individual lives in and for this fiction: it can entail a condition of feeling-determined consciousness, in which differences from other persons are screened out in favor of the fantasy of identification. The difference is transferred to the other individuals and collectivities (nations, strangers, persons of other beliefs, 'heathen'), thereby conferring on them the function of a negative reflection.

In addition, collective identity has become a modern *confessional formula*, through which individuals profess membership in a collectivity—an ethnic group, a nation, or regional, cultural, or religious communities. Precisely in this perspective, identity has become a central, problematic symbol of → political religion. Here the phenomenon is all the more powerful to the extent that the collective identity is projected not only upon the living, but also upon the dead (→ heroes, soldiers, → martyrs) and unborn of the collectivity that is visualized as 'identical.' The hardening of myths of identity is not only a questionable manner of 'attaching' a religious wish or desire, but can become a serious hindrance to changes in the composition and order of a collectivity. To the extent that the collectivity bestowing the identity in question is a substitute for or complement

of the shaken ground of the 'individual soul,' a potential can be created that calls for the defense of the supposed substance of the collective identity ('soul of the collectivity') by every means, against 'threats,' both within and from without.

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→ *Ancestors, Biography/Autobiography, Collective Representations, Fantasy, Feelings/Emotions, Idol, Minorities, Monument/Memorial Places, Origin, Psyche, Psychoanalysis, Time*

Peter Berghoff

Ideology

In the seventeenth century, in the wake of the → Enlightenment, and from the wish for a knowledge of reality delivered from various phantoms and illusions, Francis Bacon drafted his doctrine of idols (Lat., *idolum*, 'specter,' 'idol'; from Gk., *eídolon*, 'image'; → Idol), a classification of avoidable prejudices. 'Ideologue' (Fr., *idéologue*, from Lat., *idea*, '[ideal] image') was used in the latter half of the eighteenth century to indicate French Enlightenment thinkers like A. L. C. Destutt de Tracy (1754–1836) and E. B. de Condillac (1714–1780), who, in hope of attaining to an undeceived insight into, not least of all, the societal origins of religion, were working toward a purely sensory theory of knowledge. It was Napoleon Bonaparte who, appraising their teaching as corrupting of tradition and subversive, bestowed on the expression 'ideologue' the pejorative connotation that it has retained down to our own day. With Karl Marx, the reproach of ideology became a central topos of his criticism of bourgeois consciousness and its subordinate phenomenon, religion (as 'opium of the people'). The undertaking of a *criticism of ideology* (especially with Friedrich → Nietzsche, in Marxist tradition, and in the Frankfurt school), finally, regards every thought: it should be tested against a potentially one-sided social standpoint, a conditioning by interests, or a dislodged historical connection. It is justifiable to question whether the designation 'ideology' is not first and foremost applied with a view to the rejection of theories and positions that fail to correspond to one's own views.

→ *Criticism of Religion, Meaning/Signification, Political Religion*

Georg Hartmann

Idol

The meaning of the Greek word *eídolon* is 'image,' 'shadow,' or 'phantom,' or also, in a narrow sense, 'sacred image.' In Greco-Latin ecclesiastical language, the concept attaches to the 'image of the gods of the pagans,' a 'false god.' In this sense, it denotes polemically an object or person shown an extravagant, immoderate reverence, or 'deified.' In a neutral sense, 'idol' can also designate the material picture of a deity. In this meaning, it plays an eminent role in all cultures, whether as canonized iconography, as spiritualized → fetish, or as a concrete physical image and representation. The idol is therefore also always an attempt to render the transcendent content of belief, including myths, rites and rituals, an object of experience: the divinity is condensed in the (idealized) picture, and the human being reverences or venerates the picture. Precisely for this reason, the idol has always been regarded as a potential threat to religions; after all, the idol humanizes religion. The pictures of the gods render the latter like unto human beings—and not the other way around, as many religions would like to require. Several religions therefore proscribe images (for example, Islam). On the other hand, *idolatry* is also possible for a purposeful and directed reinforcement of religious relations (e.g., veneration of images of the saints, popular piety).

This contradiction is the nutritive source of the ambivalent value of the idol today. On the one side, an idol concretizes the idealized projection of the venerable object: it becomes a copy of individual or collective yearnings and ideals. The process is observable in examples such as the veneration of 'Lady Di,' euphoric partisanship with "Jesus Christ Superstar" or 'Che Guevara,' or phenomena of collective veneration of a 'soccer star god' by fans in a stadium. On the other hand, the idol itself gains a concrete (practical) meaning, inasmuch as it is 'emancipated' from its devotees. The idol constitutes norms of relationship, and of fashionable trends, whose acknowledgment permits the original devotees to become a uniform social group.

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→ *Cult, Image/Iconoclasm, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Elke Sophie Frohn and H.-Georg Lützenkirchen

Illness / Health

Illness as a Social Construct

1. 'Illness' denotes actual or perceived disturbances of the body, mind, or soul, accompanied by hardship, pain, alterations of body or mind, and a transformed perception of self and the environment. Illness and health are not, however, only bodily and mental facts; they are also social constructs. Which bodily or mental alterations are interpreted as illness, the origins of illness, and how illness is to be healed, all depend on the conceptions of a given society and historical era. Healing from any evil (bad harvest, misfortune), including illness, is a central concern among the religions; thus, a religious worldview plays an important role in interpreting and dealing with illness.

Explanatory Models for Illness

2. Along with heart disease and AIDS, cancer is one of the most feared diseases of the modern age, as modern medicine long had no appropriate treatment for it. At the end of the 1970s, *Mars*, a book by a terminal cancer patient from Switzerland, attracted worldwide attention. The author, Fritz Zorn, attributes the onset of his cancer to psychic disturbances resulting from his childhood and education, with their hostility toward life, body, and sexuality. He deems the spark for his raging cancer cells to have been his suppressed emotions, wishes, and desires, and thus he counters the materialistically organic explanations and therapies of modern medicine. Zorn's view had been stimulated and facilitated by the psychoanalytic and psychosomatic models that had appeared in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which ascribe an important role in disease manifestations to the influence of mind on body.

One may see from this example how social notions mark views on the causes and treatment of disease. It is also an example of the current popular trend in Western societies to include the psyche in the matter of the cause and treatment of illness more readily than does modern medicine, with its franker orientation toward the diseases of individual organs. In the wake of this reorientation, religious and occult interpretations of sickness likewise acquire additional importance. Many persons, mistrusting the practices of school medicine, turn to spiritual healing, East Asian methods of healing, and other alternative methods of cure, all frequently underlain by a religious worldview.

In the past, as well as in non-industrialized societies, one can find approaches to illness in terms of emotional or mental disturbances. Still, most of the prevailing conceptions ascribe illness to bodily causes, or else to disturbances that in today's view would be designated as social or religious. Very roughly, we may range the models of explanation for disease as *materialistic, biological*, *religious*, and *worldview-oriented*. Dietetic prescriptions (→ Eating/Nourishment), herbal medicine, and medicine based on the natural sciences, are grounded on materialistic biological suppositions: they can also be grounded in religion. The interpretations of illness as 'divine chastisement,' or as the consequence of negative influences on the part of the spirits of ancestors, for instance, are proper to religious models for illness. These notions are frequently designated 'magical' (→ Magic), 'supernatural,' 'non-empirical,' or 'irrational.' These concepts are often negatively charged, however, and hazy: along with the conceptions that they designate—logically inserted into experience, in its respective contexts—they are based on



Legend has it that it was in the mountain forest of Sorte (Venezuela) that goddess *Maria Lionza* once overcame an anaconda in combat. Now a girl suffering from muscular atrophy, accompanied by her parents, meets with a medium there for a healing ceremony. The new Maria Lionza cult, a movement very popular in Venezuela, began during the time between the two World Wars. The *Marialionzistas*, who regard themselves as Catholics, believe in a Christian God as director of the world; and between him and human beings come mediating spirits, along with their leader Maria Lionza. The latter, plus Indian spirit Guaicaripuro and African spirit Negro Felipe, make up the 'three powers' (*tres potencias*). The spirits are impetratory partners in the problems of human beings: they counsel, assist, and heal during this ceremony of *velación* (Span., 'watch'; lit., 'candle ceremony'): there the spirits manifest themselves in the persons lying on the ground, who are rapt by the mediums into a state of trance and possession. At the healing ceremony, in which candles, flowers, perfumes, the music of drums, and singing are incorporated, a medium traces a diagram on the ground with talc, and the patient is laid at midpoint. Medical instruments lie ready for ritual employment. The medium in the photograph, just being possessed by a Viking spirit, will treat the child, over the course of the some one-hour-long ceremony, with a needle in the spinal area—the 'pretend operation' representing a treatment on a spiritual level. An assistant versed in religion (*banco*), in the foreground, watches over the progress of the ritual and the actions of the entranced medium. (Benita von Behr)

a system of salvation. In modern times, worldviews as well determine how illness is dealt with, as in the Life Reform Movement (→ Ascona/Monte Verità), or in the → New Age.

Early Traditions

3. a) Today, extant mummies, papyri, and mural inscriptions supply us with information on the *Egyptian* conceptualizations of illness. Egyptian medical therapy knew the application of medicines and herbs for the treatment of symptoms. However, illness and healing were also understood as god-given phenomena. Among the divinities invoked in therapeutic interests were Re, sun god and creator, and Thot, god of knowledge, to the latter of whom were attributed special powers for the healing of injured eyes. In the view of ancient Babylonians as well, somatic and religious explanations for illness existed in tandem.

On the foundation of ancient Vedic medicine, there developed in *India*, from about 500 BCE to 500 CE, a conceptual structure known as *ayurveda*, 'knowledge of long life.' According to Ayurveda, illness resulted from an imbalance of air, gall, and phlegm; equilibrium could be restored with the help of medicines prepared from herbs, minerals, and earths. The → *yoga* tradition explains illness as the correlate of a deficiency in the balance of the mind, or spirit, and recommends mental concentration and purification for the acquisition or receipt of this balance. *Chinese* concepts propose illness as one of the disturbances of the relationship between human being and cosmic order, or as a disturbance of the flow of the energy of life, *ki*. Here is the basis, for one, of fundamental determinations for the maintenance of health in terms of one's being and behavior. For another, comprehensive doctrines are developed on movement, nutrition, and breathing for the prevention and healing of disease.

The *Greek* physician Hippocrates (460–375 BCE) developed the humoral pathology (teaching on fluids). He did not base illness on religious factors, but grounded his explanations and therapies on observation. Health is the consequence of an equilibrium of the bodily fluids, a balance to be attained or maintained through surgical intervention, diet, and a moderate lifestyle. Galen of Pergamum (130–200 CE) further developed this teaching.

b) The humoral doctrine remained the central notion of the materialistic biological explanation and therapy of illness into the Europe of the modern age. However, the pronouncements of the early medieval Church Fathers, and the multiplicity of religious models of explication, show that the humoral doctrine alone cannot satisfy the need for explanation or for an alleviating therapy.

Christianity

In the Hebrew Bible, the author of disease is God, who sends it to persons as a chastisement for their sins. Healing, too, comes from God, and materializes with the help of confessions of sins, penance, and prayer. The views of the Church Fathers and of early Christianity endorse the same attitude. Body and illness, to the perceptions of Tertullian (second century), are God-given; Christian faith makes healing possible. Ambrose (d. 397) insists that sickness represents a way to spiritual purification and refinement: furthermore, illness is the pathway of Christian compassion. This perspective is the foundation of Christianity's monastic tradition of receiving and caring for the sick (→ Hildegard of Bingen). In the Middle Ages, monasteries assumed the care of the sick, and created the new establishment of the

hospital (→ Charitable Organizations). Luther emphasized the doctrine of original sin, in consequence of which, he held, human beings' doom, including their disease, had come with their expulsion from paradise.

These notions and opinions satisfied Christian theoreticians' need to explain disease and defend its plausibility in the Christian worldview. However, they also availed themselves of the omnipresent, existential experience of sickness to reinforce their own Christian truth. Infectious diseases, and the great plagues of the fourteenth century, daily placed the sudden fate of death before people's eyes.

Feelings of fear, insecurity, and helplessness in the face of disease multiplied both the apparent causes of the latter, and the means undertaken for its prevention. → Pilgrimages and vows to saints were understood as appeals to divine grace to bring healing and understanding. In the medieval conception, sickness could result from fear and terror, from jealousy, from the → evil eye, from the negative influence of strangers, Jews, demons, or witches, or from the stars and planets (→ Astrology). Consultations of soothsayers, and the wearing of → amulets and medicinal stones, were supposed to defend and assist persons in the face of these threats (→ Miracles). Sexual love itself could drive a person frantic and insane. Experiences of nausea and disgust, as well as the fear of the plague, could kill.

Since Descartes (1596–1650) and the *Enlightenment*, the origin of disease has been sought in the causal role of organic material factors. Modern medicine concentrates on the healing of individual organs. In reaction to what seemed the one-sided direction of modern medicine, there developed, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the doctrines of macrobiotics, homeopathy, and water and nature healing. The end of the nineteenth century saw the confluence of the *nature healing* and the broad current of the Life Reform Movement, which propagated, among other things, anti-alcoholism, exercise, nudity, and vegetarianism as alternative healing concepts. The notions of this movement were soon normative: to eat or breathe according to desire or whim became inadequate, as the content of health became an obligation in view of the functioning of the body.

Non-Industrialized and Tribal Societies

4. *Non-industrialized and tribal societies* dispose of a rich store of knowledge concerning the symptoms and treatment of diseases with medicines of herbs or minerals. However, along with materialistic explanations for sickness, these societies know a plenitude of religious ones, as well. The *Kallawaya* of the Andes look on illness as the result of an imbalance in giving and taking between human beings and the gods. An expiatory sacrifice can restore this equilibrium. Disease is regarded as a disturbance of complicated rules determining relations between human beings and their environment. The sacrificial gift reinforces consciousness of this order, and offers the sufferer an opportunity to be reconciled with it. The rituals of healing the sick, by which, for example, free souls are recovered, or malicious demons are expelled (→ Possession), usually take place publicly. With the *Sami* of the Kola Peninsula in Northern Russia, all members of a group are expressly convoked before the shaman undertakes his journey to the beyond to heal a disease. With the African *Zande* (Sudan, Zaïre) as well, the public takes part in séances in which the healer determines who it is that is to be made responsible for the sorcery or witchery that is interpreted as having caused the sufferer to fall ill. Shamans and healers

perform a dance or other ritual action at these public appearances, wherewith they strengthen their healing powers. Their appearance on the scene, their extraordinary clothing, their healing tools, are all for the purpose of convincing both the sufferer and the community of the medicinal effect of their actions. They may lead the sufferer into an expanded or extraordinary state of consciousness. This state may produce relaxation, repose, or emotional stimuli connected with healing. Through the participation of the entire group, the sufferer becomes reintegrated into the community, besides. With the Zande, the healer often diagnoses social tensions as the trigger for the sorcery that is producing the illness; among the *Gusto* of the Ivory Coast the soothsayer also includes family and social relations in the quest for the causes of an illness. Circumstances that are disturbing or stressful for the community are regarded as critical for the onset of a disease. Here the consideration may be a jealous neighbor, a not yet married son, or a lost kettle. The therapy aims to remove these tensions and restore social equilibrium (→ Catharsis). Thus, traditional healing procedures frequently deal with psychic disturbances, or presentations of organic disease with accompanying emotional symptoms. With the *Minahasa* in Indonesia, sickness is interpreted as a result of negative influences on the part of the souls of ancestors. In a trance session, the healer shares exact instructions for the treatment of the illness. She or he pronounces which plants must be picked by which person, in which circumstances, for instance under the full moon, and how they must be prepared. These prescriptions provide sufferers and the community with practical and concrete directions for treatment of the disease, and offer them the opportunity of taking active measures against it.

The examples show that traditional ways of healing treat both organic, and social and religious causes of disease. The ascription of illnesses to the will of the gods, or to the activity of the spirits, explains them, and weaves them into the worldviews at hand. The sufferer, whose self-image and perception of the environment has been changed by the disease, is presented with a way back into the everyday, and into integration. This explanation, the convincing ritual presented, and the manifold prescriptions for a cure, serve to strengthen belief, hope, and confidence, and to mobilize the powers of self-healing. Since sickness is laid to the account of a violation of taboo, to a dissolute life, or to contravention of the norms of the group, ritual procedures with the disease also serve the maintenance of social order. In societies whose survival depends on the smooth-running cooperation of their members, the reinforcement of this order, and reconciliation with it on the part of the sufferer, obviously produce healing powers.

Recovery by Purification

Even in highly industrialized *Japan*, culturally marked concepts still determine procedures with disease today. It is regarded as a result of filth, uncleanness, or negative influences that originate from without, as for example from strangers, including foreigners. On this basis, Japanese take off their shoes when entering a home, and hygiene prescribes a daily bath. Feeling fresh and clean betokens a healthy feeling of well-being. Hygienic notions not only offer a concept for dealing with disease, but also structure the interpretation of the self and the environment into an inner and an outer element. With disease-inducing uncleanness, according to the Japanese view, not only a hot bath helps, but rituals of expulsion

and purification are introduced, especially in the → 'new religions,' for a restoration of health.

In *moxibustion,* a curative procedure practiced in China and Japan, medicinal herbs are burned on the acupuncture sites on the skin. Here the unusually close contact between the patient and the healer is felt as consoling or pleasant. Moxibustion further permits the patient to demonstrate attention to, concern for, sympathy for, and active support of persons. In this fashion, dealing with disease can solve social and psychic conflicts in a nonverbal way. Independently of the power of the burning herbs, curative forces emerge from the special inter-human relation struck between patient and healer.

Illness in Modern Societies

5. In modern industrialized societies as well, the determination of sickness and health fulfills important ordering and normative functions. The development of psychology has led to the classification of persons with serious psychic disturbances as mentally or emotionally ill, whereas in the past they would have been classified as 'evil,' 'possessed by the devil,' or criminal. The possibility that there is such a thing as → evil neither can nor should be acknowledged, as people now believe in the healing power of modern science. A fixation on the generation of healthy persons obscures questions about the existential meaning of sickness and disease.

The application of macro-technological apparatus, an alienation between physician and patient, and the commercialization of the medical arts have the consequence that the sick lose their trust in the effectiveness of methods of healing that had played such a significant role in the healing process in the past. Modern medicine is also criticized for being so exclusively absorbed in the materialistic organic grounds of disease that it is rendered impotent when it comes to answering the question of 'why,' the question of deeper causes. Since the Enlightenment, traditional Christian churches have thrown in their lot more emphatically with a faith in accordance with understanding. Thereby they rob themselves of the performative aspect, faith as experienced, as in common rites of healing or in rituals of expulsion, and neglect the task of healing the sick.

Alternative Methods of Healing

6. In reaction, the *healing movement* developed. This label includes the Pentecostal movement, methods of healing coming from traditional healing practices in countries of the 'Third World' (→ Voodoo), and faith healing. In many new religious movements as well, an important part falls to the need for the healing of the sick. In numerous 'new religions' of Japan, healing is sought with the help of 'cleansing of the heart.' Certain new religious movements fully or partially reject modern medicine, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, who decline blood transfusions, or Japanese *mahikari,* which renounces the application of medicines. Many new religious movements do their missionizing and advertising with the guarantee that they can heal diseases, as they have recognized that this is a way of meeting basic religious expectations. Just as modern persons seek sensible explanations and therapies for diseases, they turn in addition to alternative methods of healing.

The healing arts of → Hildegard of Bingen, Chinese and Tibetan Medicine, and Ayurveda, as well as therapies based on Bach Flower Essences, breathing, and crystals, have been in high demand since the 1990s. Healers

who promise health through shamanic séances, rebirth, homeopathy, anthroposophical medicine, or astrological analysis supplement the offer. A historical survey shows that medicinal plurality has determined disease therapy in the past, as well, and that it is still to be found among many peoples today. However, the survey also makes it clear that aspects of group dynamics, as well as of the social and the religious, support the therapeutic effect of the most varied practices of healing. With world cultures and religions being plundered for health recipes, these aspects neither are nor can be taken into much consideration. They are nontransferable, inasmuch as their effects are tied to obligatory and comprehensive worldviews and social relationships that differ from those of modern industrial society. However, traditional methods of healing do indicate a peculiarity of modern therapeutics: the process of healing has slipped the public arena, and has been privatized. In the struggle with disease, the individual is no longer supported by the community. The community power of religious concepts of the spirits of ancestors, or taboo, or a sacred cosmic order, has been irretrievably shattered in modern times. It is to be doubted, then, that alternative methods of healing based on religious interpretations of reality can develop their efficacy in Western societies.

Privatization of Healing

Discovery of New Diseases

In modernity, the vacuum of individualization and → disenchantment is being filled by the discovery of new diseases. In the past, the phases of puberty or pregnancy were accompanied by rites of passage. By explaining misplacement of teeth, or pregnancy, as disease, medical care and control may itself assume the guidance of these phases of passage. Even the → New Age movement discovers new diseases, first and foremost the 'deformation of body and soul,' and this diagnosis can be regarded as an expression of the massive social criticism offered by New Age adherents. However, the plethora of therapies that New Age religion has itself developed aim extensively at the development and improvement of the self. To that extent, New Age ideas demonstrate how, by postulating disease, persons are thrown back on themselves, and societal and social contradictions can be obscured.

The attitude with which persons of modern industrial society demand the instantaneous satisfaction of their consumerism, as if it were the most obvious thing in the world, extends to the demand for healing and health as well. People often neglect the meaning of illness as a sign from our bodies that, even if, in our modern understanding, our existence is no longer God-given, it is finite nonetheless.

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→ *Amulet, Ascona/Monte Verità, Drinking/Drink, Eating/Nourishment, Evil Eye, Hildegard of Bingen, New Age, Shamanism, Taboo, Voodoo, Yoga*

Inken Prohl

Image / Iconoclasm

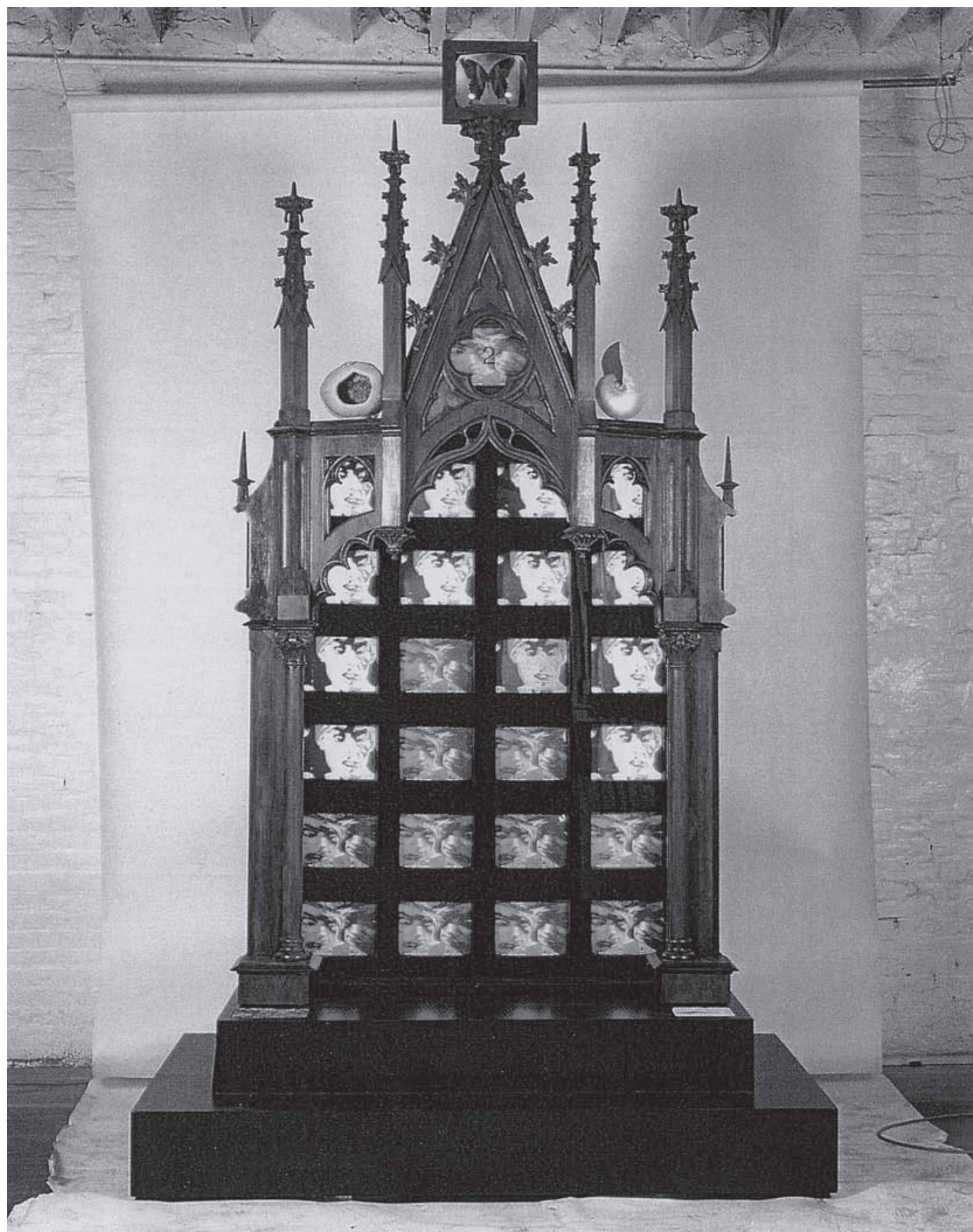
Definitions

1. 'Image,' or 'picture,' in its broadest meaning is any presentation that—unlike the concept—presupposes and addresses sensory → perception and experience. In current speech, what is designated is first and foremost the visual presentation of things on a surface; in this perspective, the concept of the speech image is itself to be understood as imagery. Etymologically, 'picture' is from the Latin *pictura*, which in turn comes from *pictus*, 'painted.' 'Image' is derived from the Latin root *imag-*, 'image,' 'copy'; it is related to our Latin-derived 'emulate.' In semiotics, 'picture' is defined as a special form of the 'sign,' and designated as an 'icon.' Its character as sign rests not on convention or tradition, as does that of → 'symbol,' but on visually perceptible similarity to that which it designates. This similarity is also the meaning content of the most important Latin synonym, cited above, *imag-*. It is precisely the religious picture or image, however, that is not to be restricted to the function of a sign or indication, since religious practice tends to identify the image of a god with the god. A more helpful concept would be that of *embodiment*, which is especially appropriate in sculpture, but also in the form of the painted picture.

With some reservations, a pro-image attitude can be associated with polytheistic religions, with their pronounced and distinct mythology, and an anti-image attitude to monotheistic, especially the prophetical and scriptural religions (→ Judaism; Islam). Within Christianity, the conflict over the appraisal of the image has repeatedly materialized, as *image controversy* and assault on the image (*iconoclasm*).

Functions of Images

Images serve for the representation of religious content. They may present as an occurrence that has been transmitted and handed down as myth, saga, or legend: their function then is predominantly illustrative or didactic. Here belongs the cycle of images that was valued in the Christian churches as the *Biblia pauperum* ("Bible of the Poor," or illiterate). The key thing for religious practice, however, is the *image of a god or saint*, isolated from the oral context—in the Christian tradition, especially as images of Mary. The sacred narratives transmitted are still awakened in the viewer. The image nonetheless tends to function not as illustration, but as personal incarnation or embodiment in and for individual devotion (devotional image), as well as, especially, in community worship. The *cultic image* is



Nam June Paik, *My Faust—Channel 2* (1989), Carl Solway Gallery, Cincinnati, Ohio
Material: butterfly, a 25-"quasar" 10-in. monitor, 2 Sony laser disc players, quartz geode, two fossil slabs, nautilus mussels. Antique wood frame: 266 × 127 × 81 cm.; wood pedestal: 61, 173, 122 cm. Through the frame, multiplied video images, with a Neo-Gothic-altar-like set of furniture, the artist shifts the reception of the image media ironically into the vicinity of religious image-worship. (Rolf Engelbart)



On the occasion of his canonization in 1987, the photographic likeness of Saint Giuseppe Moscati (d. 1927) hangs over his grave in the Church of Il Gesù Nuovo in Naples. Without hesitation the veneration of a saint makes use of photography for a modern icon. The artistic value of the picture is not high; what 'counts' is the authenticity, guaranteed by technology, of its replication of the *vera icon* (Lat., 'true image'—a copy of the face of Christ).

brought sacrifices; it is anointed, bathed, attired, kissed, given gifts, borne in processions, dealt with as a real person. Conversely, personal activity, in the sense of wonderworking, is expected of the sacred image. It heals, punishes, wards off dangers, and impedes robbery and injury. Sacred images are generally venerated in certain → places, and are nevertheless regularly connected to a trans-regionally venerated deity or saint. The authenticity of the incarnation or embodiment can emphasized by way of bodily relics, or vouched for by legends that connect the image with an authorized portrait. Thus, Luke the Evangelist is presented in legend as a painter, who has handed down the actual appearance of Mary. Especially, in the tradition of the Eastern Churches, the so-called *acheiropoiete* (Gk., '[image] not made by [human] hand') are prized, or, in the West, personified as *vera icon* (Lat., 'true image'). The images referred to Saint Veronica go back not to a single painter, but to direct 'body-impressions' of Christ, and have permanently preserved the image of Christ.

European Christian Tradition

2. The *Christian European tradition* of the religious image was influenced by a tension between two propensities, that of pro-image Greco-Roman cultural traditions on the one hand, and the Biblical prohibition on the other. Many instances of early Christian martyrdom were due to a refusal to collaborate in veneration of the imperial image, which was connected to veneration of the Emperor himself, and which ran counter to the exclusive claim of the biblical God. Even a representational image of the biblical God as incarnate in Christ, however, at first fell under the prohibition. The gradual relaxation of the latter may be connected with the fact that, as a result of its development into the religion of the state, Christianity, from the fourth century onward, surrendered its formally exclusive status, and simply replaced the polytheistic cults across the board. Thus, the various forms of the veneration of Mary annexed the earlier cults of the mother deities. Instead of the kinds of statues that had been discredited through the older sculptures of the deities, images were at first limited to painted *icons* (Gk., *eikón,* 'picture'). In keeping with the prohibition of images, and against the openly admitted effectiveness of the image of a god in pagan antiquity, the fact that the image was of human creation was most effectively downplayed. Instead, its authenticity was supported by legends of an origin in apostolic times. The theological discussion of images in the ancient Church appeals to the Incarnation, God's becoming visible in Jesus Christ. It uses a terminology that comes from Plato, by whom sensibly perceptible things were classified as copies of the 'ideas,' the 'original' images (→ Platonism). This argumentation could be adduced both in justification of the veneration of images and for challenging them. Theological positions can generally be questioned in terms of their economic and political backgrounds.

The Image Controversy

In the oscillating Byzantine *image controversy* of the eighth and ninth centuries, what seems to have been important to the emperors, who were opposed to the images, is the reinforcement of imperial central power. In 787, the pro-image Second Council of Nicaea decreed that images might indeed be paid reverence, provided that it was not adoration; reverence of the copy was supposed to lead ultimately to reverence of the original image. In the Middle Ages, this ruling became the minimum consensus, which made it possible for the West to develop painting, and altar and cathedral sculpture, and for the → Orthodox Churches of the East to celebrate a liturgy of → icons. The same council, in its acts, decreed the priority of the doctrinal position of the Church on the production of images, assigning to painters its mere execution. This position changed only toward the end of the Middle Ages, when artistic production was gradually attributed an intrinsic value, and painting, including the representation of perspective, was shifted from the sphere of the artisans into proximity with the scholarly development of a worldview. New genres of image emerged, no longer attached to the sacred image and biblical history, and allotted not a cultic or liturgical interest, but an intellectual and aesthetic one.

In parallel to this revaluation of the production of images as a creative activity, the movements of the Reformation once more produced iconoclasm. In Lutheran Protestantism, a tolerant attitude toward religious images won the day; owing to the demise of the veneration of the saints, however, it was restricted to illustrative didactic functions. With more consistency, reformed Protestantism banned all images, and even religious

symbols like the cross, from the space maintained for divine services. The Catholic Counter-Reformation appealed defensively to the formulations of the Second Council of Nicaea, and integrated traditional popular images of religious inspiration into the large-scale artistic program of the Baroque. Since the Renaissance, the successful production and reception of images has generally been conducted no longer under the aspect of cult and religion, predominantly, but under that of → art. A renewed paradigm-shift has occurred since the nineteenth century with the invention of photography and its corollary developments, film, television, and video. In the present, the religious and the artistic image are equally caught up in the process of a general visualization of communication.

Judaism

3. The Biblical prohibition of images (Exod 20:4-5) is a component of the proclamation of the Covenant, conveyed to the people of Israel by Moses. Correspondingly, the Biblical history of Israel is impregnated with that people's demarcation and separation from surrounding religions, with their bestial or anthropomorphic figures. But even the presentation of an image of God was regarded as a transgression of the Covenant. In the Ark of the Covenant, and later in the temple of Jerusalem, instead of a statue of God, the tables of the Law protected the Covenant. Their place is occupied in the synagogues by the scrolls of the Torah. This arrangement means not only a rejection of the image, but a positive indication that the divine service is performed as the *doing* of God's *word*—a thought that, in its social dimension, was repeatedly seized upon by Christian groupings who were critical of the image. Vis-à-vis images in general, the position of Judaism is just as strongly differentiated as it is with Christian confessions. Decoration in image is to be found not only in the Ark of the Covenant and the Temple, but also in synagogues from antiquity (see the famous paintings in the Dura Europos Synagogue) until modern times. The participation of Jewish artists in modern art—one may think of Marc Chagall, Chaim Soutine, Mark Rothko, or Barnet Newman—is just as unquestionable as is the validity of the prohibition of the presentation of an image of God in Judaism.

The Image in Modern Art

4. The critical position toward images that the Bible articulates currently has less of a parallel in religion than it does, in a certain sense, in *art*. True, under the increasing pressure of the visual communications media, Protestant confessions especially, sometimes rather helplessly, attempt to organize divine service and instruction more attractively through an application of the media of image. Nevertheless, in modern art, not only the divisions of genre in painting that have developed since the Renaissance, the claim of similarity with a given object, and the conventions of perspective in the reproduction of space have become questionable; the very concept of image is critically thematized, or even denied, through a radical abstraction and an art of object, of action, and of concept.

Art in the present is not so much the apposite instance for the production of images; rather, it would be designated as a critical school of meanings for the *reception* of the image in the age of the media. One of its ambitions is to make known the religious quality of the messages visualized in the media; another is to thematize the ever more cultic phenomenal forms of its own reception. At the extreme, this tendency means the rejection or obfuscation of the image by the artist—something rather of an 'internal' iconoclasm.

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→ *Art/Aesthetics, Perception, Vision/Auditory Experience*

Rolf Engelbart

Immortality

1. ‘Immortality’ denotes an eternal duration of life, an existence without end and death. Principally, it counts as a characteristic of God or the gods, and constitutes one of the most important differences between their existence and that of human beings,[1] who are therefore called ‘mortals.’ However, there are various approaches and transitions. The gods can die—only after a very long life, granted—as they, too (e.g. in certain Eastern religions), are caught in the chain of rebirths (*samsara*). In addition, most religions celebrate extraordinary persons, who are snatched away at their death and—like Hercules—deified, in an ‘apotheosis.’ Human immortality is duration beyond death, and requires that the latter not have occurred, or have been overcome, and existence to have been transformed: rebirth or resurrection. Human immortality is usually connected with the supposition of a soul.

History of Religions in General

2. In most societies, the first concern in a case of death is a ritually correct → funeral or burial. Only when the ceremonies of transition have been executed for the dead, and they have been ascribed their new status, is solidarity of the survivors ensured, and the group protected against the potential hostility of the dead.[2] They will now join the society of their ancestors, live in heaven, or in or under the earth, and need not wander as ghosts or baneful spirits. Thus, Moses will sleep with his fathers (Deut 31:16), and Abraham, old and weary of life, be gathered to his (Gen 25:8). Individual immortality as such plays no role; the dead live on in their families, tribe, or people. One keeps mindful of one’s death, or succumbs to forgetfulness, and dies for good and all. The scriptural religions definitively modify this basic notion of tribal and traditional societies.

Greece

3. *Specific religions:* a) The ancient high cultures—for which Greece is taken here as prototypical—know only a shadowy, dreamlike existence in the underworld for the overwhelming majority of their dead (Odyssey, 11, 207-208). There they find a country without a return, terrible and hideous, repulsive to the very gods (Iliad, 20, 65). It is true, a → hero can gain im-

mortality by the renown of his deeds. Although he is remembered in epic and song, however, still he leads a joyless life in the underworld. Achilles had rather toil as a drudge on earth than rule as lord of the dead (Odyssey, 11, 488-491). Only some few, like Menelaus, are rapt to *Elysion*—a kind of isle of paradise (Odyssey 4, 561). A change occurs (sixth to fifth centuries BCE) with the → Mysteries, over which Demeter and Dionysus preside. These assure the initiate, the *mystai*, of a blessed life in the beyond (→ Hereafter), independently of origin and regardless of previous behavior (Burkert). Perhaps Plato owes his considerations on the immortality of the soul—especially in the Phaedo and the Phaedrus—to mystery traditions and the 'Orphics,' although he concurs with them, and as a philosopher, seeks to transcend them.

Egypt

b) Pharaonic → *Egypt* is a case apart. Immortality is a privilege of kings, and ensures the survival of the kingdom. After the fall of the Old Kingdom (end of the third century BCE), it is gradually democratized, and begins to include the group of the courtiers and administrators. Tombs and rites—like → mummification, and inscription in the Book of the Dead—make for immortality's 'outer stabilization,'[3] inasmuch as the dead now live in memory. As for the 'inner,' the dead must first win immortality themselves, before a Court of the Dead. Here their hearts are weighed. If they are found in balance with *Ma'at*, justice, then the dead shall live; otherwise the dead-eater, a composite monster, devours them.

Judaism

c) Abraham lives on, for he is to become a great people (Gen 12:2, etc.). By contrast, individual immortality is attested in *Judaism* only from Hellenism onward (Dan 12:2, 2 Macc 7), doubtless even occasioned by cases of martyrdom. It is inherited by the Western religions, although it is not based on the majority of the Hebrew Bible conceptions. All details aside, Paul's conviction prevails: "The last enemy to be destroyed is death" (1 Cor 15:26; cf. Rev 20:14). While Paul still regards new life after death as newly created by God ('new creation,' *kainé ktísis*), *Christianity* receives the immortality of the individual soul according to Plato's conceptualization, through Tertullian (c. 200 CE). The soul is immortal, and the resurrection of the flesh is awaited for the end of the ages. After a judgment in the afterlife, a twin destiny awaits the dead—every one according to his or her deeds or faith or predestination or promise—redemption or reprobation, a blessed life or eternal torment. In Catholicism, besides → heaven and → hell, purgatory is added, as a possible interim state of purification.

Christianity

Hinduism/Buddhism

d) Models of immortality in *Hinduism* and *Buddhism* receive their orientation from the concept of an annihilation of mutability. Both religions are familiar with the concept of rebirth (and re-death). Hindu teaching on rebirth takes its point of departure in an individual soul, that—in certain circumstances, after a long sojourn in an interim realm—enters another body. Buddhism has it that the conditions for later lives are posited in earlier ones, without the continuity of a traveling 'soul.' The crucial factor here is *karma*, the sum of one's good and evil deeds, which determines where rebirth is to arise; the same notion occurs in Hinduism. The ultimate goal is not to be reborn again, since each new birth also entails one's suffering and eventual death. Hindu conceptualizations of immortality include the ascent of each soul's individual *atman*, or earthly personhood, into the

impersonal, highest principle *Brahman*. The goal of the Buddhist salvific path is the 'deathless' (in Pali, *amata*) nirvana.

Modern Age

4. Hans Jonas has established that "the person of today is not inclined to the thought of immortality."[4] Sigmund Freud judges oppositely that, "in the unconscious, each of us is convinced of [our own] immortality."[5] But the contradiction is only apparent: it is only that, now that the answers of religion have been discarded, and science and technology have made their own impression, a hope in immortality has become privatized. The visible side, here, is a cult of youthfulness, practiced in recreation, trends, and sports. More recently, cloning has aroused a hope of immortality through reduplication.

1. Epic of Gilgamesh, 10, 3, 1-5.
2. Gladigow, Burkhard, "Naturae Deus Humanae Mortis," in: Stephenson, Gunther (ed.), Leben und Tod in den Religionen, Darmstadt 1980, 119-134.
3. Assmann 1991.
4. Jonas 1963, 44.
5. Freud 1960, 341.

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→ *Bioethics, Death and Dying, Funeral/Burial, Gnosticism, God/Gods/The Sacred, Hero/Heroism, Mysteries, Reincarnation, Soul*

Martin Treml

Indian Subcontinent

Well over a billion people, of various languages and cultures, live together on the Indian subcontinent. Cohabitation of cultures and religions is astonishingly peaceful, and conflicts are the exception. It is not only religious groups as such that jostle one another, Hindus crowding against Muslims, Sikhs, and Tamils; confrontations cut through the religions themselves, as, for instance, in Hinduism, when nationalists see India's identity as embodied in religion, while liberal forces set their sites on the federal and democratic structures of the Indian constitution. There are rifts between the parallel states established after the Second World War.

Veda

1. *Vedic religion and Hinduism*: Today's → Hinduism has been transmitted from the Vedic age (c. 1500–500 BCE). Priests (Brahmans) created the sacred scriptures of the Veda. From 500 BCE onward, religious reform


AFGHANISTAN
C H I N A
Ladakh
Zanskar
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
HIMAL PRADESH
Exile of Fourteenth Dalai Lama
Dharamsala
Kailash
Badshahee Mosque: 17th cent., one of the largest mosques in the world
Lahore
Amritsar
Golden Temple
Gangotri
Source of the Ganga
Svayambhunath Stupa and Bodnath Stupa
PUNJAB
Traditional Ashrams Maharishi Mashesh Yogi Ashram (Transcendental Meditation); Divine Life Society
Rishikesh
Hardwar
PAKISTAN
HARYANA
Temple of Shiva, Lord of the Animals
ARUNACHAL PRADESH
New Delhi
Birthplace of the Buddha
Krishna Cult ISKCON (Hare Krishna)
Mathura
Vrindavan
UTTAR
Ganga
Kathmandu
Lumbini
Ayodhya
Pasupatinath
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
Babri Mosque or (asserted) Temple of Rama
NEPAL
ASSAM
NAGALAND
Only temple of Brahma in India
Pushkar
Kusinara
Cremation of the Buddha
PRADESH
MEGHALAYA
RAJASTHAN
Benares
Most sacred place in India
Thatta
Mount Abu
Allahabad
Ganga
BANGLADESH
MANIPUR
Tombs of Muslim Rulers 14th–16th cent.
Bodh Gayat
Enlightenment of the Buddha
TRIPURA
MIZORAM
Ujjain
MADHYA PRADESH
GUJARAT
BIHAR
WEST BENGAL
Calcutta
Dakshineshwar Kali Temple (Ramakrishna)
MYANMAR
ORISSA
Jagannath Temple; Ratha Yatra, largest chariot festival in India
Pura
MAHARASHTRA
Nasik
Bombay
Poona
Osho Ashram
ANDRA PRADESH
GOA
KARNATAKA
Puttaparthi
Prasanthi Nilayam Ashram (Satya Sai Baba)
Sravana Belgola
Statue of the Gommateshvara/Bahubali
Kanchipuram
Temple installation (Shiva, Vishnu, Parvati, and others)
Pondicherry
Chidambaram
Shiva Temple
Sri Aurobindo Ashram; Auroville
KERALA
TAMIL NADU
SRI LANKA
Rameswaram
Shiva Temple
Anuradhapura
Stupas from the second century BCE
Kandy
Tooth relic of the Buddha
Adam's Peak
F.D.2005
INDIAN SUBCONTINENT
Sacred Topography
Sacred Mountain
Hindu
Buddhist
Islamic
Christian
Jain
Sikh
Kumbhamela Bathing Festival (quadrennially, in each of the four cities by turns)
New Religious Movements
Religious Minorities
Hindus
Buddhists
Parsi
Christians
Jains
Sikhs
Tribal Religions
Predominant Religious Membership
Hindus
Muslims
Buddhists
Boundaries
State Boundaries
Provincial Boundaries
0
500
1000 km



A secular party mounted this campaign slogan in New Delhi in 1985. It failed to have adequate effect, however: in 1998 a Hindu nationalist party came to power (with the largest plurality since 1996) for the first time since the establishment of the state, with Atal Behari of the Bharatiya Janata Party at the head of the government.

movements such as Buddhism and Jainism arose. The founders of these religions, the Buddha and Mahavira, found their disciples in the sectors of the population that Brahmans accorded a share in cult and salvation only inadequately if at all. After the fall of the first Indian Empire, created by the Emperor Ashoka (268–233 BCE), who confessed Buddhism, India stood under the influence of neighboring peoples for nigh on half a millennium. The Brahmans, meanwhile, maintained their traditions, interpreting and integrating the new cultural elements in their own sense. Beginning in the third century BCE, out of the synthesis between Brahmanic conceptions and local forms of belief, what is called 'Hinduism' arose. Hindu religions appearing then had little still in common with Vedic religiosity.

Islam

2. *Islam in India:* a) The absence of Indian political unity facilitated the incursion of Muslim conquerors from Afghanistan and central Asia. These achieved only temporary successes, however, and it was not until 1206 CE that the first Sultanate of Delhi was founded. In the sixteenth century, Mongols conquered, and once more an Islamic ruling house, this time a Turco-Mongol one, prevailed. The Delhi Sultanate had become enfeebled, and the new Islamic rule held nearly the whole of India in subjugation until the end of the seventeenth century.

With a severe administration in place, and by privileging certain castes, as well as administrative officials, the Mongols were able to maintain their predominance over a long period of time. In the hundred years spanning reigns of Emperors Akbar (1556–1605), Jahangir (1605–1627), and Shah Jahan (1627–1658), the Mongolian Empire celebrated its heyday. It was Shah Jahan who ordered the production of India's most famous architectural installation, the Taj Mahal in Agra.

Due to the new rulers' strict monotheism, and their rigorous rejection of the caste system, there was no fusion of Hinduism with Islam, as there had been in other cases. Hinduism and Islam coexisted, although individuals were obliged to convert. While Akbar attempted to initiate conciliatory conversations between the religions, they were without result.



Halting in front of a house, a Jain monk accepts an invitation to a meal. Circling him thrice, believers utter the formula, "Come, enter! Food and drink here are pure!" Thereby they indicate to him that the nourishment to be provided has been prepared without animal products, and that the drinking water has been boiled. For Jains, the principle of not harming other living beings (*ahimsa*) is key. The wandering ascetic carries a fan, with which, lest he injure any insects, he cleans his place before sitting. He belongs to the *Digambara* Jains, that of the 'clothed in air,' and lives altogether naked, on the model of founder Mahavira. The 'white clothed,' on the other hand, and Jain nuns, wear white garments. Indian ascetics, who, like this Jain, renounce home, family, possessions, sexual intercourse, and sense pleasures, do live apart from society; but they adopt the social role of spiritual counselors, and provide their benefactors with an opportunity for good works as they go about their begging rounds. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

Attempts to erect Islam into a religion of the majority by the destruction of temples, forced marriages, and the application of violence, failed. Nor had such measures been motivated exclusively by religion; rather they served mostly to implement political interests.

The foundation of a double state, an Islamic Pakistan and an India determined by Hinduism, renders Indian coexistence difficult. By way of the conversion of, especially, lower castes to Islam, the number of Muslims has increased so radically that India today, after Indonesia, is the largest Islamic country in the world. Cultural exchange occasioned the influence of personalities like poet-saints Kabir (1440–1518) and Nanak (1469–1539), who sought to fuse Islamic and Hindu standpoints. Their teachings were influenced by the Bhakti movement and Sufism. Nanak and Kabir rejected the caste system, but retained reverence of the gurus and the doctrine of rebirth.

Sikhs

b) Nanak became the founder of the *Sikh religion.* Like Islam, Nanak represented the view, also prevailing in Islam, that there was but one God, of whom no image might be made. He called his followers Sikhs ('pupils'). The Gurus, Nanak's successors, gave the new religion its definitive form. Under the fifth Guru, Arjun (1581–1606), the central sanctuary of the Sikhs, the Golden Temple, was erected in Amritsar, and the sayings of Nanak, Kabir, and other saints were compiled in the *Adi Granth* ("Primitive Book"). The tenth and last Guru was Govind Singh (1675–1708), who led the Sikhs in their successful struggle with the Mongols. Since his time, the Sikhs have institutionalized themselves as a *khalsa* ('brotherhood'). All male Sikhs have *Singh,* 'Lion,' as their forename, intended as an indication of their readiness to defend the faith.

Syncretistic reformers like Kabir and Nanak represented only marginal phenomena, and at no point in time can an Islamization of India be said to have occurred. The majority of Hindus either entered into an understanding with the Mongol rulers, or else attached themselves more firmly

to the traditions of Hinduism. This entrenchment was accompanied by a glorification of the past, such as that later taken up by the Hindu nationalists. The rule of the Moguls came to an end in the eighteenth century. The last Grand Mogul, Aurangzeb (1658–1707) did extend the area of his authority once more, but finally failed due to self-made problems within his administration.

British Colony

3. *Age of colonialism, and Neo-Hinduism:* The interests of the English in India were at first purely economic. A more extensive engagement was occasioned by French territorial claims that threatened English trade supremacy. Between mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the English annexed all strategically important parts of India. The East India Company, founded in 1600, which controlled all of England's Asian commerce, had been succumbing to various elements of flawed planning, and came to the brink of ruin; it was dissolved in 1858, when the English Crown assumed direct rule over India.

In terms of the history of religion, special significance attaches to the introduction of the English language and British education. Now Europe's traditionally Christian culture began to impregnate India. Beginning in the 1830s, Indian intellectuals sought to reinterpret their own Hindu tradition in terms of European concepts and values, producing the phenomenon of *Neo-Hinduism.* The latter adopted the aim of 'modernizing' Hinduism, by purging it of 'superstition,' 'exaggerated ritualism' (→ Image/Iconoclasm), 'idolatry,' and the caste system. In a renewed Hinduism of this sort, the opportunity was seen to meet the challenge of Europe's cultural hegemony, and to strengthen India's sense of nation. Neo-Hinduism found scant echo among the broad population, but had a great effect on the image of India in the West.

4. *Hindu nationalism:* Even before India and Pakistan became independent in 1947, Hindus and Muslims had had their differences. During the process of division, some million persons died, and even afterwards tensions often erupted in violence, especially, and most recently, in 1992 in Ayodhya (→ Conflict/Violence). In that city, the great Babri Mosque had stood since 1528.

Destruction of a Mosque

Although there had been no center of the veneration of Rama in Ayodhya before the construction of the mosque there, in the mind of Hindu nationalists this is precisely the birthplace of the god Rama. On 6 December 1992, the strife escalated, and a large crowd destroyed the mosque; thousands were killed in street fighting. The unrest was not a spontaneous reaction on the part of emotionalized Hindus, however; rather it was the result of political agitation. In a kind of mythologic self-staging, political representatives appealed to ideals impregnated with religion, especially the acts of god-king Rama, which they ranked as an exemplar, and on this based their purpose of a Hinduization of India (*hindutva*).

Hindu chauvinistic movements consciously draw on the spirit of religious communality that typifies India, and identify Indian culture with Hinduism. In addition, they play the various caste interests against one another, although the caste system is more a reflection of social inequalities than it is their cause. Even the lowest castes observe ritual differences of rank, and they are in solidarity with their own group, although not with the totality of the disadvantaged.

The Non-Hindu Religions

5. Of the Indian population, 81.3% are Hindus, 11% are Muslims (8% Sunni, 3% Shiite), 2.4% are Christians, 1.1% Sikhs, 0.5 Jains, and 0.7% Buddhists. There are also small communities and villages with tribal religions; and there are Jews, Parsees, and others.

a) There remain only a few, usually small, *Buddhist* communities. Great importance, however, attaches to places of pilgrimage that mark the Buddha's stations of life: Bodh-Gaya, Benares, and Kushinara. Passing over other movements, one may cite the mass movement led by Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891–1986). An untouchable himself, Ambedkar wished to improve the lot of the lower classes through a conversion to Buddhism. Several million untouchables answered his call, but, after his death, the neo-Buddhist movement stagnated, as the Indian state denied the casteless, with their conversion, their constitutionally guaranteed rights to reserved education and positions of employment.

b) Approximately half of the some twenty million Indian *Christians* are former casteless. The area of their greatest extension is in southern India, where, according to legend, the Apostle Thomas worked. With European merchants, representatives of various Christian confessions also came to India, but their mission was always under the disadvantage that it was that of the colonial rulers, and so it was always only relatively successful. The Christian presence was visible less in matters of religion than through schools and hospitals.

c) With the more than 100 million Indian *Muslims*, a particular variant of Islam has developed, one strongly influenced by Hinduism. One of the points of conflict lies in the contradiction between Indian law and the application of the Sharia. In 1986, after the Supreme Court had sentenced a Muslim to make support payments to his wife, from whom he had 'divorced' himself in his old age, protests arose, since the decision contradicted the determinations of the Sharia. To prevent a loss of votes, the congressional government then exempted the Muslim population from Indian secular family law. Since the victory of the National Parties in 1998, a similar concession in the future is unlikely.

d) *Jainism*, whose teaching on many points can be compared with Buddhism, places special emphasis on the prohibition of killing even the smallest of living beings. Thus, Jains wear a mouth covering, lest they unintentionally swallow insects. Jainism exercised its greatest spiritual and political influence between the fifth and eleventh centuries. Jains live preponderantly in Gujarat and Rajasthan, and are often merchants and wholesalers or retailers, since other activities, farming, for example, can easily involve the killing of small living things.

e) Seventy percent of the worldwide 100,000 members of the *Parsees* live in India (→ Zoroastrianism), and of these, seventy percent, again, live in Bombay. Their settling in India harks back to their flight from repression by Persian Muslims in the eighth century. They appeared quite early on the economic scene, and today they belong to the most well-to-do population group in India. The main problem for the Indian Parsees is in their continuously diminishing membership, owing to their emigration and low population growth.

f) At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the *Sikhs* maintained their own state in the Punjab, and after Indian independence mounted claims to autonomy once more. With their demand for a Sikh nation, to be called 'Khalistan,' their separatist attitudes began to intensify in the

1980s. Confrontations with the Indian central government culminated in 1984 in the storming of the Golden Temple in Amritsar, in which militant Sikhs had sequestered themselves. Hundreds of persons died in the assault, and in the same year Indira Gandhi fell victim to an assassination at the hands of her Sikh bodyguards. This event again resulted in numerous acts of retaliation against Sikhs. In the meantime, support for the militant wing of the Sikh community has dwindled.

g) Preponderantly in central and northeastern India, some seventy million members of *tribal religions* (persons called *adivasi*) live in some six hundred different tribes. From time immemorial, they have been driven into areas of retreat, and many have given up their own religions and attached themselves to Hinduism, Christianity, or Islam. Despite certain halfhearted measures on the part of the government, the *adivasi* remain disadvantaged in the areas of education and employment. Depletion of raw materials and construction of dam sites further limit their living space, and compel them to resettle.

Neighboring Countries

6. After the Second World War, national states formed from the British colonial area of the Indian subcontinent. Religious differences were some of the main grounds for the boundaries between them. Tensions have had strong impact on politics until today, not only in India's relationship with its neighbors Pakistan and Sri Lanka, but also in the face of the giants China and the Soviet Union.

a) *Pakistan:* Nearly one hundred percent of the population of Pakistan is Muslim, of which ninety percent belong to the Sunnite belief. Besides the second strongest Muslim group, that of the Shiites, there are also Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu minorities. Tensions between Sunnites and Shiites have grown in recent years: with numerous terrorist attacks on both sides. The Islamic reform community *Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat,* founded in 1889, is unrecognized by the state. It is exposed to strong reprisals owing to the claim of its founder to be a prophet of Allah.

b) *Bangladesh:* After military intervention on the part of India, former East Pakistan became independent in 1971, under the name of Bangladesh. As in the one-time motherland, Islam is the state religion, with 87% of the population being predominantly Sunnites. The largest minority religion is Hinduism, with 12% of the population. The more than twenty-year-long conflict with the guerrilla movement *Shanti Bahini* was resolved with a peace accord in 1997. The guerillas had been fighting for the interests of the Buddhist tribes in the Southeast of the country, now accorded greater rights subsequently to the peace agreement. Now, quite the other way around, the some 300,000 Muslims in Bangladesh feel threatened. Although settled in the region by the government, they are now to surrender their areas once more.

c) *Nepal:* With 89.5% percent of the population, the concentration of Hindus is stronger in Nepal than in India. The two countries are closely tied traditionally, although the relationship is not altogether unproblematic. The 5.3% minority of Nepalese Buddhists live in the land of the birth of their founder, who was born in Lumbini. In the Kathmandu Valley, a special form of Buddhism has developed, characterized by the influence of Shivaite and tantric elements, as well as by the adoption of numerous Hindu deities. The Muslim population make up 2.7% of the whole; Christians are represented by 50,000 believers.

d) *Sri Lanka:* In Sri Lanka, the population is divided into 69.1% Buddhists, 15.5% Hindus, 7.6% Muslims, and 6.9% Catholics. Buddhism, introduced from India in the third century BCE, was very closely knitted with the ruling class from the start. As in Burma, so also in Sri Lanka, *Theravada* Buddhism was the dominant force, and this remained the case after independence and the introduction of democracy in 1947. The distinction into politically active village monks and ascetic forest monks is characteristic. The former are often reproached with too great an involvement in the world, while the latter are seen as suitably realizing the monastic ideal. Once a year, then, the laity make a pilgrimage to one of the six hundred forest monks, to offer an expression of their reverence for them. As the Tamil minority felt repressed by the Singhalese majority, war broke out in 1983 between government troops and the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam). Tamils demand a state of their own in Sri Lanka, and although the battles have already cost several dozen thousand lives, all peace initiatives have failed up until now.

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→ *Buddhism, Caste, Colonialism, Gandhi, Hinduism, Islam, Zoroastrianism*

Thomas Schweer

Indian Subcontinent: Time Chart

Era 1: Pre-Vedic Era (until c. 1500 BCE)

c. 6000 BCE	Settlements in Baluchistan	Finds in the Neolithic Age (stone weapons, painted and unpainted clay vessels) attest to cattle-raising and soil cultivation.
c. 2500–1500	Indus Culture: Flourishing Moment and Late Phase	In the industrial (Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro) and in other regions (Punjab and

		Gujarat), a culture around several cities, to some extent thickly settled (up to 40,000 inhabitants), with a developed infrastructure (irrigation and canals, streets; houses of 'standardized' bricks or tiles, norms for volume and weight. The (unitary) script of this civilization has not yet been decoded. Thus, it can only be conjectured that terracotta and pictographic seal script from this time denote deities ("Proto-Shiva," "mother goddesses," etc.).
Era 2: Vedic time (c. 1500–500 BCE)		
since c. 1500	Immigration of the Aryans	In the pantheon of the *Arya* (self-designation, "the noble," "the hospitable") are combined phenomena of nature, moral principles, and good and evil powers—almost always divinized, and unconnected with divine images or temples. In religious life, sacrifice and spell occupy an important place.
c. 10th cent.	The *Rigveda* Collection is almost completed. On the Field of Kuru, the Battle of the Bharatas	The era takes its name from the four Vedas (*Rigveda, Samaveda, Yajurveda, Atharvaveda*), the most ancient religious texts of India, at first transmitted orally. The

		tribes of Vedic India battle for predominance. One of the battles is later developed in literature, in the Mahabharata epic.
9th–7th cent.	Sacrificial research as independent. The doctrine of Karma and rebirth	Brahmin priests claim the highest position in the *varna* system. In the more ancient *Upanishad*s, a monism surfaces. It is expressed in terms of a nature philosophy, in whose framework the concept of the identity of the universe with the individual soul plays an important role (*Brahman-atman* teaching).
Era 3: Ascetical reform movements. Theistic developments (c. 500 BCE to 300 CE)		
5th/4th cent.	Jainist and Buddhist monastic orders. Rational focus on the present life. Redemption through knowledge	Mahavira (c. 500) and the Buddha (566–486 or 5th/4th cent.), both of the *Kshatriya* (Warrior) caste, found monastic movements, that, by way of avoiding the world, and by powerlessness, seek to attain liberation of the self. The materialists (*nastikas*) turn against the sacrificial system. Beginning of the development of the dualistic systems *Samkhya* and → *Yoga*.
from c. 300 BCE	Establishment of the pantheon	Formation of the Hindu pantheon of Vedic Brahmanic deities, and deities of local cults. Composition of the

		Ramayana and the *Mahabharata* (with *Bhagavadgita*).
3rd cent. BCE	Flourishing moment of the Maurya Empire	Under Akosha (268–233 BCE), the Empire of the Mauryas (founded by Candragupta c. 320) attains dimensions nearly coextensive with those of India itself. It accomplishes this expansion by incorporating broad regions of Southern India. Political promotion of Buddhism, missionary activity in Southern India and Sri Lanka.
c. 200 BCE–300 CE	Syncretistic cultures in the North and Northwest	Greeks, Scythians, Kushanas, Parthians: Iranian and Hellenistic influences. The latter begin with Alexander the Great's (327–325 BCE) campaign, and are promoted with the foundation of an Indo-Greek Empire by Demetrios (182 BCE). Greco-Buddhist synthesis in the "Gandhara culture."
c. 100 BCE	Theistic developments	Vishnu, Shiva, and their phenomenal forms gain increasing importance.
Era 4: Classical Hinduism: Flourishing moment and late phase (c. 300–850 CE)		
320–497	Era of the flourishing of religion, literature, and art in the Gupta Empire	Science and handiwork, as well, are alive throughout almost all of India. In the

		late Gupta era, the first Hindu Temples appear (Aihole, Deogarh). Fixed ceremonies of veneration develop (divine service: *puja*).
6^{th}–9^{th} CE	Regional Empires	In Northern India, in the realm of Harsha of Kanauji (606–642 CE), the first appearance or Shaktism (*Devi-Mahatmya*). In the South, Pallavas, Chalukyas, and Rashtrakutas promote Shivaism.
after 600	Beginning of the *bhakti* movement in Southern India	Veneration characterized by devotionalism is originally addressed to local deities, and later are referred to Vishnu or Shiva. A few centuries later, the movement embraces all of Northern India.
c. 700	Shankara	According to tradition, influential philosopher and itinerant ascetic Shankara founds important monastic centers throughout India. Of his literary works, the most important are the commentaries on the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgita, and the Brahman sutras. These are purely monistic (*advaitavedanta*). In later centuries, they were invoked politically (e.g., in the Vijayanagara Realm,

		in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in order to unite the Hindus in the struggle against the Muslims).
7th–9th cent.	The Parsees in India	In the flight from Islam (Arab rule since 642 CE), in several waves, Zoroastrians abandon Iran and settle in today's Federal State of Gujarat.
Era 5: Echoes of the classical time. Islam in India. Religious communities (c. 850–1850)		
998–1027	Mahmud of Ghazni in Northern India	As early as 712, Arabs occupy the Southern Sindh, and gradually move up the river, in the valley of the Indus. The great Islamic onslaughts, however, follow, over the Indian Northwest. Afghani field commander Mahmud of Ghazni alone leads seventeen campaigns into Northern India. Destruction of important temple installations, including Mathura, Kanauj, and the Somnath Temple.
1000–1300	Scholastic syntheses of the Vishnuites and Shivaites	Buddhism vanishes from India (not, however, from other parts of the subcontinent: Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan). Beginning in the ninth century, however, Shivaism flourishes in Southern India (under the Cholas), in Central India (under the Paramaras and

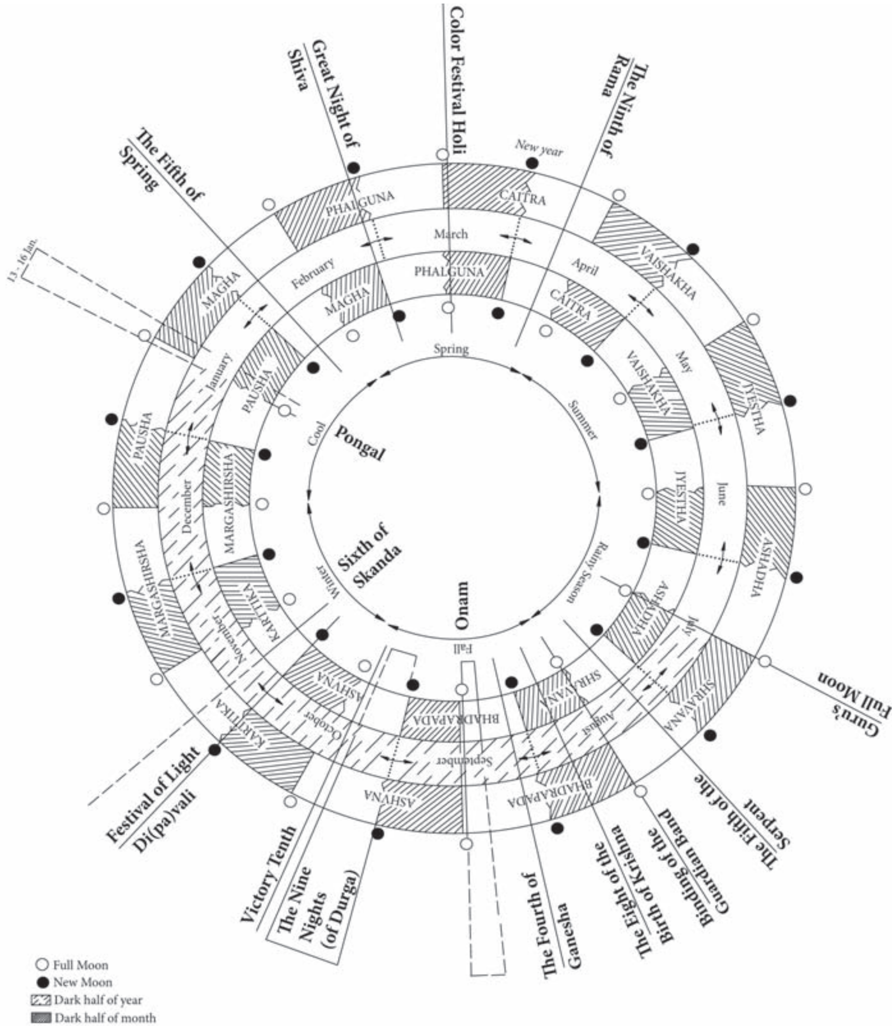
		Chandellas), and in Kashmir. Representatives: Abhinavagupta (around 1000, Kashmirian Shivaism), Shrikantha (around 1150, tradition: *Shaivasiddhanta*), etc. The Vishnuite tradition, as well, is further developed: Ramanuja (1056–1137, *Vishishtadvaita*), Madhva (1199–1278, *Dvaitavedanta*), etc.
from 1192/1206	Northern India under Muslim government. Beginning of the Sufi influence	In the Battle of Tarain (1192), Mahmud of Ghur defeats the Rajputi under Prthviraja. In 1206, Qutb-ud-Din Aibak founds the Sultanate of Delhi.
15th–17th cent.	New thrusts in the veneration of Rama and Krishna. Islamic and Hindu syncretism. The Sikhs	The ascetical monastic order of the Ramanandi, still important today, goes back to Ramananda (c. 1200–1270), devotee of Rama. Important teachers from this period are: Vallabha (1479–1531; Religious community: *Vallabhacaris*) and Caitanya (1486–1533, *Gaudyas*). Attempts at a reconciliation of between Islam and Hinduism by Kabir (1440–1518, *Kabirpanthis*). Guru Nanak (1469–1539) founds the religious community of the Sikhs.
1526–1858	The Mogul Empire	The Sultanate of Delhi is followed by the Mogul period.

		The most important Mogul Emperor, Akbar (1556–1605), strives for a synthesis of the religions (*Din-i-Ilahi*). Under Emperor Aurangzeb (1658–1707) the Empire reaches its greatest extent.
Era 6: From colony to republic. Modern Hinduism (1858 to today)		
1857/58	The Great Uprising. The end of the Mogul Empire. India becomes part of the British Empire	Revolt of Indian soldiers of the British Indian army (Great Mutiny), 1857. The trigger is the breach of a religious taboo: the new muskets seemed to have been smeared with beef fat. The East India Company (founded in 1600) is dissolved in 1858, and the British Crown assumes direct rule. Queen Victoria is called Empress of India from 1877.
19th cent.	Emergence of Neo-Hindu Reform Movements	For years, Christian missioners protested the burning alive of widows, the caste system, veneration of the images of gods, etc., and the protests are incorporated in the teaching of various religious movements. The Brahma Samaj (founded 1828) appeals to the Upanishads (monism), and the politically active Arya Samaj (from 1875) to the religion of the Veda. Both movements come out in favor of social reforms.

1869–1948	Mahatma → Gandhi	The social reformer and leader of the Indian independence movement has become the figure of Indian national identification.
14th/15th August 1947	Partition and independence	Pakistan (August 14) and India (August 15) become independent. Beginning of the Kashmir conflict.
from 1960s	Missionizing Neo-Hindu movements with consequences in the West	Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (Transcendental Meditation), Satya Sai Baba (Satya Sai Association), Rajneesh/→ Osho (Sannyassins), Guru Maharaj Ji (Divine Light Mission), Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada (ISKCON = → Hare Krishna Movement).
from 1980s	Reinforcement of militant currents on the Indian subcontinent	Since 1983, sanguinary battle for separation by the Tamil in Northern Sri Lanka (Tamil Tigers), Sikh fundamentalism in the Punjab (Akali Dal), storming of the Golden Temple of Amritsar and other Sikh temples, in June 1964. October 1984: Sikh bodyguards murder Indira Gandhi. Hindu fundamentalism on the move: December 6, 1992, demolition of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya. Hindu nationalistic party BJP in charge of government since 1998.

Festal Calendar

Feasts in Hinduism (selection)



Explanations/Clarifications:

Throughout India, the dates of most festivals are calculated according to the lunar calendar, although in various regions (Tamil Nadu, Bengal, Kerala) it is the solar calendar that is in everyday use. The outer ring of the diagram presents the *purnimanta* system, used in broad parts of Northern India, in which the months are measured from full moon to full moon. The inner ring shows the *amanta* system, that has the months beginning with the new moon. It covers especially a large part of Southern India, as well as Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Nepal. In the middle ring, for a general orientation, the months of the Gregorian calendar are indicated—movable in respect of the Indian feasts. The month is divided into a “dark” (*krishnapaksha,* moon wanes) half and a “bright” (*shuklapaksha,* waxing moon) half. The year, as well, has a “light” and a “dark” phase, *uttarayana* or *dakshinayana,* between winter and summer, or between the summer (July 14) and winter (January 14) equinoxes. The seasons are presented in the inner ring. In each part of India in which the lunar calendar is in use, the year begins on the day of the new moon before the spring equinox (April 14). The unbroken lines designate festivals celebrated throughout India. Lines that stand for preponderantly Northern Indian feasts are drawn inside, and contrariwise: Southern Indian feasts have broken lines in the outer ring.

The feasts in the diagram (clockwise):

New Year, the day of the last new moon before the spring equinox (in the year 2000, April 5).

The Ninth of Rama (*Ramanavani*, on the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra): in temples of Rama and Vishnu, Rama's birthday is celebrated.

The Guru's Full Moon (*Gurupurnima,* Ashada, 15, bright): veneration of the Guru.

The Fifth of the Serpent (*Nagapancami,* Shravana, 5, bright): the Nagas (serpentine divinities) are reverenced.

The Binding of the Guardian Band (*Rakshabandhana*, Shravana, 15, bright): sisters bind their brothers' wrists with a colored cord, to protect them from evil spirits.

The Eighth of the Birth of Krishna (*Krishnajanmashtani,* Bhadrapada, 8, dark, *Purnimanta*): in temples of Krishna, the latter's birthday is celebrated.

The Fourth of Ganesha (*Ganeshacaturthi,* Bhadrapada, 4, bright): veneration of Ganesha in his temples and shrines.

Onam (*Onam,* Bhadrapada, 12-15, bright): harvest festival, veneration of mythical ruler Mahabali in Kerala.

The Nine Nights of Durga (*Navaratri,* Ashvina, 1-9, bright): the goddesses Durga, Gauri, and the group of the Ashtamatrikas (eight female deities) are venerated.

The Tenth of the Victory (*Vijayadashami/Dashahra,* Ashvina, 10, bright): celebration of the victory of goddess Durga over demon Mahisha with the buffalo head.

Divali (*Dipavali/Divali,* Karttika, 15, dark, *Purnimanta*): Festival of Lamps: oil lamps are lighted; goddess Lakshmi is venerated.

The Sixth of Skanda (*Skandashashthi,* Karttika, 6, bright): birthday of god Skanda/Karttrikeya (also Murukan; son of Shiva).

Pongal (13-16 January): Harvest Thanksgiving Festival, veneration of the Sun (Tamil Nadu).

The Fifth of Spring (*Vasantapancami,* Magha, 5, bright): veneration of Sarasvati, goddess of the arts and sciences and river goddess.

The Great Night of Shiva (*Mahashivaratri,* Phalguna, 14, dark, *Purnimanta*): veneration of Shiva, with fasting and nightly watching at his temples.

Holi (*Holi,* Caitra, 1, dark, *Purnimanta*): Festival of Colors, veneration of Vishnu, Krishna, and Radha; visits of friends and relatives.

Other festivals (selection)

The Nine Nights of Durga (II Spring *Durgapuja*) (*Navaratri,* Caitra, 1-9, bright): Durga, Gauri, and the Ashtamatrikas are venerated.

Spring Equinox (*Meshasamkranti*, 14, April): ritual bath.

Dormition of Vishnu (*Harishayani,* Ashadha, 11, bright): veneration of Vishnu; fasting. Beginning of four-month period unfavorable for weddings.

Play of Rama (*Ramlila,* Ashvina): performance of the *Ramayana.*

Birthday of Hanuman (*Hanumanjayanti,* Karttika, 14, dark, *Purnimanta*): Hanuman, the god in the form of a monkey, is venerated in his temples.

Awakening of Vishnu (*Prabodhini,* Karttika, 11, bright): veneration of Vishnu; fasting.

Winter Solstice (*Makarasamkranti,* 14, January): ritual bath.

Important feasts of other religious communities (selection)

Birthday of the Buddha (Vaishakha, 15, bright); **Birthday of Mahavira** (Caitra, 13, bright); **Birthday of Zarathustra** (*Khordad Sal*, 6th of the Parsi month of Farvardin, August/September); **Birthday of Guru Nanak** (October/November); **Christmas; Muharram** (August/September)

State holidays

Republic Day (January 26); **Independence Day** (August 15); **Gandhi's Birthday** (October 2)

István Keul

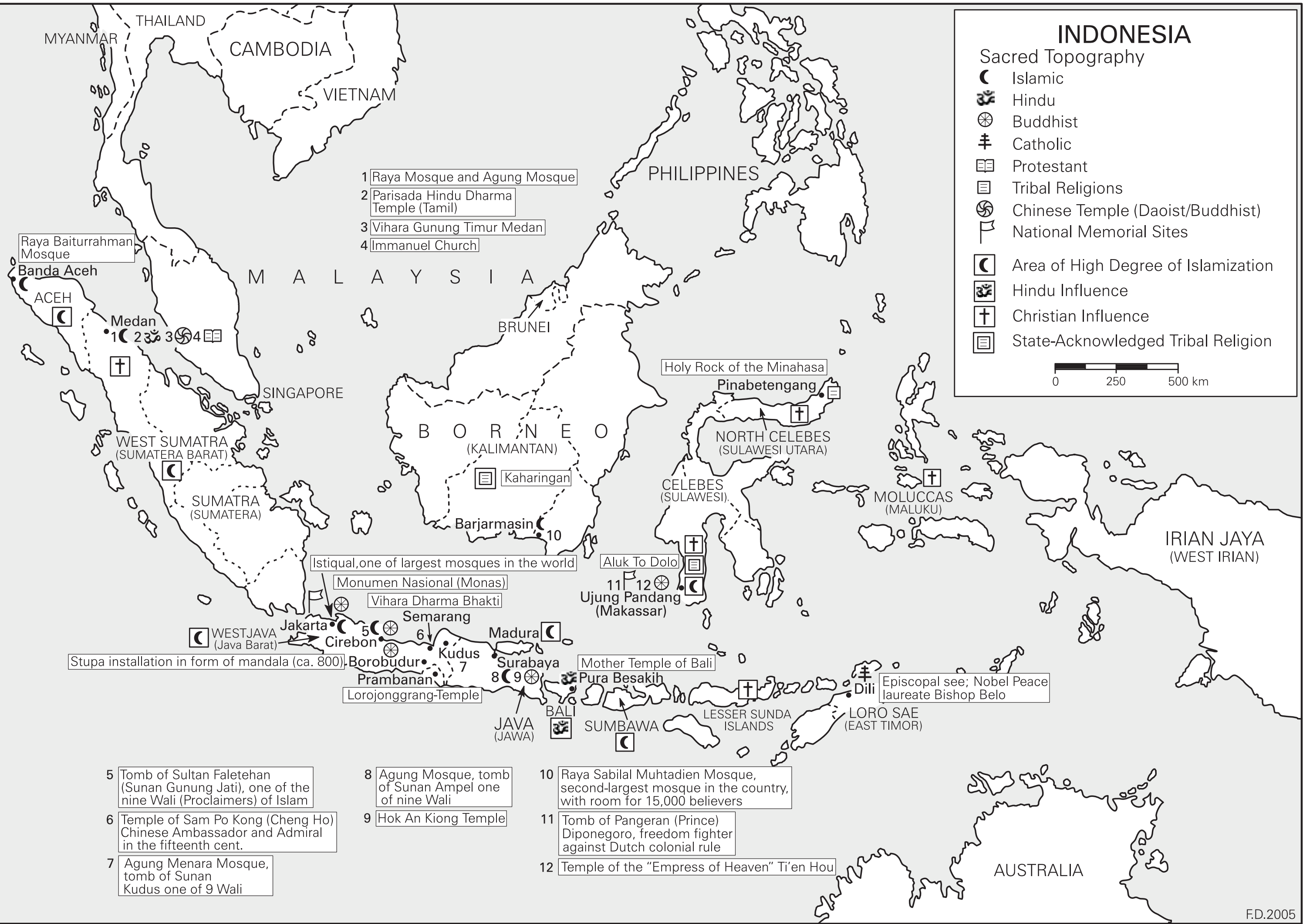
Indonesia

One Religion, 300 Cultures

1. The Indonesian archipelago comprises more than 13,000 islands, and forms two bridges: between the Asian mainland and the Australian continent, and between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Of the more than 190 million persons who make the Republic of Indonesia the state with the fourth-largest population in the world, a scant ninety percent profess Islam: thus, more Muslims live in Indonesia than in any other nation in the world. This observation draws attention, however, to the truly predominant heterogeneity of the country: more than three hundred ethnic groups can be identified, each with its own cultural identity; and, in the same archipelago, more than two hundred fifty languages are spoken.[1] Many Indonesians, illiterate hunters and gatherers, are semi-nomadic, and roam all about the relatively sparsely settled interior of Borneo (*Kalimantan*). Others work in the large city of the most densely populated island, Java, at the computers of international corporations. The tribal religions of Indonesia, each corresponding to a different culture, have come in contact, in the course of history, not only with Islam, but also with other world religions. This engaged processes of reciprocal influence, all of which are to be observed in multiple forms down to the present day.

Trade and World Religions

2. The islands along the traditional trade routes between southern and eastern Asia came under Indian influence as early as the fourth century. The Hindu-Indonesian age culminated in the Javaistic-Hindu Majapahit Empire (1293–1525), whose area of influence stretched, at one time or another, over the great Sunda islands Sumatra (*Sumatera*), Java, Borneo, and Celebes (*Sulawesi*). Beginning in the thirteenth century with the extension of the spice trade, Arab, Indian, and Persian merchants imported a form of Islam that had already adopted Indian and Persian elements, and that now spread further, especially from Java to Eastern Indonesia. The transition to Islam enabled persons to take their distance from the rigid hierarchy of Hindu society, and ensure themselves the support of the Muslim traffickers who controlled the trade routes. Regions with a high degree of Islamization are today the *Aceh,* called the 'porch of Mecca,' West Sumatra



INDONESIA
Sacred Topography
Islamic
Hindu
Buddhist
Catholic
Protestant
Tribal Religions
Chinese Temple (Daoist/Buddhist)
National Memorial Sites
Area of High Degree of Islamization
Hindu Influence
Christian Influence
State-Acknowledged Tribal Religion
0
250
500 km
MYANMAR
THAILAND
CAMBODIA
VIETNAM
PHILIPPINES
M A L A Y S I A
Raya Baiturrahman Mosque
Banda Aceh
ACEH
Medan
1 2 3 4
BRUNEI
SINGAPORE
B O R N E O
(KALIMANTAN)
Kaharingan
Barjarmasin
10
WEST SUMATRA
(SUMATERA BARAT)
SUMATRA
(SUMATERA)
Holy Rock of the Minahasa
Pinabetengang
NORTH CELEBES
(SULAWESI UTARA)
CELEBES
(SULAWESI)
MOLUCCAS
(MALUKU)
IRIAN JAYA
(WEST IRIAN)
Istiqual,one of largest mosques in the world
Monumen Nasional (Monas)
Vihara Dharma Bhakti
Aluk To Dolo
11 12
Ujung Pandang
(Makassar)
Semarang
Jakarta
5 6
WESTJAVA
(Java Barat)
Cirebon
Kudus
7
Madura
Stupa installation in form of mandala (ca. 800)
Borobudur
Prambanan
Lorojonggrang-Temple
Surabaya
8 9
Mother Temple of Bali
Pura Besakih
BALI
JAVA
(JAWA)
SUMBAWA
LESSER SUNDA ISLANDS
Dili
Episcopal see; Nobel Peace laureate Bishop Belo
LORO SAE
(EAST TIMOR)
1 Raya Mosque and Agung Mosque
2 Parisada Hindu Dharma Temple (Tamil)
3 Vihara Gunung Timur Medan
4 Immanuel Church
5 Tomb of Sultan Faletehan (Sunan Gunung Jati), one of the nine Wali (Proclaimers) of Islam
6 Temple of Sam Po Kong (Cheng Ho) Chinese Ambassador and Admiral in the fifteenth cent.
7 Agung Menara Mosque, tomb of Sunan Kudus one of 9 Wali
8 Agung Mosque, tomb of Sunan Ampel one of nine Wali
9 Hok An Kiong Temple
10 Raya Sabilal Muhtadien Mosque, second-largest mosque in the country, with room for 15,000 believers
11 Tomb of Pangeran (Prince) Diponegoro, freedom fighter against Dutch colonial rule
12 Temple of the "Empress of Heaven" Ti'en Hou
AUSTRALIA
F.D.2005

(*Sumatera Bara*), West Java (*Jawa Barat*), Madura, Makassar (*Sulawesi Selatan*), and Sumbawa. The Christian mission originated in the sixteenth century, at the hands of the Portuguese, to be continued by the Dutch. It was limited, however, to regions in which Islam was feebly represented, if at all, or else to legs of land that were important in military terms or for trade policy, in the Moluccas (*Maluku*), in North Celebes (*Sulawesi Utara*), and on the little Sunda islands (*Nusa Tenggara*). During the Dutch colonial period, conversion to Christianity was at the same time an identification with the power elite, so that Muslims have called Christianity the 'Dutch Religion' (*agama Belanda*).

"Unity through Faith in the One Supreme God"

3. The independence of the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on 17 August 1945. The establishment of a *common national consciousness* has never been particularly free of problems since then. "Unity in Multiplicity" (in Javanese, *bhinneka tunggal ika*), as the inscription reads on the Indonesian state coat of arms, is supposed to be achieved especially through the required acknowledgment of the *pancasila*—designated, incidentally, as the state religion. Involved here are five principles formulated in the Preamble of the Constitution: humanity, national unity, democracy, social justice, and, especially, 'faith in the one supreme God' (*ketuhanan yang maha esa*). All religions that are monotheistic in this sense, and in addition are based on a written revelation and rising above ethnic bounds, are designated by the concept, taken from the Sanskrit, of *agama*, and are promoted by the state. The individual may indeed make a free selection among them, but must join one of them. Thus, 'atheism' is unlawful in Indonesia. While Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism are classed as *agama*, members of the uncodified 'tribal religions' are said to be 'persons not yet having a religion' (*orang belum beragama*).

Since 1965, Indonesia has been ruled by a militarily regime in whose eyes any deviating position is a threat, and is a position more than likely to be persecuted most harshly. This attitude led to massive human rights violations, especially in Aceh, as well as in West Irian (*Irian Jay*), only annexed in 1976, and in East Timor (*Loro Sae*)—violations that aroused scarcely any notice in the West. Islamic organizations have meanwhile voiced protests, raising them especially in presidential elections, and have become the victims of military excesses. The government's strategy is to check Islam as a political power, while, at the same time, recognizing it as a religion along with Hinduism, Christianity, and Buddhism. Thus, legal terminology was altered in favor of Islam in several ways, and in 1992 the then President of the Republic returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca as Haji Muhammad Suharto.[2]

Local Traditions

4. With their spread in Indonesia, the world religions are respectively marked, decisively, by the *local traditions* already at hand. For example, on Java, the large group of nominal Muslims (*abangan*) continues to maintain a strong orientation to their Hindu-Buddhist legacy from pre-Islamic times, while the little group of the *santri* strictly observes Muslim rules and rituals. East Indonesians reinterpret Christian concepts in terms of their tribal religious traditions (*adat*).[3] In that sense, prognoses of the imminent demise of the tribal religions have not been verified. Not only does *adat*, however, determine the view and understanding of *agama*, but, conversely,

agama influences the conceptions of *adat*. Thus, the members of various ethnic groups have subjected their respective erstwhile 'tribal religions' to a systematizing new definition, in order to ensure it official recognition as *agama*.[4] Here the traditional element is objectified in a selective reference, and created anew after the exemplar of the 'foreign' element. The coveted recognition was granted in 1969, in the South of Celebes, with *Alak To Dolo*, and in 1980, in central Borneo, with *Kaharingan*. Neither, however, enjoys equal status with the other religions, but is observed and practiced only as instances of subclasses of Hinduism.[5]

5. The reciprocal influences of both *adat* and *agama* on Islam and Christianity has the effect that the individual religions of Indonesia tend to evince very different forms from region to region, each according to its respective cultural and historical background. While many Indonesians see Islam or Christianity, on the one side, and *adat* on the other, as irreconcilable contradictions, in the South of Sumatra, for example, Islamic usages are regarded as part of *adat*, or *adat* usages as part of Islam.[6] Differences and oppositions can thereby stand in operative contiguity even in the distinct religions. For example, the Minangkabau of West Sumatra (*Sumatera Barat*) profess Islam almost exclusively, but maintain traditional rules of kinship according to which certain rights of possession and use lie in the hands of women, and their further legacy materializes only through the female line.[7] In East Indonesia, convinced Catholic village dwellers, after having attended church on Sunday, can even seek out their traditional cultic center in order to offer sacrifice to the particular spiritual entities of their tradition.[8]

This simultaneity of the various, this unification of contradictions, emerges as typically Indonesian. It is also available in the fact that *pancasila*, on the one hand, sketches a secular state, with equal and simultaneous treatment of the great religions, but, on the other hand, excludes atheism. Official religious statistics, to be sure, ascribe the members of the various ethnic groups wholesale to one or other confession of faith, and thereby conceal the heterogeneity actually prevailing in Indonesia.

1. Stöhr 1976, 3.
2. Pampus, Karl Heinz, "Islam in der Diaspora. Anmerkungen zu Südostasien," in: Rotter, Gernot (ed.), Die Welten des Islam. Neunundzwanzig Vorschläge, das Unvertraute zu verstehen, Frankfurt/M. 1994, 145-158, pp. 154-156.
3. Kohl, Karl-Heinz, "Ein verlorener Gegenstand? Zur Widerstandsfähigkeit autochthoner Religionen gegenüber dem Vordringen der Weltreligionen," in: Zinser, Hartmut (ed.), Religionswissenschaft: eine Einführung, Berlin 1988, 252-273.
4. Cf. Atkinson 1983.
5. Pampus 1994 (see note 2), 157.
6. Kipp/Rogers 1987, 4; 13.
7. Pampus 1994 (see note 2), 146.
8. Kohl 1988 (see note 3), 258.

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→ *Islam, Monotheism, Tourism*

Holger Jebens

Industrial Society

Concepts and Contexts

1. Since the Second World War, the concept of the *industrial society* has become a broadly accepted earmark of that technologically and economically highly developed society that has replaced the primarily agricultural and laboring 'pre-industrial' society in North America and Europe, just as, increasingly, in the countries of the 'Third World' as well. The denomination indicates, first and foremost, the dominant importance of the industrial method of production. In this method, a technical organization of the factory prevails, along with the further development of 'manufacturing,' in factories, with the introduction of machinery, with a clear division of labor, with intensive application of capital, with mass production, and with the use of predominantly unskilled workers. In the stricter sense, it characterizes, among other things, a mode of production that relies on 'coal and steel,' and thus on the exploitation of fossil energies and heavy industry (metal work, iron smelting). In addition, it frequently serves as an umbrella concept for the 'modern' type of society, produced by the *industrial revolution* ('industrialization'), and marked by the appearance and utilization of the factory system, with all of the resulting changes in the overall economy and society. The conceptual connotations comprise a bundle of typical processes and structures such as: industrial → progress as the basis of economic growth (with an attendant rise of the standard of living, increased holiday time, well-being of the masses, consumer dynamics); the rise of centers of concentration in large cities (urbanization); differentiation of function-specific societal areas or subsystems of societal areas; bureaucratization; dismantling of state-assured social security; skyrocketing opportunities for mobility and communication (railroad and auto traffic, telephone, radio, mass media, new media); accelerated social changes; growing social and political formation; extensive division between paid employment and family life; broadening of training, and specialization in trades and professions; modernized lifestyle; changes in population processes (migration to near and far destinations, lower birth rate, longer life expectancy). In this society, a secular system of values and norms has prevailed, in which the determining factors for thought and behavior are a consistent rationality, innovation, (market) competition, achievement, and success, as the principal values guaranteeing dynamic progress. Industrialization—despite cyclical and structural crises (world economic crisis beginning in 1929)—gained considerable success in remedying mass poverty and unemployment, but bound up with that achievement (and soon sharply criticized) were human (social) problems and (generally noticed only in recent times) ecological risks.

Theories and theorems on the industrial society feature various emphases of perspective, and different conceptual definitions. An attachment of the overall society to a single, technologically determined employment

process remains problematic. Marxist theoreticians reject it, as concealing the class structures of a highly developed capitalistic society, which are to be overcome.

Genesis

2. The 'industrial revolution' that began in England around 1760, then 'took off,' comprehensively and rapidly, in a period of 'big spurts' (in Great Britain about 1820, in Germany about 1850). Such comprehensive generalizations are nonetheless at least relativized by more recent interpretations of this 'revolution.' These emphasize temporal and regional differences in the transition to an industrial society, for example on the part of advances in nutrition and health that are independent of industry. To an extent, industrial society has been divided into periods up to the present—with phases of accelerated alterations—that followed four 'industrial revolutions' as successive basic innovations adopted worldwide: accordingly, present society is imprinted with the 'revolution in communication' (basis: digitalized electronics), which is presently—with the turn of the millennium—entering the fifth industrial revolution (basis: innovations in biochemistry and gene technology). For the present, often a societal type is being adopted that developed in the decades after 1950—with cover-concepts like 'service society,' 'postindustrial,' 'postmodern society,' or—with Ulrich Beck's emphasis on the individualization of social inequality and on 'reflexive modernization'—'risk society.'

Religion between For and Against

3. Often Janus-headed, religions seem to present a complex mix of opposition and acceptance of certain processes and structures within and vis-à-vis industrial society. Internally, a wide antithesis between a 'fundamentalist' reference and 'progressive' eruption is at hand, rendered more acute by the threat of an erosion of traditional religiosity. In the religions first affected in West and Central Europe or the United States, approaches to a solution were exercised by anticipation:

- Since the second half of the eighteenth century, Protestantism aimed at a re-Christianization through awakening movements, with English Methodism even reaching the industrial proletariat.
- In Roman → Catholicism, a discussion of the 'social question' emerged (papal encyclicals), along with outbreaks of a liberal Catholicism. This development overlapped, however, with 'ultramontanization' (a shield against Enlightenment thinking and, especially in family and sexual ethics, against a modern lifestyle, with a revitalized piety under papal direction).
- 'Christian factories' sprang up and, in the late nineteenth century, a Christian trade union was formed, on an ecumenical model (first interconfessional trade-union congress, in Mainz in 1899).
- A broad spectrum of social and political education took shape, most notably a special ministry to large cities or industry, which produced new organizations and specialized groups: the → Salvation Army, or, in Germany, the 'Interior Mission'—later *Caritas*—undertaking a global approach to → Charitable Organizations.
- After the Second World War, conservative and socialistic Christian theories of state and society converged in the ecumenical consensus of a 'social market economy.'

4. The non-Christian religions have likewise developed specific mixtures of acceptance and reservation concerning certain elements of industrial

progress, the reservations bearing especially on an exclusively earthly belief in reason and on a modern lifestyle. New Japanese religions can be regarded as a model for an extensive affinity for material values.

5. For the thoroughgoing critics of industrial society, as well as the disadvantaged and needy of the same, the religions win specific meaning. On the one hand, religions offer mental security in a salvation community that relativizes earthly hardships and injustices, and on the other, they organize material relief for the underprivileged (foundations: taxes, various institutionalizations).

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→ *Economy, European History of Religion, Media, Modernity/Modern Age, Postmodernity, Work*

Michael Klöcker

Initiation

Concept

1. The word 'initiation' derives from the Latin *initium*, 'entry,' which also denotes 'introduction' or, precisely, 'initiation.' With the Romans, *initia* became a term for participation in Mysteries (→ Antiquity). The concept generally denominates a series of ritual acts, behavioral precepts, and instructions, 'staging' and creation of a radical transformation of the social and religious status of an individual or group (→ Ritual). It can refer to such varied forms as collective initiation into an age group, initiation into so-called totem groups, secret societies, mysteries, or fraternities, or even the qualification and installation of a religious specialist such as a shaman, magician, prophet, or healer. Arnold van Gennep coined (1909) the expression, still in use today, of 'rites of passage,' for the structural ritual schemata corresponding to initiation into the successive stages of the life cycle, such as birth, puberty, matrimony, or illness and death—or even for social alterations, for example the creation of a chieftain. In these, the individual symbolically abandons an ordered space, undertaking a phase of transition to a new one. The dangers and ambivalences of the exchange govern the rituals. In his systematic study, van Gennep argued that there is a three-phase structure in rituals of passage generally, which can be applied—with different stresses—globally and to altogether different rites: (1) rites of separation, (2) threshold or transformation rites, and (3) rites of incorporation.

2. In *traditional societies*, the initiation (usually collective) of youth is of special significance. It denotes not only their integration, and an 'orderly switch' of generations, but also the distribution and stabilization of power. During the initiation, youth receive a systematic introduction into the foundational mythic traditions, the ritual activity patterns, and



After a nine-year pause, the Bamileke, of Bafoussam in Cameroon, took up the tradition of initiation once more. The Chief of Bafoussam, who in 1975 had to give up a career as a soccer player in order to guide the destinies of his home region, was opposed to the local traditions. Under him, initiations died out in 1975, to be intensively resumed only in 1984, in order, among other things, to strengthen the social cohesion of the Bamileke, who live in large numbers in distant cities of the country or even in the United States. In the picture, a group of first initiands are seen (with headdress of medicine leaves). Higher initiates (with ginger plants in their hands) lead them, to afford them spiritual protection against bush spirits and other dangers. Initiations take place every two years and comprise nine ceremonies for different age groups, which stretch from December to March. The first initiands are, as a rule, nine or ten years old. In view of such a long interruption, however, older youth took part in this initiation, as well. Families sometimes travel long distances to their home region to celebrate the initiation festival there. (Benita von Behr)



In *Vajrayana* Buddhism, initiations are of great importance, as they empower initiands to undertake a particular contemplative practice. In 1985, Khyentse Rimpoche gathered this group of lamas in a tent on the property of the exiled Tibetan monastic college of Shechen in Nepal. The initiation runs through various phases, in which the lamas, under direction, meditate and visualize, in order thereupon to step forward to the master to be blessed. Khyentse Rimpoche now touches them with various ritual objects, or, as shown here, sprinkles them with a few drops of moisture from a ceremonial vase adorned with peacock feathers. (Benita von Behr)

the secret knowledge, of their ethnic group. Further, neophytes (from Gk., "new plant," "sprout," and thus also "initiands," "novices") experience a group solidarity (*communitas*) that is important for the cohesion of the community as a whole. To this purpose, initiands are frequently separated very early, and for a great length of time, from the world of their mothers and sisters. The social 'production of maleness' (Godelier) is the business of men alone. There the novices must master multiple tests of courage, with trials of their mastery of fear that often include traumatic experiences, all ritually staged as passage through death and rebirth. Ritual acts also include the marking of the body, as by painting, tattooing, 'scarification' ('inslitting') and haircutting, as well as painful operations such as nosebleeds, tooth extraction, and → circumcision. For example, as anthropologist and scholar of religion Hartmut Zinser has discovered in his research with the Central Australian tribes of the *Aranda*, the boy is first 'smoked': that is, he must expose himself to smoke over a heap of foliage that has been set afire. Then the men bite him in the scalp, creating wounds that thereafter will be borne as trophies, and symbols of maturity. The third phase of the initiation consists in circumcision. The fourth, the phase in which the youth first becomes an actual man, is the 'subincision': the urethra is slit, from the base of the penis to the glans. In some Australian societies, pubertal male children were thereafter compelled to perform what was formally regarded as their first sex act.

The integration of the new generation serves two purposes: the reproduction of the ethnic group as a whole, and the assurance that there will be men and women capable of procreation. Girls are frequently initiated individually, in rites and ceremonies most often bearing on menarche.

Their initiation is likewise concerned with the ritual production of gender identity, as also with preparation for marriage, gender-specific work, and future pregnancy. Recent field studies, usually conducted by female researchers, have shown that the ceremonies of female initiation are just as complex as are those of the male. Besides the aspect of compulsion, and the reproduction to which it is ordered, there are the drive and power wishes of the upcoming generation, according to received forms and ancestral models. There is also a theatrical and performative dimension (masks, obscenity). At times, an element of fear is involved.

Theories

3. The *systematic investigation and research* of rituals of initiation began around 1900, when so much comparative material from all parts of the earth became available to researchers. The extent to which European interpretation of rituals was propelled by subjectivity in the form of yearnings and fears is shown by the enthusiastic reception of a 1902 study, *Männerbünde und Altersklassen* ("Associations of Men and Age Classes") of ethnologist Heinrich Schurtz. This author develops the thesis that the 'omnipresent' institution of associations of men is the vehicle par excellence in the history of gender, of culture. In the footsteps of Bronislaw Malinowski, modern anthropology has concentrated predominantly on the social function of the initiation rituals. This function is said to lie especially in the reproduction of social stability and solidarity. For phenomenologist of religion Mircea → Eliade—as for his predecessor, cultural morphologist A. E Jensen—the special meaning of the rituals of initiation is that of a staging of 'death and rebirth.' The initiation process rehearses the cosmologic deeds of heroic ancestors, as they were accomplished *in illo tempore* (Lat., 'in those [ancient] times'). Following Freud's theory of the 'Oedipus complex,' the psychoanalytic interpretation of initiation was that circumcision, especially, was a ritual generation of 'castration fear' and a dramatization of the conflict of the generations. Recent ethno-psychoanalytic research, instead, concentrates on the connection between power and sexual or birth jealousy. In the most recent studies conducted in cultural anthropology on the social production of maleness as 'gender identity,' these approaches have been broadened, and in part supplemented in terms of a Western perspective of comparison.

4. Rituals of initiation, or ceremonies resembling rituals of initiation, for the reception of youth into religious communities, have been and are celebrated not in 'tribal religions' alone, but in the so-called world religions, as well. In manifold transformations, and frequently in disconnection from their erstwhile social and religious meaning, fragments of ritual also exist in modern society, as in holidays and sporting events (for instance, in bungee jumping).

5. In cultural studies, the newly kindled interest in rituals has led to a rediscovery of the efforts of English social anthropologist Victor Turner. Turner further develops van Gennep's approach, concentrating on the experience of *communitas*, and on the 'play space' of the 'threshold phase.' He regards the status of initiands—of the 'betwixt and between,' of 'border-crossers' vis-à-vis the normal—as unbolting the space of creative renewal and reflection without which no society can subsist and prosper.

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→ *Ancestors, Baptism, Body, Dance, Death and Dying, Group, Holy, Life Cycle, Ritual, Sacrifice, Symbol/Sign/Gesture*

Ulrike Brunotte

Inquisition

The term 'Inquisition' (Lat., *inquisitio*, 'investigation'), denotes (1) a rational and reasonable juridical process in ecclesiastical law developed in the course of the thirteenth century, (2) an ecclesiastical office for the combating of → heresy, existing from 1231 to 1965, and (3) a symbol of religious or state intolerance and repression of dissidents and outsiders in a society.

The Inquisition Process

1. The inquisition process was conceived by Pope Innocent III, between 1198 and 1213, as a new form of disciplinary procedure against clerics. A material argument, officially introduced, was now required in the process of the 'Inzicht' (from Frankish, *inzihten,* 'accuse'), which had come down from the early Middle Ages, and which had been initiated on the basis of 'ill repute.' Unlike the process of accusation—which required a complaint formally submitted to the judge as an accusation of wrongdoing—now, upon receipt of evidence and interrogation of witnesses, the judge could independently initiate the inquisition process, as an official crime, in case of a public or private denunciation. Conceptually, the process of inquisition represented a certain formal progress in the creation of rational means for the conduct of evidence and the pronouncement of a verdict, in place of formerly received irrational and unreasonable bases of judicial finding, such as an enthusiasm for purification, a judgment of God ('ordeal'), or private litigation. On the other hand, after 1252 a special juridical ordering was developed; the most significant *mises à point* of the so-called *summary heretic process* were:

- Withholding of the denunciator's identity from the accused;
- Admissibility of transgressors, excommunicated persons, and so on, as witnesses;
- Restrictive rules for legal advocates in court;
- Application, according to determinate rules, of torture for the purpose of obtaining confessions, on grounds of the categorization of heresy as 'public injury' and 'injury of the divine majesty,' according to Roman law;
- In case of a relapse, or recalcitrance, on the part of the transgressor, immediate commission of the latter to the secular arm of government.

2. From 1231 onward, Pope Gregory X and his successors implemented the newly created procedural form, with more precise directives in place for the combating of heresy, which up until then had been in the hands of the episcopal court. In the thirteenth century, it was the Cathari of southern France, especially, whom the new form and directives concerned, as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Waldenses, Beguines, Hussites, and → witches. Inquisitors delegated by the Pope were independent, as well as under episcopal delegation or oversight. They frequently came from the Dominican or Franciscan orders. At first, Inquisitors worked individually, but from 1252 onward at the latest, with the bull *Ad Extirpanda* of Pope Innocent IV, an office (*Officium Inquisitionis*), and individual commissions as special courts, were established for the prosecution of the effort against heretics. In case of a death sentence, the secular court system was responsible for its execution. Usually, however, the sentences handed down by the Inquisitors stipulated only penance or imprisonment. The heretics' goods were confiscated, and later generations could also be made civilly responsible. Thus, there was room in the process of heresy for numerous abuses and violations of procedure. Inquisition manuals, such as the *Directorium Inquisitorum* (1376) of the Inquisitor General of Aragon, Nikolaus Eymerich, evince the wish for systematization, and norms of application of inquisitorial activity. Along with the widening of the concept of an inquisition into heresy, and other offenses, like → apostasy, → magic, and sorcery, the inquisitorial phenomenon overflowed into areas that no longer had to do with matters of belief: political trials, of the Templars (1307/12) and → Joan of Arc (1431), crimes of murder, popular uprisings, conflicts of the mendicant orders with the parochial clergy and with the cities, were all subjected to appropriate application. The heresy inquisitors of the late Middle Ages, usually professors of theology, contributed to the spread of the stereotypes of a → demonology being practiced by heretics who were in league with the devil, and in their anti-heretical preaching occasioning a widespread fear of the → devil among the population.

Modern Developments

In the fifteenth century, the Inquisition fell, especially in Germany and France. In Italy, Spain, and Portugal, however, as well as in their possessions abroad, it not only continued to exist, but actually reached its climax. The best-known example of a state inquisition is that of Spain, where inquisition existed from 1478 to 1834, pronouncing its last death sentence in 1781. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Spanish inquisition became the instrument for the persecution of converted Jews ('Marranos'/'Conversos') and Muslims ('Conversos'). State and church staged the executions in pompous, public 'dramas of death,' and a demonstrative 'act of faith' (Lat., *actus fidei*; Span., *auto da fé*), with processions and presentation of the heretics. In the sixteenth century, in the wake of the Counter-Reformation, the inquisition was reformed: Paul III's bull *Licet ab Initio* was followed by the imposition of the central direction of the papal inquisition by Rome, administered through a supreme judicial office, the *Santo Offizio* (Ital., "Holy Office"). The most important document to be issued by this tribunal, which was composed of six cardinals and which was in existence from 1559 through 1965, was the "Roman Index of Forbidden Books" (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*). As the institutional extension of the Roman Inquisition, aiming at the proclamation of the gospel and correct doctrine, the *Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith* was set up in 1965, under its first Prefect, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger. On

22 January 1998, the Roman Congregation of the Faith opened free access to the archives of the Inquisition for its store of acts up until 1903.

Owing to a massive loss of documentary sources, especially during the Napoleonic era, the entire number of the judicial processes of the Inquisition in Europe and abroad cannot be estimated. An old catalogue of the Spanish Inquisition, the collection of the *relaciones de causas* (Span., 'reports of cases'), presents, between 1540 and 1700, some 100,000 cases. Especially well known are the trials for false belief of Jan Hus (1415), Girolamo Savonarola (1497/98), Giordano Bruno (1592–1600)—all three of whom were burned alive at the stake—and Galileo Galilei (1632/33), who recanted and survived.

Myth of the Inquisition

3. The myth of the 'Inquisition' is one of the widespread clichés bearing on the 'Dark Ages.' Since the debates of the Enlightenment over tolerance and toleration, 'Inquisition' has stood for torture chambers and burnings at the stake, offers sanguinary scenarios for Colportage novels and horror films, and is a central point of accusation in the criticism of Christianity and the Church. The distorted presentations of Inquisitor Bernard Gui (c. 1261–1331) in Umberto Eco's novel, *The Name of the Rose* (1980) and in the film of the same name by Jean-Jacques Annaud (1985) are well known. In Dostoevsky's short story, "The Grand Inquisitor," from his novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, the figure of the Inquisitor who imprisons Christ and confesses himself to be the Anti-Christ, is used for sharp critiques of Western European Christianity, and of the Roman Church as the incarnation of secular, worldly power. The existence of an Inquisition-like instance is scarcely limited to the Roman Church, any more than an absolute claim to truth and religious intolerance is limited to → Christianity or totalitarian regimes. One recalls the persecution of Communists by McCarthyism in the United States, 1950–1954. But an evaluation of the Inquisition as a precursor of modern totalitarianism, the administrative machinery of the Gestapo, and the KGB, is at least problematic. On grounds of the difference prevailing between those terms with regard to historical conditions of derivation and construction, a distinct terminology should be selected, yet without belying what is comparable—a repressive subjection of dissidents, be they religious, social, or political. Phenomena resembling the inquisition are to be found in other world religions, as well: even institutionally, Islam threatens apostasy with capital punishment, and knows a *scrutinium* (Lat., 'scrutiny') of the faith of a person or group. The *Minha*, or 'inquisition,' from the era of Caliph al-Ma'mun (ninth century), is well known. Applicability of the terminology is just as disputed here as it is in an evaluation of the Hindu caste system as an expression of socio-religious intolerance.

Historical research has turned to a more sober appraisal of the Inquisition, without attempting to belie the amount of human suffering bound up with it. The administrative machinery and the element of spying and informing utilized by the Inquisition, indeed presents an effective instrument of overall social control and discipline, of which European princes readily availed themselves. In principle, anyone could become a victim of the Inquisition, in the late Middle Ages or in early modern times, as the → witch trials show. But secular courts also, and principally, conducted witch trials. The potential efficacy of an examination of heretics by the Inquisition was a question of power, since the heretic's social reference system

was of decisive importance for the fact, the nature, and the conditions of a penalty to be imposed. The heterodox and outsiders of society could thus more easily become victims. The fundamental idea of the Inquisition, the violent defense of all that was regarded as religious truth in the view of the Church, has been subjected to abundant criticism in modern times. Galileo's rehabilitation in 1992 and the Pope's *mea culpa* in 2000 show the new will within the Catholic Church to face the transgressions of the past, including the lawful murders of the Inquisition.

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→ *Apostasy, Christianity, Fear/Dread, Heresy, Law, Tolerance, Truth/Dogma, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Werner Tschacher

Insanity

'Insanity' and 'Delusion'

1. The term 'insanity' no longer exists in recent international systems of psychiatric classification. There is, on the other hand, the concept of *delusion*, which can occur either (a) as a functional illusory disturbance ('paranoia'), or (b) with diseases of the schizophrenic group, and further, (c) as an organic illusory disturbance occurring with illnesses of the brain (tumor, inflammation of the brain), or (d) as an induced psychotic disturbance through the ingestion of psychotropic substances (e.g., after taking LSD or mescaline). Forms of delusory experience can express themselves, first, as a relational delusion (a persecution, love, or jealousy illusion), or, second, as illusory perceptions in the form of hallucinations (synaesthesia, deceptive perceptions). In the latter case, hallucinations can take place through any of the senses. The term 'delusory experience' should be reserved to a state of development when a child has passed the magical and mystical stage of preschool and kindergarten, i.e. when a commonly experienced reality has won dominance over childishly fantasized 'parareality.' An 'induced delusory disturbance' occurs when other, usually dependent persons take over such delusory conceptualizations (e.g., *folie à deux*, *folie en famille*—Fr., 'pair insanity,' 'family insanity').

Illusory Conditions in Religions

2. Deranged, illusory conditions and modes of experience are found in the area of religion as ecstatic feelings of exaltation, as experiences of revelation, as experiences of oneness in religious 'joy psychoses,' or in psychotic

conditions with religious delusory content. But ecstatic moments and conditions of rapture also belong to normal human existence, in the sense of 'peak experiences,' extraordinary 'experiences of heights and depths.'

Drug-induced 'consciousness broadening' can lead to terrifying pseudo-hallucinations ('bad trips'), to negative post-acoustical conditions recurring later ('flashbacks'), or on occasion, to a persistent drug-induced psychosis. In → shamanism, through trance-induction (e.g. through the ingestion of hallucinogens, through dance or music) the shaman's perception is altered, as she or he surrenders to a journey of the soul partly attended with extra-corporeal experiences, with the feeling of 'being out of oneself,' in order to attain a restructuring or transformation of the patient, or to find the solution of a social conflict. *Divine delusion* was rendered perceptible to the senses in Greek mythology, for example, in the Erinyes. As (female) avengers of outrageous crimes and murders, these figures embody the destructive potential of conditions of human exception. 'Madness' (in Gr., *manía*) is to be equated partially with 'trance,' more precisely with 'possession' (Gr., *enthousiasmós*). It is to be distinguished from today's psychiatric concept of mania, which denotes an exalted mood with an exaggerated impulse to activity.

Mass Delusory Phenomena

3. *Mass delusory phenomena* belong in the area of social psychology (→ Masses). Here it is a matter of 'ideological' or 'socio-mythical' distortions of perception, which can actually lead to a loss of reality. It has existed in both the religious and the political areas of past and present: along with the children's crusades, the → witch and racial crazes (→ Race/Racism) are the most striking ones of the past. A loss of the reality of stereotyped or ideologized perception should be distinguished from mass suggestion, which affects persons in closed groups, and entices them to aggressive (pogrom) or even self-destructive activity. In such cases, a disastrous catalyzing function is often exercised by religious leaders who go on a journey to death with their followers in a kind of expanded → suicide journey. The mass suicide of Jim Jones's People's Temple sect in Guyana or the incidents around the "Heaven's Gate" community are examples of this kind of latter-day 'sectarian' catastrophes having the character of mass delusion.

→ *Enthusiasm, Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens, Perception, Psyche, Psychopathology, Suicide, Trance, Vision/Auditory Experiences*

Gunther Klosinski

Intellectual Religion

1. Intellectuals are customarily deemed to be advocates of a rationalistic, enlightened, and secular understanding of the world, and consequently the sheerest imaginable contrast to the religious person. However, aside from the fact that members of educated classes have at all times been (co-) formers of religious thought and the corresponding practice (→ priests, monks, clergy, theologians, highly educated laity), there have also always existed religious concepts that have been specially drafted, believed, and rationally attested by educated persons.

History

2. Discourse upon specific intellectual religions, however, has been appropriate only since the appearance of the modern concept of an intellectual, in the Dreyfus affair of 1898,[1] or with the socio-historically relevant emergence of modern intellectuals who had outgrown the traditional educated middle class. Max → Weber's sociology of religion has given intellectuals, for the first time, a high rating, systematic as well as historical, in the genesis of the most important of the religions. On the other hand, Weber encountered the new religions of his contemporaries at the turn of the century with skepticism. In his ongoing examination of them, and their precise conjuncture with an educated class, he held impotence and de-politicization to be the essential requirements of these modern forms of an intellectual religiosity of redemption. This judgment did not go without refutation—Ernst Troeltsch and Georg Simmel judged otherwise. However, Weber's critique of the modern religious intellectual affords criteria for the diagnosis of contemporary intellectual religion down to our day.[2]

It is the so-called → New Age religion, an overall concept for an immensity of religious artifacts, imports, and syncretisms of religious, aesthetic, and scholarly traditions, that can bring Weber's theses upon a 'specifically intellectualistic need for salvation' to fruition. As a rule, Weber alleges these 'needs' to be a matter of redemption from inner need, a question of the overall bestowal of the meaning of life, in societal connections as well as in those of 'cosmic nature' (→ Meaning/Signification). The systematic devaluation of classical fields of politics, which devaluation can be observed in an abundance of new religious discourse, seems to confirm Weber's reflections on the connection of religious romanticism, political powerlessness, and social frustration.

Forms and Notes of Intellectual Religion: Mysticism, 'Gnosis,' and Exoticism

3. Concentration and reflection are foundational intellectual techniques of work. Directed upon religion, they envisage enlightenment and cognition— → mysticism and → gnosticism. A renaissance of mysticism, and a (neo)-gnosis—even before 1900, preferred forms of intellectual religiosity—are therefore components even of today's religious discourse, with its special affinity for intellectual problems and life situations: they permit extremely individualistic religious experiences and encounters, the auto-sacralization of educated individuals, and the recoding of educative experiences to religious ones. The mix of primordially religious and scientific patterns of interpretation can stand as the signature of intellectual religion then, for example in the *Freigeistige Bewegung* (Ger., 'free spirit movement'),[3] just as in today's New Age. Here the paradox arises that a criticism of rationality and progress are assured of their place in terms of cultural criticism, in the dress of strictly scientific arguments or new faith convictions, overflowing with a scientific discourse whose understanding presupposes a relatively high degree of formation (cf. Rudolf Steiner's Anthroposophy; Fritjof Capra's *Tao of Physics*).

Intellectual drafts of meaning are oftentimes characterized by a specific inner as well as outer exoticism. Traditions styled as the autochthonous popular piety of a particular cultural circle are just as eagerly amalgamated as any random kind of tribal religion—or what passes for one. Hard ethnological cognitions, stores of knowledge in religious studies, and pure artifacts, in the presence of numerous adaptations of so-called primitive religions that enjoy great preference on the market of new religions, are mingled to the point of being indistinguishable.

Intellectual longing for redemption from (one's own) intellectuality, that frequent companion of intellectual discourse, is expressed with an emphasis on corporeally emotional, 'unsublimated,' religious experiences. An affinity to experiences of the irrational (Ludwig Klage's *Der Geist als Widersacher der Seele*, 1929–1933; Ger., "The Spirit as Adversary of the Soul") is highly salient in the turn to ritual and cult as primary forms of religion—to the neglect of reason and language ('logocentrism') in favor of myth and → 'experience.' In cultural circles scored by Christianity, the otherwise highly heterogeneous new religious concepts as a rule incorporate their anti-Christian, ecclesiophobic thrust, thus exerting pressure in the direction of a paganization of one's own religious convictions (→ Paganism/Neopaganism).[4] Criticism of priests and theologians of established religions can be packaged by dissident intellectuals in a self-promotion to the condition of shaman, prophet, or → guru, while corresponding exemplars are usually sought and found in extra-European, non-Christian religions (→ Reception). The spiritual testimonials of the figures of intellectual founders (classic cases: Helena Petrovna Blavatsky for Theosophy, Rudolf Steiner for Anthroposophy; → Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society) can themselves assume the status of sacred scripture, and the fundamental figures themselves can enjoy extensive cultic veneration, which immunizes them against any form of rationalistic criticism.

Media

4. All programmatic criticism of rationality notwithstanding, intellectual religion is a *book religion*, in a particular sense. Without a well-developed, highly pluralized book and newspaper market, the new religious syncretisms, like the outlines of → private religion, would find neither producers nor adepts. Books and/or newspapers can become the core of the formation of community, circle, and association—the customary social forms precisely of intellectual religions (circle of the "Cosmics," c. 1895–1903; Stefan George circle, 1903–1933; "Princeton gnosis" of the 1970s). Religious consecration can be produced by lectures—if not indeed by the invitations of the culture of free time and adult education (seminars, workshops). The abundance and variety of offers of market-mediated bestowal of meaning reinforces the lack of orientation on the part of the seekers of meaning, relativizes certitudes once acquired, and leads to the compulsive need of an ongoing reassurance in respect of the self and the new. The economically conditioned innovation drive of the media culture encourages and reinforces this kind of search-for-meaning movement.

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→ *Book, Esotericism, Gnosticism, Mysticism, New Age, Private Religion, Science, Weber*

Justus H. Ulbricht

Interest

Market Economy / Solidarity

1. 'Interest' (from Lat., *interesse*, 'be between'—here, the 'difference' between two amounts of money) is profit from a loan, that is, from the deposit of monetary capital for a determinate time. With the emergence of a united currency market, the legitimacy of the charging of interest is scarcely discussed any longer; but the demand that the interest owed by the countries of the so-called Third World be condoned in a 'Jubilee Year 2000' harks back to an ancient religious demand in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In the foreground of considerations upon interest, up until the eighteenth century there stood the question of its ethical or moral justification. Especially on the side of the Church, strict elementary principles were maintained when it came to the taking of interest. In the Middle Ages, the Church imposed a prohibition on interest-taking, with an appeal to the Bible. The reason was that, in the economic relations of the time, unjustified profit could not be legally prohibited, so that what was being imposed is a prohibition of usury. However, with the gradual development of a money economy, and state control of the same, the taking of interest came to be regarded even by the Church as legally reconcilable.

Interest Theory and Interest Policy

2. With the development of the money → economy, the foundation of the bank of issue (→ Money), and the growing control of interest by interest and credit policy, economists and other thinkers (Tugot, Ricardo, Senior, Marx, Bohm-Bawerk, Keynes, etc.) developed theories that sought to explain the emergence and amount of interest. There is no universally valid theory of interest. Interest and credit policy, whose most important agent is the central bank of issue, by influencing money and credit volume, attempts to control overall economic goals, such as stabilization of price levels, full employment, extra-economic balance, and adequate growth. The interest policy of the credit institution establishes the rates of interest for deposit, its own debit prescriptions, and credits. Since the liberalization of interest in 1967, there

have been no maximum interest rates established by the state. The amount of interest, like any other price, depends on supply and demand, such as on the extent of savings, and the liquidity of the overall economy, and, on the demand side, on the expected earning power of capital. The monetary interest-theories emerging under the influence of J. M. Keynes[1] stress the dependence of interest on the amount of money at hand, and on the psychological need for liquidity on the part of the person handling an economy.

Judaism and Christianity

3. The Babylonians and Assyrians employed a developed system of interest payments on loans. The Jews were allowed to charge foreigners interest, as the latter themselves did—not, however, fellow Jews. In Greek and Roman antiquity, philosophers and statesmen, as representatives of the landed upper class (Plato, Aristotle, Cato, Seneca), spoke out against the charging of interest. However, legal proscriptions of interest taking could not be maintained. In later Roman imperial times, laws established maximum rates of interest (for example, with Diocletian and Constantine, twelve percent per annum), but could of course not effectively hinder the taking of unlawful interest. Witness ancient Christian literature, with its insistent warnings against the taking of interest, which it based on the Bible (Ps 14:5, Ezek 18:7ff., Luke 6:34). The First Council of Nicea (325) forbade all clerics to charge interest, as a sin against justice and mutual Christian love, and, in Carolingian times, the laity were similarly enjoined. Christian exporters, such as the Lombards, circumvented the prohibition of interest-taking, which had a growing effect on credit systems. Jews were not affected by the canonical prohibition. Inasmuch as church councils prohibited them from, among other things, inheriting land, farming, and numerous skilled occupations, they developed into magnates of the money system. Many anti-Semitic pogroms were unleashed by delinquent debtors. The 'Jewish usurer' was a stereotype of late ancient, medieval, and modern history, as of course throughout a National Socialist criticism of capitalism.

While, in the Middle Ages, credit largely concerned consumers—that is, loans served immediate use—loans from mid-sixteenth century onward were more and more applied as productive credit, that is, as income-producing capital. State law fixed the interest rate at five percent, and usury could be contained. The Church reacted to altered conditions by rescinding the ecclesiastical prohibition against taking interest. According to Catholic ecclesiastical law (since 1917; *Codex Juris Canonici* [Lat., "Code of Canon Law"], canon 1543), lawful interest-taking is permitted. Among the Reformers, Calvin permitted the taking of interest for production credit, while Luther provided for cooperative banks.

Islam

4. The Qur'an (sura 2:275) pronounces an express prohibition against interest-taking (prohibition of *riba*): "Those who charge interest will [at some future time] stand forth not otherwise than one who is seized by Satan. This [their punishment] therefore will be to say: 'Keeping shop and lending at interest are one and the same.'" In Mecca at the time of the Prophet, it was customary to double the sum of money (or kind) owed, along with the interest, when it could not be paid at the term of its falling due. Muhammad contrasted this with the good work of almsgiving. In Islamic history, the lending of interest along with the principal was the usage despite its prohibition, and various expositions of law (*hiyal*) were available for its justification, such as

an approval of the empty formality of purchase. As in Christian Europe, the prohibition of taking interest favored the specialization of minorities in the banking business (as of the Jews in Morocco, the Greeks in Egypt, Hindu merchants in southern Asia). The tasks of religious foundations were often disputed out of capital interest. At present, conservative circles, for example in Pakistan, once more voice the demand for a banking prohibition; cooperative models, however, are an acceptable alternative.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Capitalism, Charitable Organizations, Economy, Exchange/Gift, Money*

Karin Kathöfer

Intoxication / Drugs / Hallucinogens

1. For millennia, human beings have applied the effect of various materials, primarily of vegetable origin, to their central nervous systems with varying intent: to alleviate pain, to intensify sensory perception, to calm or stimulate themselves, to invoke visions, or to have euphoric and spiritual experiences. The special physiological effect of this sort of 'intoxicant' results from the fact that it impacts certain mechanisms of the human brain: these materials often work on the sleeping-waking system, activate, impede, or concur with biochemical transmitters (e.g., neurotransmitters such as dopamine, noradrenalin, serotonin, endorphins) that are also activated with withdrawal of stimulation, with rhythmic, repeated stimulation, with over-stimulation, with sexual stimulation, and with pain. They vary widely in their addictive potential: for example, heroin demonstrates an extremely high potential for addiction, while LSD demonstrates none.

In many cultures, intoxicants are an elementary component of religious practice. The purpose of their cultic employment is to enable the user to undergo what is referred to as a direct divine experience, or to discover the highest reality, which is often identified with the intoxicant. The feeling of self-transcendence, in which the sense of the ego is lost, and which can go as far as the experience of death, can—depending on the religious environment—be experienced as spiritual purification or

Intoxicating Vegetable Drugs

Popular Name	Botanical Name	Active Component	Ingestion	Origin	Age	Purpose
Alcohol (wine, beer, etc.)	Vitis vinifera etc.	ethanol	Drinking	Mosaic Israel, Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Christianity (symbolic)	4000 BCE	Fertility, initiation, blood of Jesus
Alraun	Madragora officinarum	scopalamine, etc.	extract	Egypt, Greece, Middle Europe	1500 BCE	Healing, love potion
Ayahuasca (yagé, caapi)	Banisteriopsis caapi, B. inebrans, B. rusbyana, Psychotria viridis	harmaline (MAO-hamperer) and tryptamine, etc. DMT	extract	Orinoco, Amazonia, Ecuador, Colombia	in writing: 19th century	Purification, experience of the myths, initiation, contact with ancestors, prophecy, healing
Coca (coca mama)	Erythroxylon coca	cocaine, etc.	chewing, smoking	Andes	2500 BCE; in writing: 15th century	Sacrificial offering, oracle, medicine, means of narcotizing
Cohoba (yopo, vilca, parica)	Anadenanthera peregrina, A. colubrina, Piptadenia peregrina	DMT, bufotenine, β-carboline, etc.	sniffing	Northern Amazonia, Orinoko, Northern Argentina, Haiti	in writing: 15th century	Sharpening of the senses (hunting, war), prophecy
Datura (thorn apple, toloache, 'North Star flower')	Datura stramonium etc.	scopolamine, hyoscyamin, atropine, etc.	smoking, tea	India, China, Africa, Mexico, Central Europe	1000 CE	Narcotizing, influencing of nature, initiation
Deadly nightshade (belladonna)	Atropa belladonna	atropine, hyosciamine, hyoscine, etc.	tea	Europe, Mesopotamia		Healing, love potion
Eboka (iboga)	Tabernanthe iboga	ibogain	extract	West Central Africa	in writing: 19th century	Initiation, contact with ancestors
Epena	Virola species	DMT, 5-meo-DMT, etc.	sniffing	Western Amazonia, Orinoko	in writing: 20th century	Flight of the soul

Popular Name	Botanical Name	Active Component	Ingestion	Origin	Age	Purpose
Floripondio (Trees of the evil eagle, toa)	Brugmansia species	scopolamine, etc.	tea	Andes, Western Amazonia	in writing: 16th century	Healing, prophecy, initiation, protective spell
Fly agaric	Amanita muscaria	Muscimol, muscarine, ibotic acid, etc.	eating	→ Northern Eurasia, North America, Central Europe	4000 BCE	Shamanism, flight of the soul, healing
Hemp (bhang, marihuana, ganja, hash-ish, charras)	Cannabis indica, Cannabis sativa	THC (tetra-hydro-cannabinol), etc.	eating, drinking, smoking	Egypt, India, China, Arabia, Africa, Jamaica	medical: 16th century BCE; ritual (India): 800 BCE	Healing, song, study of sacred writings
Henbane	Hyoscyamus niger	hycoscyamin, scopolamine, etc.	drinking, salve, smoking	Egypt, Greece, Central Europe	1500 BCE	Healing, love potion, oracle
Jurema (ajuca)	Mimosa hostilis	DMT, etc.	extract, drinking	Eastern Brazil		War; ceremonial
Kava	Piper methysticum	kavaine, etc.	extract	Polynesia	18th century	Group ritual
Ololiuqui ('virgin seed,' 'snake bindweed')	Ipomea vio-lacea, Rivea corymbosa, Turbina corymbosa	lysergic acid, etc.	extract	Mexico	in writing: 16th century	Healing, prophecy
Opium (meconium, laudanum, tshandu, poppy)	Papaver somniferum	morphine, codeine, papaverine, etc.		Assyria, Sumer, Egypt, Greece, Arabia, India, China	2500 BCE	Healing, narcotizing, intoxication
Peyote (cactus)	Lophophora williamsii	mescaline, etc.	eating of whole cacti	Mexico (Hui-chol), Native American Church (North America)	Icono-graphy: 1000 BCE; in writing: 16th century	Pilgrimage to the origin, confession, healing, liturgical thanksgiv-ing and impetration
Psilocybe mushrooms (teonanacatl, 'divine meat')	Psilocybe species, Panaeolus sphinctrinus, Stropharia cubensis	psilocybine, psilocine	eating	Mexico, Cen-tral America, United States	Icono-graphy: 1000 BCE; in writing: 15th century	Healing, prophecy, invocation of the forces of nature

Popular Name	Botanical Name	Active Component	Ingestion	Origin	Age	Purpose
San Pedro (cactus)	Trichocereus species	mescaline, etc.	tea	Andes (Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru)	Iconography: 1500 BCE	Pilgrimage to the origin, flight of souls
Tobacco	Nicotiana species	nicotine	smoking sniffing massaging	America	in writing: 16th century	Healing, sacrificial offering, oracle, group ritual, visions

rebirth. In many cultures it is only the priest or shaman who ingests the intoxicant, while in others it is the entire community (peyote cult). Many writers see intoxicants as a prerequisite for the emergence of religion and other cultural achievements (G. R. Wasson); others perceive them as a sign of decadence (M. → Eliade).

History

2. The use of intoxicants can be traced back to prehistory and antiquity. The very earliest sources suggest the use of poppy and cannabis. The Bible notes the intoxicating effect of alcohol and of intoxicants such as mandrake. A book of ancient Indian songs from the *Ṛg Veda* (c. 1500 BCE; → Hinduism) is dedicated to Soma (Sanskrit, 'Pressed Drink'), honored as a god. It describes the production of the homonymous, as yet not unambiguously identified, intoxicating drink and its inspiring effect on the Vedic poets. In ancient Iranian Zoroastrianism, we find *haoma*, the linguistic, and doubtless also material, equivalent of *soma*.

Three intoxicants have special importance and meaning for the religious history of Europe and Asia: alcohol, opium, and cannabis/hashish.

a) *Alcohol:* Beer manufacture is attested in Egypt as early as the fourth millennium BCE. In ancient Greece, the god Dionysus, in Rome Bacchus, are honored in fertility rites with the excessive use of wine. To be sure, intoxicants can be employed for other purposes than intoxication, which is evidenced by the example of Christianity: there, at the → Lord's Supper, wine is drunk. With the Reformed Churches, it is a symbol of the blood of Christ, while in Catholicism it is transformed, according to the doctrine of the transubstantiation, into blood (→ Drinking/Drink).

b) *Opium poppy:* The narcoticizing and euphoric effect of opium was known in Egypt and Sumer. The ancient Greek goddess Demeter is frequently pictured with poppies and cereals: her gift, among others, was to bestow relief from anxiety. In the Mysteries of Eleusis, dedicated to her, participants consumed the drink *kykéon*, which may have contained ergot as an intoxicant.[1]

Excessive use of opium was very widespread among the upper class of imperial Rome. In the seventh century CE, Arab merchants brought opium to India and China. Its employment as an intoxicant is first attested in China in the twelfth century. Like most intoxicants, opium and the alkaloid mineral mixture *han-shi* were used for exclusively secular enjoyment. Here

China played a special role. From the sixteenth century onward, opium was supplied to China through Portugal and England. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the form of the alcoholic solution laudanum, the medic Paracelsus introduced it again into Europe's medicine, where it has since served as an intoxicant as well. In the opium wars (1840–1842), England compelled China to lift trade limitations on opium, and addiction to that substance in China grew by leaps and bounds.

c) *Cannabis:* Cannabis was employed in cult practices as an intoxicant, at least as early as 800 BCE in India. In the eleventh century, its religiously motivated use is attested in Islamic territories, and in the Shiite sect of the *batiniya* (from this group the term 'assassin' derives, initially meaning 'hashish user'), where adherents took it in order to glimpse the paradise reached through death in Holy War. In India, down to our own day, Cannabis, principally in the form of the drink *bhang*, is ingested at many religious festivals, such as Shivaratri, Durga Puja, and Holi. The plant is regarded as sacred. It is smoked by many Indian ascetics in a precisely defined ritual as a sacrifice to the god Shiva, with a *chillum*, a special conical pipe, often set with pictures of Shiva or his son Ganesha (→ Sadhu). This cult finds a few followers in Western industrial nations. As 'Lord of the Flora,' Shiva is often represented with a datura blossom (Sans., *dhattura*) in his hair. In → Tantra, as well, the ingestion of intoxicating substances is important. Laborers from India and Central Africa brought cannabis to Jamaica, where the Rastafarian movement began in the nineteenth century, later to spread worldwide through reggae music. The Rastafarian ritual is modeled on the Christian Eucharistic celebration.

Indigenous Cultures

3. The religious use of intoxicants is demonstrable in many *indigenous cultures* (see table). The ritual employment in Polynesia of the mildly intoxicating drink kava was first described in the eighteenth century. A century later, the ritual use of the Central African iboga bush as a rite of initiation in the Bwiti cult is mentioned in writing. But both cults are certainly older than these testimonials.

Peyote Cult

One of the few instances of a religiously motivated, indigenous use of drugs that has survived mission and Westernization is the Peyote religion of the Huichole and other tribes of Mexico. It spread through North America in the nineteenth century, and there led to the establishment of the Native American Church (NAC), a confluence of various Indian peyote churches. The NAC and other non-Indian groups may legally ingest the cactus in a framework of divine service (→ North America [Traditional Religions]). In the Brazil of the early twentieth century, numerous legally recognized communities formed around the use of ayahuasca, such as *Uniao de Vegetal*, *Barquinha*, and *Santo Daime*. They appeared in the wake of so-called caoutchouc smoking in the region of the Amazon, spread in adapted forms in Brazilian cities, and then in the United States and Western Europe.

Ritual Drug Use in Western Modernity

4. Christian Europe and its product, today's Western hegemonial culture, possess their own 'drug profile,' as does any other culture. In terms of that profile, alcoholic products (beer, wine, whisky) have been socially acceptable since antiquity, and coffee and tea, as well as tobacco, since the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries. New intoxicants often entered the West with soldiers, who used them in an attempt to make the horror of war bearable. Thus, Napoleon's soldiers brought cannabis smoking from Egypt to Europe. On similar grounds, GIs during the Vietnam War often used heroin, became addicted to it, and subsequently contributed to its spread in the United States. But the 'artistic avant-garde' also used intoxicants: in mid-nineteenth century, poets like Thomas de Quincey first described their intoxicated experiences. Arthur Rimbaud, Paul Verlaine, and Charles Baudelaire founded the *Club de hashishins* in *fin-de-siècle* Paris. Since the mid-nineteenth century, pharmacists have isolated morphine and numerous other botanical alkaloids such as cocaine and mescaline, or, as with heroin (originally used as a cough syrup), MDMA (3,4 methylendioxy-N-methylamphetamine, known as Ecstasy or Adam), and LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide), synthetically converted drugs from vegetable material. Albert Hofmann discovered LSD and its psychedelic effect in 1943 in his search for a pain suppressant. Hofmann then analyzed and synthesized the content of the Mexican 'magic mushroom' *psilocybe mexicana*, whose effectiveness he was able to confirm through Mexican shaman Maria Sabina. Hallucinogens like LSD were introduced in various forms of psychotherapy, as by Hanscarl Leuner (psycholytic therapy), Abram Hoffer and Humphrey Osmond (psychedelic therapy), Stanislav Grof (transpersonal psychotherapy), and Claudio Naranjo (gestalt therapy). Religious 'peak experiences' moved many alcoholics away from their addiction. Hoffer and Osmond coined the word 'hallucinogen' for various materials that evoked illusionary mistakes and misjudgments, in an exchange of letters with Aldous Huxley, who made a literary description of his experiences with mescaline at this time. The first counter-cultural experiments with intoxicants were described by beatnik poets like Jack Kerouac and William Burroughs, but also by Ken Kesey, founder of the hippie commune Merry Pranksters. In the 1960s, LSD spread in the youth culture of the Western industrial nations. Its best-known advocate was California psychology professor and 'dropout' Timothy Leary, who along with colleagues composed a psychedelic version of the "Tibetan Book of the Dead" (*bardo thödol*). They saw in LSD a way to enlightenment, whose "High Priest" (the title of his autobiography) Leary named himself. At the end of the 1960s, the use of hallucinogens was forced underground by restrictive policies, where it flourished once more (→ Esalen Institute). An example here was the success of the cult novels of Carlos Castaneda, in which he claimed to describe his apprenticeship with Mexican shamans and ritual peyote use. In various milieus (hippies, technoscene, → New Age, Snowboarder), cannabis, psilocybe mushroom, LSD, and ecstasy are ingested in various rituals, into which elements of indigenous cultures are partially integrated.

Abstinence, Drug Prohibition and Opposition

5. In the European late Middle Ages and early modern times, in a framework of the Inquisition, experts in herbal medicine such as 'wise women' were persecuted and burned. Mandrake, thorn apple, deadly nightshade, and mushroom were among the herbs that they used. These plants probably found application as well in the form of legendary 'witch salves,' as used in fertility rituals such as those practiced on Walpurgis Night.[2] The German beer purification regulation was established in order to check and control the abundance of mushroom and other psychoactive substances.

Some religions practice prohibition. Buddhism forbade all intoxicants, while in Islam fermented products were prohibited (above a certain degree of fermentation), but cannabis products tolerated. The prohibition of alcohol in the United States was introduced and maintained by a puritanical Christianity (→ Salvation Army). In India as well, there was a religiously (Hindu) motivated prohibition of alcohol, from 1977 to 1980. In both cases, a flourishing black market and numerous instances of fusel alcohol poisoning were the result.

In the industrial nations, numerous new problems have arisen, owing to criminalization and commercialization, through a technological concentration of active materials, as well as through the partial collapse of traditional mechanisms of social control. Integrated into the traditional context, consumption of intoxicants tends to stabilize society, while intoxicants that were introduced in the course of → colonialism in extra-European countries (opium in China, alcohol with the American Indians or Australian → Aborigines), on the other hand have proved extremely destructive, as they are only partially metabolized in some human systems, and social rules for their consumption are lacking. In various societies, as in the Native American Church, however, the widespread occurrence of alcoholism has strikingly abated since the introduction of hallucinogen rituals.

1. According to the—disputed—theory of Wasson, Hofmann, and Ruck.
2. Cf. Duerr 1985.

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→ *Drinking/Drink, Esalen Institute, Perception, Illness/Health, Mysticism, New Age, North America (Traditional Religions), Sadhu, Shamanism, Vision/Auditory Experience, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Peter Gietz and Dierk Tietze

Intuition

Ever since ancient times, 'intuition' (from the Latin *intueri*, 'look at,' 'consider') has denoted mental gaze and objective inspiration—the immediate, holistic knowledge or experience of things and facts, by contrast with mediated, discursive knowledge. Considered psychologically, 'intuition' means the spontaneous grasp of the connections of reality. 'Brainstorming,' for example, represents a procedure for the stimulation of creative thinking.

It is through intuition, according to (1) Plato, that we come to know or experience the ultimate 'Ideas' by which sensible things exist, according to (2) Aristotle and John Locke that we come to know or experience indemonstrable and evident 'first' principles or propositions, and according to (3) the classic rationalists that we come to know or experience ideas as inborn. (4) Goethe speaks of "a revelation developing from out of the inner human being." (5) Kant distinguishes the discursive clarity gained through the formation of concepts from that gained through contemplation or direct consideration. (6) With the German idealists (Schelling, Fichte, Schopenhauer), intuition plays its central, methodic role as 'intellectual contemplation.' In non-rationalistic philosophies (philosophy of life, H. Bergson), intuition leads to that which cannot be grasped scientifically.

→ *Enthusiasm, Mysticism, Revelation, Psyche, Vision/Auditory Experience*

Michael Bäumer

Iran

In pre-Islamic times, Iran was a center of → Zoroastrianism. Since the early sixteenth century, it has a special place from a religious viewpoint, since here, unlike the Turkish, Uzbekish, and Indian neighboring states, the Shia has become the religion of the state. Iran's recent history offers an interesting example of Islam's political potential. The 1979 Islamic Revolution, and the subsequent state systems that were formed, reflect the influential role of the clergy (→ Khomeini) as opponent or representative of state power.

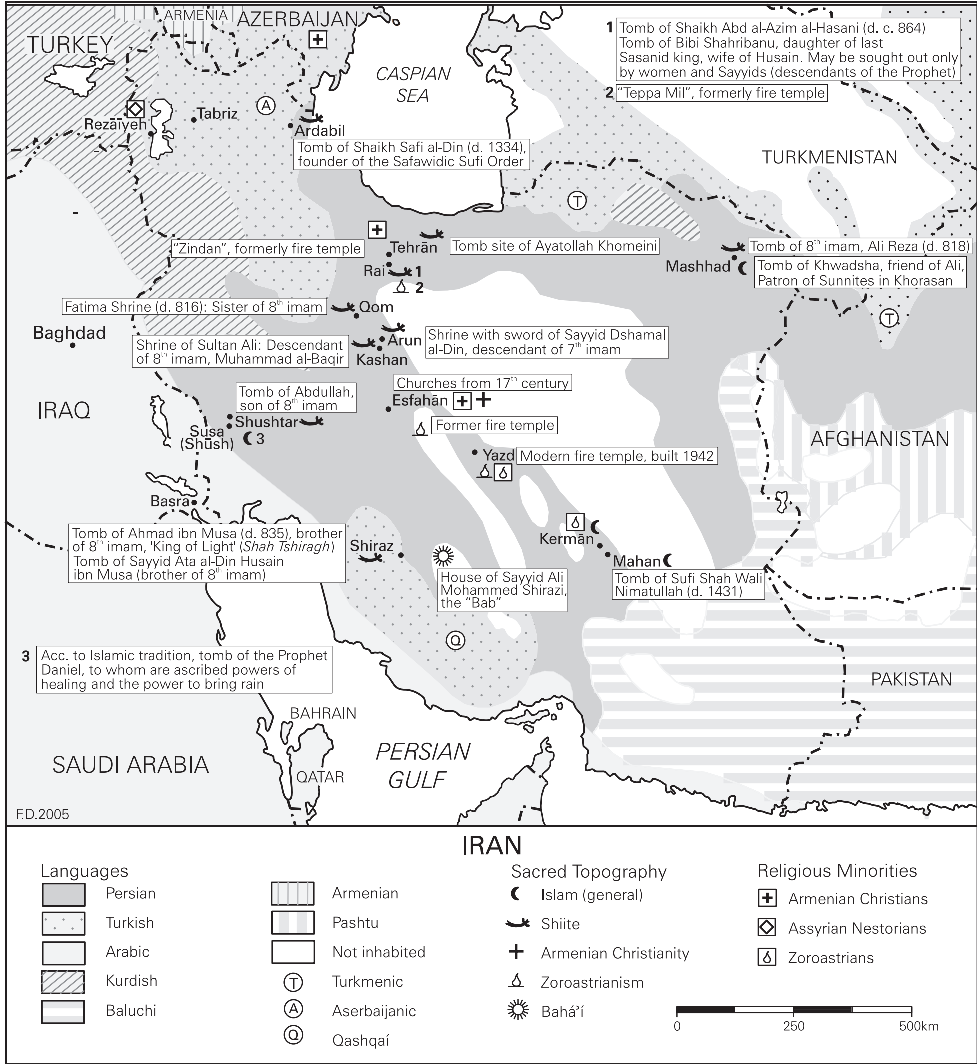
Pre-Islamic Times and Islamization

1. Iran's topography features a high plateau, which stretches into today's Afghanistan, and is bordered on the north and south by the Elbors and Zagro mountain ranges. Here the trade routes between Central Asia, India, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia cross (→ Silk Route). In the wastelands in the East and Southeast of the country, urban settlements have developed only along the historic trade routes. The most important settled areas appeared

in the extensive oases of the plateau regions. In the eleventh century BCE, Indo-European tribes came to populate these regions. The name 'Iran' derives from the ancient Persian *aryānām*, '[land] of the Aryans.' The name 'Persian,' influenced by the Greek, referred to Fars, the southern province of this country, that was the seat of the Persian dynasties of the Achamenids (550–320 BCE) and Sasanids (224–651 CE). The latter promoted Zoroastrianism to the status of state religion. The Battle of Nehawand (642 CE) introduced Arab rule, and thus the Islamization of the cities along the trade routes. There were, however, important Zoroastrian enclaves in the country, especially in Fars and Kirman. Official statistics place 20,000 Zoroastrians in Iran. In order to escape persecution, other Zoroastrians, beginning in 717, emigrated to India, where they became known as Parsi.

Sunna and Shia

2. Between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, Iran produced a great number of Arab-speaking Sunnite jurists. In the early sixteenth century, however,





The Betty Mahmoody story was symptomatic of the profound insecurity of the Western world in the 1980s and 1990s, vis-à-vis Islam’s new emergence and politicization. The new phenomenon had had its point of departure in the Islamic Revolution. Hers is the personal tragic story of an American-Iranian marriage in which a struggle over the common child of the pair emerged in cultural conflict. The husband’s family in Teheran held the mother and daughter, until at last they fled under adventurous circumstances. The story became one of the clichés of a fanatical Islam and a premodern ‘Orient.’ The story is an instructive example of how ‘human interest stories’ can be politicized and optimally marketed: the original report of Mme Mahmoody’s *Not without My Daughter* (USA 1987, co-author William Hoffer) came into the shadow of Ayatollah Khomeini’s → fatwa against Salman Rushdie and the Gulf War 1991, and became a sensational success. By the end of 1990, in German-speaking regions alone, nearly 3,000,000 copies, in some 30 editions, had been published. Hollywood then shot just as successful a film, with Sally Fields in the leading role (USA, 1991; dir. Brian Gilbert), from which the scene of the couple’s arrival in Iran is remarkable: the aunt of the family clan, as we read in the 1991 book-to-film (author: Berndt Schulz), extends “a package with the obligatory head-covering for Betty.” The Ayatollah Khomeini looms ominously from the wall in the background. (Hubert Mohr)

the Shia was promoted to state religion, and long impregnated spiritual and cultural life. It stresses the right of the family of the Prophet → Muhammad to religious and political leadership in the Muslim faith community. The designation ‘Shia’ is derived from the Arabic *Shiat ‘Ali*, ‘party of Ali.’ Unlike the Sunnites, the Shiites are of the conviction that the succession to Muhammad rightfully belonged not to the first three caliphs, but to Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law Ali ibn Abi Talib and his descendants. Ali inherited this office, it is true, in 656, after the violent death of the first caliph, Ottoman (*‘Uṯmān*); however, he himself fell victim to an assault in 661. Ali’s death and the subsequent martyrdom of his son Husain, in the Battle of Kerbela (Iraq) in the year 680, compose central points of Shiite belief and piety.

In the Shiite conviction, leadership in all questions of belief lies with the *Imams* (Arab., *imām*, ‘leader’). Through their descendancy from Ali and Fatima, daughter of the Prophet, they are infallible and sinless, and have access to the secret knowledge that Muhammad transmitted to Ali alone. Iranian Shiites are known as ‘Twelver Shiites,’ as they acknowledge twelve Imams, of whom eleven died a violent death, and the twelfth, Muhammad al-Muntazar (Arab., ‘the Awaited’), has, according to Shiite doctrine, been living in hiding since 873; he will manifest himself, on the day of the Last Judgment, as *Mahdi* (Arab., ‘the rightly led’). Beginning in the ninth century, Qom, in Iran’s Northwest, was an important center of the Twelver Shiites. From 953 to 1055, the Shiite dynasty of the Buyids ruled the Iranian upper class. Subsequent dynasties, however, came forward once more as protective lords of the Sunna, so that the Shiites still formed a minority in the population. This situation changed with the rise of the Safawid dynasty (1501–1722), whose founder Ishmael I drew his battle strength from a Sufi order, and yet, after his accession, elevated the Shia to the status of state religion.

Ismailis

The *Ismailis* represent a splinter group within the Shia, which split off over the question of who was the lawful successor of the sixth Imam. Thus they are also known as 'Sevener Shiites.' The Ismailis appeared in the late ninth century, as a secret revolutionary movement. From 1090 to 1257, there existed an Ismaili state, in Alamut in the Elbors mountain range in Pakistan. Currently, several million Ismailis live in Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Syria. They regard their religious superior as the forty-ninth Imam. He bears the title of *Agha Khan*, bestowed on his originally Iranian family in 1817.

The Shia as State Religion: Historical Development

3. Shiite doctrine is characterized by a critical attitude toward secular rule, even when its representatives profess Shiism. This attitude is occasioned by the absence of the twelfth Imam, by virtue of which all subsequent state systems or structures are denied the right to existence. A further important element of the Shiite worldview is the martyrdom of Imam Husain, which renders opposition to oppressive regimes a duty. On grounds of the concealment of the twelfth Imam, a special role falls to the *ulama*, the 'learned,' as transmitters and guardians of imamic teaching. Unlike their Sunnite colleagues, the most qualified and justified among them enjoy the right of *ijtihād*, the 'effort': they are authorized to make an independent legal pronouncement (→ Fatwa). A scholar thus enabled is called a *mujtahid.* In Iran the Shiite *Ulama* have advanced to the condition of 'spirituals' (*rūhānīyūn*), who are distinguished from the rest of the faithful even by their → clothing.

With recognition of the Shia as the state religion, the Ulama's nominal claim to govern has gained great political weight. One perceives this fact in the debate over whether the power of the twelfth Imam falls to a mujtahid or to a king of right origin. The Safawidic kings, for their part, sought legitimacy with a reference to their averred descent from the seventh imam, Musa al-Kazim. The Qadshar dynasty (1779–1925) was unable to appeal to such an illustrious provenance, and its rule is remembered for its open conflict with the Ulama. The stumbling block was the government's first attempt to centralize the state system, and to curtail traditional Islamic jurisdiction. Just as suspect in the eyes of the clergy was the readiness of the royal house to accord the Europeans generous concessions in the name of modernization. In 1873, the Ulamas of Teheran introduced the successful protest against the Reuter concession, which had afforded industrialist Julius Reuter a monopoly in railroad construction, mining, and lumber. Just so, the Ulama played an important role in the initial phase of the constitutional revolution of 1905–1906. In 1963, under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini, the Ulama opposed the modernization policy of Mohammad Reza Shah (1941–1979), and along with the planned land reform, criticized his autocratic regime's close connection with the United States. From 1971 on, from his Iraqi and French exile, Khomeini directed the Islamic Revolution, which put an end to the Pahlavi regime on 16 January 1979.

Shiite Piety

4. The popular forms of *Shiite piety* can be traced back to the tenth century. The tombs of Ali and Husain, in the Iraqi cities Nadshaf and Kerbela, are important places of Shiite pilgrimage. However, even before these

regions fell to Sunnite control, the Safawid kings cultivated, as centers of pilgrimage, Qom, and the eastern Iranian city of Mashhad, burial places of revered Imam Ali Reza (d. 818). Along with the Prophet and the Twelve Imams, Fatima, daughter of the Prophet and spouse of Ali, is an important object of folk veneration. Among these 'Fourteen Infallibles,' she is ascribed an important role as advocate on the Last Day. After the fulfillment of a vow, gatherings are held, especially by women, at which, in the name of Fatima, they spread out a *sufra*, a 'tablecloth,' and invite others to a simple meal.

Like the Sunnites, the Shiites celebrate *'īd al-Fiṭr*, the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast, at the end of the fasting month of Ramadan. An important Shiite festival is the *īd-i Ghadīr Khumm*, which recalls the investiture of Ali as Muhammad's successor at the pool of Khumm. The solemnities surrounding the martyrdom of Imam Husain form the high point of the liturgical year. They are held on the first ten days of the Islamic lunar year, *Muharram*. At this time, passion plays (*ta'iya*, 'manifestations of grief') are presented, which recall the various stages of the hostile siege of Husain and his companions. The solemnities for the day of Husain's death on the tenth day of Muharran (*'ašūra*) begin on the eve of that day with processions, which are organized in every neighborhood. Men tread through the streets with burning candles, chant litanies, beat their breasts rhythmically, as do the onlookers, or whip their backs with small chains (→ Penance/Penitent). Formerly, saber bearers, in white burial cloths, beat their heads bloody at the moment of the Imam's death. In the 1970s, these Muharram processions became mass demonstrations against the power of the state. In 1978, on the ninth and tenth of Muharram (December 10 and 11), despite curfew and martial law, more than a million demonstrators gathered at Freedom Place in Teheran, making the decisive contribution to the success of the Islamic Revolution.

5. For the religious minority of the → Baha'i, the establishment of the Islamic Republic had negative effects. While the 1979 fundamental law officially recognized Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians, Baha'i were systematically persecuted. For women, the veil that had been a symbolic gesture against the Shah's regime, now became part of a rigid dress code. Women's education and areas of employment were curtailed, and the marriageable age was reduced from eighteen to thirteen. In 1986, however, partly on grounds of a new population policy, women gained admittance once more to courses of study in the technologies, medicine, and law. The new marriage law ranks as one of the most progressive in the Middle East. Political life is characterized by a confrontation between the wing representing radical Islam and advocates of a 'civil' society. The occupation of the American Embassy in Teheran from 1979 to 1981, and the Rushdie affair in February of 1989 led to tensions between Iran and the Western world.

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→ *Islam, Khomeini, Muhammad, Silk Route*

Christine Nölle

Islam

The word *Islam* means, in Arabic, 'devotion/surrender' (to God), 'submission' (to God). Generally joined to the definite article (*al-Islām*), it has come to be the self- and foreign designation for the totality and socio-cultural community of the individuals, peoples, and states that see their origin and close comradeship based on devotion to the revelation of the Prophet → Muhammad (570–632). Consequently, the devotees are called 'Muslims,' i.e. 'People who surrender to God.' The designation 'Mohammedans' is to be avoided: Muslims feel it to be an unjustified display of the person of Muhammad, and hence blasphemous. The name 'Musulman' (Pers., *mosalman*; French, *Musulman*) is passé, and today has a sarcastic or ironic connotation.

Foundations and Early History

1. The history of Islam is intimately bound up with the history of the → *Qur'an* (Arab., 'reading'). At the center stands Muhammad, son of a merchant, the 'one sent by God,' who, in the year 613, in the Western Arabian trading city of Mecca, first reported his divine inspirations to his nearest kin. For twenty-two years, until his death, these visitations continued, and they were recorded and memorialized by his followers. Their collection and redaction in an organized book, with 114 'suras' (Arab., *sūra*, 'chapter'), is only the work of the subsequent generation. Because of the expulsion of the first 'Muslims' from Mecca to the nearby oasis of Yatrib in 622, the latter eventually came to be called 'the City' (*al-Madīna*, 'Medina').

In the Qur'an, Muhammad calls for submission to the proclamation of the 'one, just, and merciful God.' As a counter-sketch to the polytheistic religion and tribally organized society of Arabia, God's justice guarantees the equality of all those who distinguish themselves by faith in him. The surety of the salvation promise to the Muslims lies in their establishment of the divine order. The basic source of its origin and survival is the revelation of Muhammad, last of the prophets and therefore their 'Seal.' After him, then, there will be no further revelation. In his 'utterances of life' (*sunna*), his words and deeds, the divine proclamation is perfected. The Qur'an and *Sunna* are the two primary sources of the 'religion of God.' From them, one can recognize to which rules human beings are subjected in their relation to God and to their fellows, and by which 'way' (*sharī'a*) they can do justice both to their rights and to the duties arising thence.

Era of Expansion and of the Caliphate

2. Even during the Prophet's lifetime, Muslim expeditions (*ġazwa*) were dispatched—to the north to the very confines of the Byzantine Empire, to

the east into the Sassanid region of the Euphrates. The unification of the Arab tribes, pursued by Muhammad with great political skill, suffered a 'setback' after his death. However, the introduction of a 'representative' (Arab., *ḫalīfa*, caliph) of the Prophet prevented the collapse of the movement, and laid the cornerstone for the organizational principle of the Islamic state now being born. As 'commanding officer,' the Caliph embodied the supreme religious and military authority.

This packaging of religious motivation with military organization released an immense expansive power. Over a mere ten years, in a number of *waves of conquest* (632–642), Arab troops succeeded in basically reshaping the political geography of the Near East. Eastern Rome was driven back to Asia Minor, the Persian Kingdom of the Sassanids was destroyed. In the Arabian Islamic peoples' historical view of themselves, this century of conquest developed into the 'Golden Age' of Islam, the age of a timeless frame of reference for all succeeding reformist and revitalist movements.

By way of their triumph in two *civil wars*, the first four caliphs' system based on subjugation and the distribution of booty was reshaped into a theocratic Islamic central empire. The First Civil War (556–561) ended with the success of the dynastic principle of the caliphate as over that of the 'caliphate of election.' The victorious party of the Umayyads ('Omayyads,' 661–750), and all succeeding dynasties, regulated succession in the caliphate by direct inheritance. From the supporting 'party' (*shi'a*), which had championed a candidate from the family of 'Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, finally emerged the belief orientation of the 'Shiites,' the members of the Shia (→ Iran; Khomeini). The Second Civil War (680–692) transformed the empire of the caliphs into a central state. Mecca and Medina, both once key spiritual and administrative points, were relegated to the periphery. The erection of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem was not only a programmatic symbol of the Islamic claim to be the continuation and fulfillment of the Abrahamitic religion(s), but also a reference to the shifting Islamic concentration of power. The 'Abbasidic Revolution' of 750 introduced the transformation of the central imperial order into one based on regional states, and altered the religio-political culture of the Islamic world in a profound way. Its primary motive was a realization of the equality of Muslims. The collapse of political unity rendered possible the participation of all Islamized peoples in the development of an Islamic culture more specific to the given community. In the following two centuries, in the urban centers between Samarkand in Uzbekistan and Cordoba in Spain, the normative foundations of Islam were developed. Its first thought is *religious* unity. Rival dynasties of caliphs in Spain ('Spanish' Umayyads) and in North Africa and Egypt (Fatimids), as well as military confrontations among competing regional princes, compelled the rigid political theory of early Islamic times to adapt to the practical demands of various traditions, different real-life worlds, and different social systems. The divinely inspired Caliph, as 'commander of all believers,' continued to live in the Shiite 'Imamate.' For the majoritarian traditionalists, the Sunnites, he was at a good, safe distance. The *Sulṭān* ('Ruler'), who, according to the claims and conceptions of the majority, maintained the divinely willed order as best he could, replaced him. The relation between subject and sovereign came to be determined as a relation of reciprocal rights and duties, whose legitimacy was decided not by the feasibility of social interests, but by their justice. Justice meant agreement with the individual and collective behavioral

norms, derived from 'principles' of law, that toward the end of the tenth century were codified in generally acknowledged collections of religious law.

Middle Ages and Modern Times

3. The factual end of the era of the caliphate, with the conquest of Baghdad by the invading Mongols (1258), was the visible expression of universal population changes in the Islamic world. The Islamic West was isolated from the East by the Christian re-conquest (Span./Port., *reconquista*) of Andalusia in mid-eleventh century, and by Berber independence movements in northern Africa. New empires had appeared in northern Africa, in the wake of the western advance of Islamized Central-Asian Turkish tribes, adding an important facet to the synthesis of civilization by Islamic culture: that of the Ottoman Empire (fourteenth century to 1922) in the Near East, the empires of the Grand Moguls (1525–1858) in India, and the Persian Safawids (1501–1722). Around the capital city of Constantinople (Istanbul), taken by Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II in 1453, as around Delhi and Isfahan, flourishing Islamic civilizations arose.

Modern Age

4. With the landing of French expeditionary troops in Alexandria under Napoleon I, on 1 July 1798, the new era of colonial rule and modern imperialism began to score broad regions of the Islamic world. By way of the bluntly propagated colonization motif of the cultural, 'civilizing,' mission (*mission civilatrice*), the ideas of the French Revolution reached the East. The economic and military expansion of Great Britain, France, and Germany parceled out the Islamic regions into colonies and protectorates from Morocco to Indonesia. Only Shiite Iran and Afghanistan were able to withstand foreign political control. The tenacious adaptation to the world of the modern national states revived a traditional conflict under new auspices. The concept of the nation—casting-mold of the new political order—basically contradicted ideal, historical Islamic forms of government. In the movements of 'pan-Islamism' and 'pan-Arabism' that emerged from Egypt in mid-nineteenth century, ideas of unity were shaped that set religio-cultural and ethnic membership above a state sovereignty and its artificial boundaries. The territorial national state—according to the minimal consensus of all contemporary 'fundamentalist' groups—can be understood only as a transitional form to a political order in which 'the' Islam determines identity, cohabitation, and boundaries.

Religion, 'Enlightenment,' and Sciences

5. The trigger for the formation of genuinely Islamic scientific discipline was supplied by a confrontation with the religions and doctrines of scholarship at hand. In Damascus, Muslims encountered Christian theologians of the aggressiveness of a John of Damascus, and in Baghdad, Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian experts in Greek philosophy. At first the challenge was met in a brief, intensive phase of adoption of the literature of the corresponding sources. In a second phase, Islamic scholars acquired this scholarship, put it into critical commentaries, and spliced it into the budding Islamic disciplines. The 'quiet Christianization' of the Neo-Platonic philosophy confronted Muslims with the problem of harmonizing the Qur'anic revelation with the logical, psychological, and ontological methods of ancient philosophy. Andalusian scholar Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 1198) was especially successful in this regard, casting his production in a form affecting the West itself. Truth is accessible to the demonstrating,

logical, and natural understanding. In this series, even the Qur'an is unlocked for the human being. Truth, as the universal goal of the understanding, exists, after all, outside revelation. His rationalistic tendency brought Ibn Rushd intra-Islamic enmity, but also wide resonance.

The adoption of (Greek) philosophy, especially that of the logical conclusion ('syllogism'), also snipped the history of Islamic theology in two. Its 'older' form is characterized by apologetic exposition and dialectical discourse. The store of knowledge gained from the primary sources was composed in 'confessions of faith.' The *Maqālāt al-islāmīyīn* of theologian Aš'arī (d. 935) provided traditional theology with both its foundations and its norms. Faith is constituted by belief in God, the angels, the book of the Qur'an, and the one Prophet. The unicity of God grounds the indisputable focus of the doctrine of God, and in his omniscience lies that predetermination of human beings and their behavior that fixes the order of the here and the hereafter. As a normative work of 'orthodox' Islamic theology, the *Maqālāt* have remained an integral component of religious formation down to the present day.

It was an essential duty of this theology to discover the boundaries of the faith, and thereby the beginnings of → heresy in the confrontation with deviant doctrines. Hereby it acquired political weight. The role of state ideology was committed, albeit for a short time, to rationalistic theology (*mu'tazila*), a theological movement of the eighth to the tenth centuries, which laid stress on reason, and which was aimed against the traditionalists. But, at the same time, it betrayed the effects of philosophy.

Through opposition to and containment of rationalistic theology, the 'new theology' was formed. Al-Ġazzalī (d. 1111) is regarded as its normative representative, a sturdy combatant of the intellectual speculations and hairsplittings of the theologians, who, with his emphasis on subjective knowledge of God and on defense of the faith, serves Sufism as its exemplar.

As threshold and foundation of theology, the *science of the Qur'an (tafsīr)* and the *science of the 'transmission'* (*ḥadīṯ*) of the utterances of the Prophet—with 600,000 of them circulating in subsequent times—held their key position in the canon of Islamic sciences.

The *science of law* was at once driving force and profiteer of the development of both of these material sciences. The claim to be able to regulate immediately, from a limited divine revelation, the totality of relations among human beings, and of the latter to God, has awarded that scholarship its matchless role. It was and is developed by scholars and practiced by the faith community. The multiplication of the realities of law into four schools of law is to be explained by this origin. That the Islamic world nevertheless maintains a basic consensus on the Sharia is due especially to the production of legal scholar aš-Šāf'ī (d. 820). All four legal schools refer to him—the *Mālikīya* (west), *Ḥanafiya* (east), *Ḥanbalīyā* and *Šafi'īya*—that even today seek to keep the unremittingly transforming reality of law in harmony with the Sharia.

Culture and Religious Practice

6. Every fifth citizen of the world is a Muslim. Any attempt to explain the development of Islam from a religion of revelation to a world culture on the basis of its claim that it spreads in the one and sole God, *Allah*, is unsatisfactory. Islamic culture came out of a fusion of religious ideals with the Hellenistic and Eastern cultural legacy. It developed in the wake of its spread

over the old world, a civilizing power that it drew from its susceptibility of adaptation. A believer, regardless of color or origin, with his or her enunciation of the Profession of Faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is his prophet," inherits membership in the 'Community of Believers' (*umma*). The *principal duties* derived thence, (1) the quintuple daily prayer (*ṣalāt*), (2) fasting in the month of Ramadan (*ṣaum*), (3) discharge of the alms tax (*zakāt*), and (4) the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*)—if possible—to → Mecca and Medina during the pilgrimage month, compose the universal identity of Muslims worldwide. Even the sacred meaning of Arabic, the language of the Qur'an, has lost its identity-bestowing character, through translations, first into Persian and Ottoman, then into numerous other languages. Nevertheless, Arabic—the language of the sacred scripture of the Qur'an—has been retained in cultic contexts.

The Islamic cultic community, furthermore, is produced across the continents with reference to subjects that are of expressly Qur'anic origin. These include the *ritual calendar*, with its lunar year enumeration and its reference to Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina in 622 CE (year 1 of the Hijra): twelve lunar years shifting vis-à-vis the solar year, a weekly caesura on Friday, and a division of the day determined by the course of the sun but without an hour of fixed length.

Prohibitions and Prescriptions

Other items on the same list are the *prohibitions and prescriptions*, such as food taboos (e.g., carrion, pork, and eel), rules for marriage, as well as hygienic prescriptions intended to ensure purity at prayer, for instance through antecedent washing. The organization of community prayer in a 'mosque' likewise belongs here. A presider (*imām*) must lead this prayer. On the other hand, neither judge (*qāḍī*) nor counsel (*muftī*) has a strictly religious function. The former is named (and removed) by the political ruler, for warrant of the security of public law. The mufti, a juristic freelancer, assists him and the litigants in the form of official counseling (→ Fatwa) in the judicial finding. Basically, then, Islam disposes of no corporate religious instance between imam, caliph, or sultan and the Muslim or non-Muslim subject, comparable to the Christian hierarchical clergy (here, once more, the Shia forms a kind of exception). This institutional meagerness has permitted Islamic religious culture to adapt to the most varied political and social systems. In the hands of local lawyers, religious law has been able to assimilate to prevailing conditions to the extent that, from central Africa to Malaysia, forms of Islamic living communities have been able to appear that are more or less syncretistic and that nevertheless, in the minds of Muslims and outsiders alike, are to be ascribed to the *umma*. A central role in this self-understanding is played by the orthopraxis that comes to light in the specific religious usage of the Islamic cultural regions and their ritual usages. For instance, the Islamic world could be divided according to the variously prescribed attitudes of the head, bows of the trunk, and finger spread required for a valid prayer, or according to the food garnishing that—however they are permitted by the Sharia—is absent from kitchen recipes.

Man and Woman, Husband and Wife

The notorious inequality between man and woman before the Sharia rests on a meager Qur'anic basis (penal, inheritance, and testimonial laws). Over against it stands the emancipatory principle of the equality of all Muslim men and women. Respective social interests have taken

advantage of the flexibility of Islamic positive law to legitimize exegeses pleasing to the regime. Such readings include the permissibility of the male marrying as many as four women, a form of polygamy that only the affluent can afford. As for female roles, the deeply veiled Taliban woman, with her multi-layered veil, is as much a part of Islamic reality as is the deeply committed, but unveiled, Sahara nomad woman or exiled woman of letters in Paris (→ Veil).

Islam is among the religions that reject images of faces, and of human beings in general, and enjoin aniconism (→ Image/Iconoclasm). Any representation of the Prophet is especially forbidden. Thus a sober Islamic art appears, which renounces representation in imagery. Its principal trait is an ornamentation that takes advantage of calligraphic and geometric elements. For all of its stylistic multiplicity, it adorns the Muslim's material environment as metaphorical praise of God and His creation: the jewelry, clothing, books, habitat, and architecture of the Islamic world are the products of a culture irreplaceably ensouled by a common spirit.

Main Currents Today

7. Beyond the distinction between law and unbelief, on which the Islamic image of the foreigner rests, two great directions in belief have formed, each producing comprehensive traditions.

The Muslim *Sunnite* majority is unified through its consensus on religious and historical tradition. Over against it stands the *Shia*, which, throughout Islamic history, has propounded and developed a programmatic foundation in terms of its opting for 'Ali and his successors. Among the numerous Shiite sects, only the 'Twelver Shia,' or *Imāmīya,* has embodied that foundation in a state organization, today's Republic of → Iran. (The twelfth imam recognized by this sect vanished in 940, but the myth of the 'concealed imam' lives on.) Its doctrine of faith and law is partially, but emphatically, distinguished from those of the Sunni. However, it regards itself as part of the *umma.* There are minority Shiite communities everywhere in the Islamic world. → *Sufism* can only be inadequately posited as a current that pervades both faith orientations. Sufist movements emphasize the subjective, mystical faith experience. Immediate knowledge of God, ultimate goal of a *sūfī* (Arab., 'wool-clad'), becomes possible through special practices (tending to be hostile to law, i.e. 'antinomian'). These may be of a meditative, ascetical nature, performed either singly or collectively. Since the thirteenth century, Sufi Movements have organized repeatedly, in the veneration of saints who mediate salvation, in orders or brotherhoods.

Sufism must be clearly distinguished from 'fundamentalist' or 'Islamistic' movements (→ Fundamentalism). There have always been such movements, which refer their religio-political concepts to an idealized early age of Islam, especially to the 'ideal state' of Muhammad in Medina. By way of concretization, and resistance to depressing experiences with the overpowering European colonial invaders, there arose in the 1920s the 'Muslim brotherhood' of Ḥasan al-Bannā' (d. 1949), and later Sayyid Quṭb (executed in 1966), its goal being the creation of a society established on Islamic foundations. With the new appeal to a primordial order, the modern Islamic national state was transformed into a natural archenemy. The Palestinian conflict provided one more direction for the manifold fundamentalist traditions, with Zionism functioning as the great foe. Splitting away from both movements at the beginning of the 1970s, radical underground groups have

incited a battle against the enemy 'within and without': the secular state, and a Zionism supported by American imperialism, in which the orthodox obligation of the → Jihad has been reinterpreted as a call for terror and self-immolation. A majority of Islamic authorities worldwide deny legitimization to these radical political sects. The aftereffects of the 1978–1979 *Iranian Revolution* drive a deep cleft into the community of the Muslims (→ Iran). Today they divide states, classes, and families. The task of triumphing over this conflict between revelation and development is as much a property of Islamic religious history as is its insolubility.

Hostile Islamic Image

8. Europe's historical experiences with the Islamic East over the course of a millennium have thickened into a wickerwork of stereotypical prejudices. 'Musulmans,' 'Saracens,' and—to the present day—'Turks' are major, alterable, 'stick-on labels' connoting bloodthirsty aggressiveness, uninhibited sexuality, and above all, the falsification of Christian revelation. The immigration to Western Europe of so many Muslims from Southern Europe, Turkey, Lebanon, and North Africa during recent decades has changed this picture with an enduring shift. The problem of assimilation has replaced confrontation.

Today more than six million Muslims live in Western Europe, a linguistic, religious, and cultural minority. Socioeconomic demarcation, especially the denial of equal confessional rights, blocks their integration. The path is scored by conflict over the construction of mosques, and the debate, politicized in France as in Germany, over the veil.

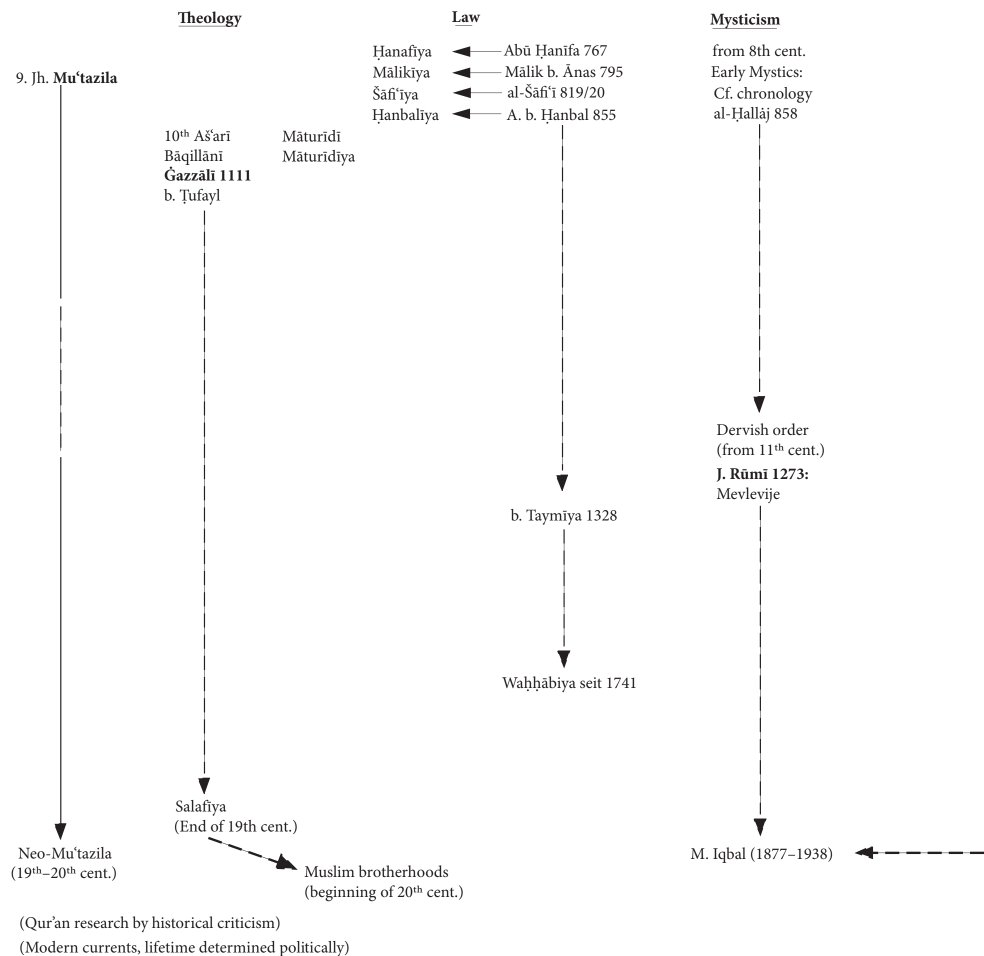
Literature

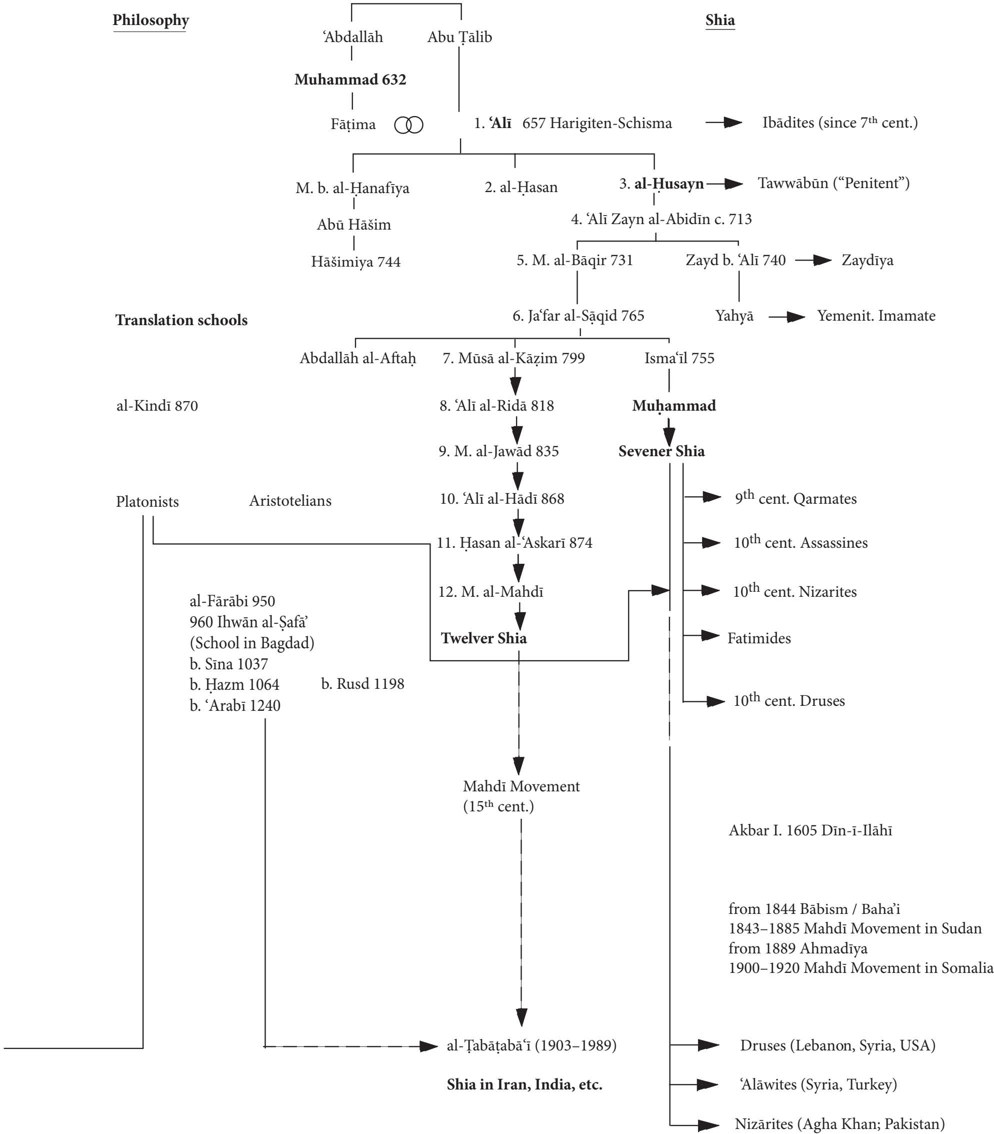
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→ *Africa I, Fatwa, Fundamentalism, Iran, Khomeini, Mecca, Mohammed, Orientalism/ Exotism, Qur'an, Socialism (Islamic), Veil*

Ulrich Rebstock

Islam: Survey of Sects and Schools





Philosophy
Shia
ʿAbdallāh
Abu Ṭālib
Muhammad 632
Fāṭima
1. ʿAlī 657 Harigiten-Schisma
Ibādites (since 7th cent.)
M. b. al-Ḥanafīya
2. al-Ḥasan
3. al-Ḥusayn
Tawwābūn ("Penitent")
Abū Hāšim
4. ʿAlī Zayn al-Abidīn c. 713
Hāšimiya 744
5. M. al-Bāqir 731
Zayd b. ʿAlī 740
Zaydīya
Translation schools
6. Jaʿfar al-Ṣāqid 765
Yahyā
Yemenit. Imamate
Abdallāh al-Aftaḥ
7. Mūsā al-Kāẓim 799
Ismaʿīl 755
al-Kindī 870
8. ʿAlī al-Riḍā 818
Muḥammad
9. M. al-Jawād 835
Sevener Shia
Platonists
Aristotelians
10. ʿAlī al-Hādī 868
9th cent. Qarmates
11. Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī 874
10th cent. Assassines
al-Fārābi 950
960 Ihwān al-Ṣafā'
(School in Bagdad)
b. Sīna 1037
b. Ḥazm 1064
b. ʿArabī 1240
b. Rusd 1198
12. M. al-Mahdī
10th cent. Nizarites
Twelver Shia
Fatimides
10th cent. Druses
Mahdī Movement
(15th cent.)
Akbar I. 1605 Dīn-ī-Ilāhī
from 1844 Bābism / Baha'i
1843–1885 Mahdī Movement in Sudan
from 1889 Ahmadīya
1900–1920 Mahdī Movement in Somalia
al-Ṭabāṭabāʿī (1903–1989)
Shia in Iran, India, etc.
Druses (Lebanon, Syria, USA)
ʿAlāwites (Syria, Turkey)
Nizārites (Agha Khan; Pakistan)

Islam: Time Chart

(Further information is to be found under regional entries → Africa and → Near East.)

Era 1: Muhammad and the Qur'an (c. 575–632)

c. 575	Birth of the Prophet Muhammad in Mecca	The time of Muhammad's birth is marked by military confrontations between the Persian Sassanid Empire and the great power of Byzantium.
c. 609	First revelation: God's ambassador, and his position in salvation history	According to Islamic legend, Mohammed received his first revelation from the Angel Gabriel in the Lailat al-Qadr (the night of the twenty-seventh of Ramadan), as he was meditating in a cave near the city of Mecca. The first revelations are signed by apocalyptic visions and expectations of the hereafter. Muhammad sees his own mission consciousness in the framework of a series of (biblical and Arab) prophets, to which he also ascribes Jesus.
622	Hijra ("Emigration"). Beginning of Islamic calendar	After the death of his uncle, Abu Talib, and Muhammad's wife, Khadija, (619) Muhammad's position of power in Mecca dwindles. In 622, the prophet and most of his followers finally leave Mecca for Medina (Yathrib), 300 kilometers distant.

622–630	Politicization: Wars and consolidation. The Qur'an as foundation of law	In Medina, Islam develops into a religion, with concrete ritual prescriptions. Principles of a legal system predominate in the revelations (in the year 623, community order). At the same time, a politicization emerges: the persecuted minority becomes a vigorous political and military system. The victory over Mecca in the Battle of Badr (624), although dampened by the defeat at Uḥud (625), motivates the Islamic expansion. The gradual decline of Judaism, which culminates in the expulsion or massacre of the three Jewish tribes of Medina (624, 625, 627), leads to a more powerful dependence upon the cultic system of the Ḥums (cultic community belonging to the Meccan Qurayš). Mecca (instead of Jerusalem) becomes the chief place of worship (first pilgrimage, or Hajj, to Mecca, 629; conquest of the city, 630).
632	Muhammad's death	After the Prophet's death, various Bedouin tribes abandon Islam, as they feel bound to their promise only with regard to Muhammad.

Era 2: The Caliphate and the first phase of expansion (632–749); emergence of theology and law. Beginnings of the Shia: first schisms. Power struggle for the Caliphate and the latter's function as a religious instance		
635–749	Military/religious expansion	Conquest of Damascus (635–636), Jerusalem (638), Egypt (639–642), Persia (642–652) Tripoli (643–647), Carthage (698), Buchara, Samarkand, and Tashkent (706–710), Gibraltar (711).
632–661	The four "rightly conducted Caliphs"	The Sunni tradition understands here Abū Bakr (632–634), ʿUmar (634–644), ʿUṯmān (644–656), and ʿAlī (656–661). They had led the new umma in Muhammad's sense. The early phase of the caliphate is scored by strife over the succession of the political and religious superiors of the Muslims.
7th cent.	Beginning of the Hadith. First pious foundations (*waqf*)	After the death of the Prophet, the need grows for extra-Qur'anic behavioral prescriptions. Oral reports (hadiths) on Muhammad's life and comportment are collected.
656–661	First civil war (*fitna*). Caliphate of ʿAlī	After ʿUṯmān's murder, the Umma encounters a crisis. Conflict over legitimate succession emerges with Muhammad's son-in-law, ʿAlī, the victor.
661–749	Caliphate of the *Umayyads:* Expansion	After ʿAlī, the Meccan family of the

	of the territory of the Umma. Blossoming of poetry, grammar, architecture. Emergence of a state-system and a religious law, as well as the beginnings of an Islamic theology. First schisms	Umayyads establishes itself as a caliphate dynasty. Under its rule, campaigns of conquest are waged in Northwest Africa, Spain, Byzantium, and Central Asia. Within a very short time, the region of the Umma multiplies exponentially. An administrative apparatus develops, in many respects Persian-influenced, an organized directive policy, and a religious law (Sharia) in four schools. The military organization continues captive to tribal structures, which leads to feuding. Architecture experiences a first bloom with the building of the ʿUmar Mosque (Dome of the Rock) in Jerusalem (691), under ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705), the Friday Mosque (707–715), and so on. Poetry, especially love poetry, panegyric and invective verse, establishes norms valid to this day. In the newly founded garrison cities of Kūfa and Basra, philological schools appear, and centers of translation, especially of Greek material. Debates with Christians and Jews favor the gradual emergence of an Islamic theology. Under the rule of the

		Umayyads, further divisions occur of groups engaged in religious politics.
656–874	Formation of the Shia	
657	Battle of Ṣiffīn (on the Middle Euphrates); schism of the Ḫarijites	After the battle of Ṣiffīn, between ʿAlī and his challenger Mu'awīya, ʿAlī negotiates with his opponent, and an arbitration instance is brought into play. Incensed, ʿAlī's followers abandon their encampment (*ḫaraja,* Arab., "to go forth"), and found the Ḫarijitic Shia. Except for a few centers in North Africa and Yemen, most Ḫarijitic groups no longer exist.
661	"Party of ʿAlī" is formed	After ʿAlī's death, his son, al-Ḥasan, renounces the caliphate in favor of Muʿāwīya. The *Shiat Ali* (Arab., "Party of ʿAlī") has given familiar Islamic currents their name, the Shia. Today, Shiites live principally in → Iran and Iraq, as well as in Syria, partly in Algeria, Lebanon, and Yemen.
10th Muḥarram 680	Battle of Kerbelā' (on the Euphrates) between Caliph Yazīd and Ḥusain ibn ʿAlī	In a violent encounter between ʿAlī's younger son, al-Ḥusain and the troops of Caliph Yazīd I, Ḥusain's people are exterminated. The Shiites celebrate this day as the Feast of the Martyrdom of Ḥusain,

		with passion plays, as a high holy day (→ Iran). His tomb in Kerbelā' in Iraq is the most visited pilgrimage destination in all of Shiite piety.
680–683	Origin of the Shia as a religious/political movement: Penitent Movement; Mahdī ideal and Messianism	Under the watchword of revenge for Ḥusain, a group of "penitents" (in Arab., *tawwābūn*) forms the Kūfa, who struggle for the overthrow of the Ummayads. ʿAlī's third son, Muhammad b. al-Ḥanafia, is proclaimed *mahdī* (Arab., "rightly conducted") Imam/Caliph. A mythologization of the Mahdī ideal occurs: the expectations of the Tawwābūn in the area of religious politics constitute themselves independently of the (fairly hesitant) relations of the b. al-Ḥanafīya. As he dies, the concept spreads regarding the Imam's rapture (in Arab., *ġaiba*, "absence"), from which he would return.
765	Death of the sixth Shiite Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣadīq; break-off of the "Sevener Shia" ("Ismailites")	After the death of the sixth Imam, groups split off who proclaim his son (Muhammad's grandson) Ismaīl as Mahdī, who was deemed to be in "hiddenness," and would return. These "Ismailites," or "Sevener" Shia (after

		the Seventh Imam) adopt Gnostic and neo-Platonic elements. They form the basis of the Caliphate of the Fatimids (909/10–1171), as well as the movement of the "Assassins," Qarmats (899–c. 1030) and Druses. They proclaim an "esoteric" doctrine of the difference between the outer form and inner content of religion.
873/4	Beginning of the great *ġaiba*	The twelfth and last Imam "vanishes." The Shia supposes that he has only withdrawn into *ġaiba* (Arab., "absence, hiddenness"), to return in the End Time as Mahdi.
711–1492	Arabic culture in Andalusia	In 711, Ṭāriq b. Ziyād had crossed over to Spain. After a supposed Umayyad prince in Spain has built a small emirate (756–912 Marwanid Emirate, 912–1031 Caliphate), this spreads, in the tenth century, all but throughout Southern Spain. Cordoba becomes the embodiment of "Moorish" art and culture. After the fall of the Cordoban Caliphate in 1009, Andalusia, under the "Taifa Kings," enjoys a literary and cultural flowering. The storms of the Almoravides

		(1086) and Almohads (1146/47) are invasions, but, after all, do bring new ideas. Since the appearance of the Reconquista in the eleventh century, broad parts of Southern Spain fall to the Christians. After the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, Granada is the last Arabic Islamic bulwark on the peninsula, until it is finally defeated by Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1492.
732	Battle at Tour and Poitiers	Charles Martell encounters Spanish Arabs who—probably on a plundering expedition—invade Southern France. In European sources of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the episode is stylized as the "rescue of Europe from Islam," while in Arabic sources it is often altogether ignored.
1086	Incursion of the Almoravides into Spain	The Berber dynasty of the Almoravides (in Arab., Al-Murābiṭun, "Inhabitants of a Defense Monastery"), originating in Senegal, represents a radical re-Islamization, and observance of Islamic law. It founds the city of Marrakesh in Morocco, and in 1086 invades Spain, where it repels the Recon-

		quista. It is broken up by the Almohades in the twelfth century.
1146/7	Incursion of the Almohades into Spain	The second invasion of Spain from North Africa is mounted by the extremist sect of the Muwaḥḥidun ("Champions of the Oneness of God"). Under reformist Mahdī b. Tūmart, they have already captured Marakesh (1125), before they support Arabic culture in Spain in one last resistance to the Reconquista. In 1212, after the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the realm has splintered into smaller dynasties.
1230–1492	Dynasty of the Naṣrides in Granada	Under the Naṣrides, a last flowering of Islam occurs in Spain (Alhambra, in Arab. *Al-Ḥamrā',* "the Red," 13th–14th cent.).
1492	Fall of Granada	See Era 6.
Era 3: Reception of antiquity, and "rational theology" (kalām). Philosophy, theosophy, and sciences. The extreme Shia and beginning of mysticism. End of the religious function of the Caliphate (8th to 10th cent.)		
749–1250	Caliphate of the Abbasids	Phase of the rise of artistry, as in poetry, grammar, mathematics, and compiled collective works and catalogues of authors (Fihrist, K. al-Aġānī). Religious conflicts with the Shiites, emergence of extremist antinomian sects (Qarmats, Druses;

		the latter develop into a religion of their own), theological quarrels between "rationalists" (Muʿtazila) and "orthodox" on, among other things, predestination. Development of the "rational theology" (*kalām*) and jurisprudence. Appearance of Islamic mysticism. Under the influence of dynasties of vicars, the Caliphate splinters, and has nothing left to oppose to the invasions of Central Asian powers (Seljuks, Mongols).
from c. 800–1000	Translation of sources of Greek thought	At first from the Syrian, and later directly from the Greek, the great works of Greek medicine, philosophy, etc. are translated. Under Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (808–873) and al-Kindī (801–866), centers of translation activity develop, for example, in Baghdad. Caliph al-Ma'mūn (d. 833) is one of the most important patrons.
2nd half 8th cent.–beginning 11th cent.	Philosophical-theological school of the Muʿtazila	Originating in the confrontation with Greek philosophy, the philosophico-theological school of the Muʿtazila (Arab., "They who stand apart"?) develops, in Basra and Baghdad. A characteristic premise is that reason (in Lat.,

		ratio; in Arab., *ʿaql*) has an importance for the understanding and defense of the faith. Abu l-Huḏail (d. 849) can be regarded as its most important sculptor. From 833–847, the Muʿtazila was especially prominent, although thereafter contemned, and even occasionally persecuted. It is received by the Shia, and has only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries been rediscovered by Sunnite theologians ("Neo-Muʿtazila").
786–809	Caliph Harūn ar-Rashīd	The best-known Caliph of the Abbasids is the protagonist in numerous stories from "The Thousand-and-One Nights." He emphasized the religious nature of the Caliphate more powerfully than had his Abbasid predecessors.
8th–10th cent.	Beginnings of Islamic mysticism	The "Sufis" (evidently from the Arabic *ṣūf*, "wool," with reference to the mystics' clothing) present a religious practice of the love of God (Rabīʾa al-ʿAdawīja, d. 801; Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, d. 728), absolute trust in God, and longing for union with God (Ǧunaid, d. 910). This practice is found in its most radical form with al-Ḥallāj, in his

		formulation, "I am the Truth (i.e. God)," which, in 922, led to his execution in Baghdad as a heretic.
9th cent.	Canonization of the Hadith	Six canonical Hadith collections appear. Then best known are those of al-Buḫārī (810–870) and Muslim (817–875).
870–950	Al-Fārābī	The Aristotelian-Platonic philosopher profits from the activity of translation in Baghdad. Building on Plato's *Politeia,* he sketches out the "ideal state."
9th cent.	Close of the development of religious law (Sharia)	Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 855) is the last to die of the founders of the four canonical Sunni schools of law. The other three are: the Ḥanafīya of Abū Ḥanifa (d. 767), the Mālīkiya of Mālik b. Ānas (d. 795), and the Šaf'īya of al-Saf'ī (d. 819/20).
Era 4: The orthodox Sunnite theology develops. Fatimids and chiliastic expectations in the Shia. Formation of Sufism		
909/10–1171	(Counter-) Caliphate of the Fatimids in Egypt	The Shiite-Ismaili Fatimids, who appeal to a provenance from the Prophet's daughter Fatima, come from North Africa, and have had their center in Cairo since 973.
957 or 969	Death of al-Ḥāsibī, founder of the Nuṣairians (today: Alāwites)	Al-Ḥāsibī appeals to the Sufi extreme Shia. Especially in Syria, the Nuṣairi

		are prominent in the twentieth century, and the prevailing religious current among the Asads, who sieze power by riot in 1970. The modern self-designation is Alawite (in Arab., ʻ*Alawīyūn*, "Disciple" or "Follower of ʻAlī").
End of 10th cent.	Religion of the Druses forms from the Ishmaʻīlīya	The beginnings of the religion of the Druses lie in the movement of Muhammad b. Ismaʻīl al-Darazī (d. 1019) and Hamza b. ʻAlī (disappeared 1021). It venerates Fatimid-minded al-Ḥākim (996–1021) as the incarnation of God, and cultivate chiliastic expectations. Despite persecution at the hands of the Fatimids, a Drusic hierarchy is established, which develops into a religion of its own. Its followers live today in Lebanon, Syria, and the United States.
990–1013	Al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo	Under the Caliphate of al-Ḥākim, in Fustat (today's Cairo) the al-Azhar Mosque appears. Their homonymous university is today one of the most important centers of conservative Sunnite theology.
11th cent.	Establishing of the Madrasa	The establishment of Madrasa as a *waqf* (religious endowment)

		is the prelude of an organized Islamic educational system.
from 11th cent.	Forming of the great Sufi (Dervish) Order	Originally as master-student/disciple connections, the Sufis have come to form the threshold of the "mystical path," now in orders and brotherhoods. Mysticism here becomes a mass movement, and has developed its own music, poetry, and dance, especially in Turkish, Persian, and Sindhi linguistic space. The orders are centers, and often develop a cult of saints, with a pilgrimage system to the shrines of the latter (especially in North Africa and Turkey).
11th cent.	Nizarites ("Assassins")	Named for the son of Fatimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir, Nizār, they move into the discipleship of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāh. After the latter's murder, they settle in the Elbruz mountain range, at the fortress of Alamūt. The order has become notorious by reason of a series of suicide attempts, as well as for the murder of Persian Wesir Niẓām al-Mulk. Their descendants are the Northwest Indian Hodsha, as well as the Aga Khan community (today likewise in India).

Era 5: Great thinkers of mysticism and theology. End of the Abbasid Caliphate

9th/10th cent.	Al-Aš'arī founds a new theological "orthodoxy"	Even though still schooled under the influence of the Mu'tazila, Aš'arī (873/74–935/36) turns once more to the "traditionals." He surrenders "rational theology" (*kalām*), and proclaims the uncreatedness of the Qur'an. The Aš'aritic school is promptly awarded the title of "orthodoxy."
980–1037	Ibn Sīna (in Lat., Avicenna)	Persian physician and philosopher of a Neo-Platonic identity, Avicenna becomes the very symbol of the Muslim doctrine of real universals. He stands under the influence of Aristotelian and pseudo-Aristotelian tradition. Outstanding work: the *Kitab al-Šifā'* ("Book of the Healing" of the soul).
994–1064	Ibn Ḥazm	The Neo-Platonic "Dove's Necktie" of poet and philosopher Ibn Hazm, becomes the paragon of Arabic "Platonic love." Theologically, b. Ḥazm represents a personal religiousness, independent of dogmas and clashes over orthodoxy. The key element is the conviction of the heart (*'aqd bi-l-qalb*). This

		development means a dismissal of the understanding-oriented *kalam* theologians.
1058–1111	Abu Ḥāmid al-Ġazzālī (Algazel), theologian and (in his old age) Sufi	Al-Ġazzali (also cited as Al-Ġazālī) ranks as one of the greatest Islamic theologians. His *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* (Arab., "Confutation of the Philosophers") polemicizes against attempts to proclaim a primacy of philosophy vis-à-vis theology. In his advanced years, Ġazzālī turns to mysticism.
1126–1198	Ibn Rushd (in Lat., Averroes)	The Andalusian Aristotelian from Cordoba composes an important commentary on Aristotle for the entire medieval world. Theologically, he stands on the side of those who accept the unification of religion and philosophy. Against Ġazzālī, he composes the *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (Arab., "Confutation of the Confutation").
1165–1240	Muhyi'l-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī	Ibn ʿArabī is one of the best-known mystics of the Islamic world. He represents a pantheism inspired by love.
1207–1273	Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī	Rūmī is doubtless the most famous mystic of Islam. Born in Balḫ, in Persia, his tomb in Konya is a pilgrimage

		destination to this day. There, the Mewlewije emerged as a Dervish order that appeals to him, and that bears strongly pantheistic traits.
1055–1250	Empire of the Seljuks	Acknowledged by the Caliph as Sultan since 1040, Seljuk Togril appears before Baghdad in 1055. In 1058 he dissolves the Buyids, and founds the new Empire, which reaches to Anatolia (1071: victory at Mantzikert). The Seljuks are Sunnis.
1096–1270	Crusades of Western European Christian knights for the "liberation of the holy places in Palestine." Crusader locations and knightly orders in the Levant	After the capture of Jerusalem by the Seljuks in 1070, a cry for help comes from the Eastern Roman Emperor. Western and Central Europe mount a movement of support. By 1270, in seven military Crusades, with varying success, this movement will have attempted to place Jerusalem (first captured in 1099) under Christian control. This direct contact with the Islamic East leads to a flowering of European chivalric culture, as well as an intensification of long-distance trade with Central Europe. It also releases a flood of polemical and apologetical tracts,

		however, on both sides.
1169–1193	Rule of the Sultan of Egypt and Syria, Salāh al-Dīn ibn Ayyūb (Saladin)	In 1171, Seljuk General Saladin overthrows the Fatimids (and Egypt becomes Sunnite once more), and, after 1187, the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem. Like his Seljuk predecessors, Saladin rekindles the notion of a → Jihad against the Franks (and against Shiite extremists).
1206	General Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak founds the Sultanate of Delhi	First phase of the Islamization of Northern India (up to Timur's invasion in 1398).
1258	Invasion of the Mongols. End of the Abbasid Caliphate	Mongol Great Khan Hulagu captures Baghdad, and has the last Caliph executed.
1291	Sultan Baibars captures Akkon	This ends the presence of Christian Crusaders in the Holy Land.
Era 6: The primacy of law and the development of a spirituality in the Shia		
1263–1328	Ibn Taimīya	Puritanical Ḥanbalit, from Damascus, formulates the thesis of the unity of state and dynasty (in Arab., *dīn wa-dawla*), and polemicizes against the veneration of the saints. His work is accepted by theologians of modern fundamentalist, or political, Islamism.

1326	Death of Ottoman I	The founder of the Dynasty of the Ottomans also laid the cornerstone for the later state system of the Ottoman Empire.
15th cent.	Extreme Shiite Mahdī Movement	In Iraq and Iran, Shiite Mahdī movements appear, of which the most important, under Dervish Ṣafī ad-Dīn Isḥāq, is founded by the Iranian Dynasty of the Ṣafawids. The propaganda he proclaims comports a chiliastic expectation of the now deified Mahdī, and a proximity to a Sufidom now organized as an Order.
1453	Fall of Constantinople	After several charges, the Ottomans under Mehmet II, "the Conqueror," capture Constantinople, which, under the name of Stambul/Istanbul becomes the new capital. Albania and Bosnia become Muslim, for the most part, after their defeat, while the Greek territories remain Christian.
1491	Fall of Granada	Naṣridic Granada was the last Arab center on the Iberian Peninsula. Granada and Córdoba, especially, become twin posthumous symbols of high Arab culture. But they also became the object of elegiac poetry of

		the lost paradise, and of the vision of a multicultural society.
1516/17	The Caliphate is transferred to the Ottomans	With the victory over the Mamelukes, the sacred cities of Islam also fall to the Ottomans. The last nominal Abbasid Caliph is brought to Istanbul, and his honor and office is transferred to the Sultan. Now the latter bears the title of Caliph.
1526	Timurite Barbur founds the Islamic Mogul Empire in Northern India (until 1739 or 1858)	Cultural flowering consequent upon the connection between Hindu Indian and Islamic Arab culture. In the eighteenth century, the central state collapses into princedoms.
1556–1605	Akbar I	The Mogul declares a syncretistic religion, that combines elements of Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism with a cult of the person of the ruler. This "Din-i-ilāhī" (Pers./ Urdu, "Divine Religion") dies, however, with him.
16th cent.	Founding of Islamic Sultanates in the region of today's → Indonesia	Sultanates Demak (1518), Bantam (1552), Mataram (1586). Indonesia becomes, until the twentieth century, one of the most populous of the Islamic states (87% Muslim, 1998).

1571	Battle of Lepanto	Annihilation of the Ottoman fleet by the League (Ecclesiastical State, Venice, Pisa, Spain) under John of Austria, 1573 peace with Venice. Mythically explained as the greatest victory over the long-established enemy, the Ottoman Empire, Lepanto becomes the symbol of the Christian Crusades.
17th cent.	Theosophist school of Isfahan	Founded by Mīr M. Bākir Astarābādī (d. 1630), the school adopts thoughts of Avicenna, Fārābī, and ibn ʿArabī. It is to be understood as the opposite pole from the ever more institutionalized spirituality in Iran.
1683	Siege of Vienna by the Turkish army	Mehmet IV suffers a catastrophic defeat at Kahlenberg, and the spread of the Ottoman Empire ends for good and all. It had been connected with the Timar system of the conferral of benefices in return for financing the military. The Western image of the siege of Vienna is stamped by the shock of the "Turks at the walls of Vienna," but is also an ideological stage-setting for of the defense of the Christian West.

Era 7 (18th/19th centuries): The Mahdī movement of the close of the nineteenth century. Beginnings of Islamic modernism

1703–1792	M. b. ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb founds the traditionalist, rigoristic Waḥḥābite movement in Arabia	A first expansion is accomplished by the movement in ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb's lifetime. A broad conquest of the Arabian peninsula (including Mecca and Medina) follows in the second Waḥḥābites' insurrection, in the nineteenth century. In a third assault, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Saudis succeed in establishing a state.
1796–1925	Rule of the Qajārs in Iran	The formation of a hierarchically ordered Shiite clergy and a Shiite orthodoxy, begun under the Ṣafawids, is now complete.
round 1840	Establishing the Sanūsīya	The Libyan order today represents the spiritual foundation of the government of al-Qaḏḏāfī (Col. Kaddafi).
1844	Beginning of the Baha'i movement	A chiliastic Mahdī movement under ʿAlī Muḥammad (surnamed al-Bāb, = "The Gate" for the Imam) produces, under Mirza Hosein ʿAlī Nūrī Bahā'ullāh, the religion of the Baha'i.
1881–1898	Mahdī movement in Sudan	M. Aḥmad b. Abdāllah comes forward as a Mahdī, and proclaims asceticism, racial equality, and the unity of the

		Islamic schools of jurisprudence. In 1885 he captures Khartoum, which will be recaptured in 1898 by Lord Kitchener. His movement was joined by anti-colonialist Mahdī movements in Somalia (1900–1920) and Nigeria (from 1900).
19th/20th cent.	Salafīya	Modernist theologians, for example in Egypt, attempt to bring Islamic piety and a modern lifestyle into harmony under the conditions of colonialism. In Islam, there ought to be an alternative progressive thinking, that can be opposed to European Christian dominance. Important representatives: Jamal al-Dīn al-Afġānī (1838/39–1897), Muḥammad Abduh (1849–1905), Rāshid Riḍā (1865–1935).
1889	Founding of the Aḥmadīya	Mirza Ġulam Aḥmad (1835–1908) founds, in India, the syncretistic movement that adopts Shiite and Christian elements. He is reverenced as Mahdī as the incarnation of Jesus or of the Imam. Islam ought to be extended peacefully, by mission. The Aḥmadīya is widespread, in, e.g., West Africa.

Era 8 (20th century): Secularization vs. traditionalism: The emergence of political Islam ("Islamism") and its opponents		
since 1923	Turkish Republic	Under the government of Mustafa Kemal ("Ataturk"), the newly created Turkish Republic is transformed into a laicist state. In 1924, the Caliphate is dismantled. In the wake of the de-Ottomanizing, language and writing reforms take place, religious legal courts are closed.
1925–1979	Pahlevī dynasty in Iran	Cossack condottiere Reza Khan (Riḍā H̬ān) becomes the first Shah of the Pahlevī dynasty, which comes to power in a context of anti-British rioting. Loss of influence on the side of the clergy, secular instead of religious law, and a civil constitution are signs of the policy of secularization. A clerical opposition forms, as the Shah blocks the meetings of the religious alliance in 1963.
1925/6	Third Waḥḥābite uprising	The Waḥḥābite Saʿūd capture Mecca in 1924, and thereby create the basis for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
1928	Founding of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood	These fundamentalist groups have been founded by Egyptian reformist theologian Ḥasan al-Bannā'. They

		are influenced partly by the Salafiya, and partly by the thinking of the Islamic states. Today they represent the largest Islamic organization in Egypt. One of its theoreticians, Sayyid Quṭb, is executed in 1966. In October 1981, the Muslim Brothers assassinate Anwar al-Sadat.
1920s and 1930s	Reformist movement in Maghreb	Anti-colonialist and reformist movements appear in Algeria and Morocco, under ʿAllāl al Fāsī and Ben Badis.
1947 (August 15)	Independence of India and Pakistan	Large population groups of both states succeeding the British Empire are resettled, on the basis of religion: Hindus, in the majority, to India, Muslims to Pakistan. Reciprocal pogroms cost some one million lives.
May 14, 1948	Founding of the State of Israel	The → Shoa, and the consequences of the Second World War (displaced persons), form the background of the decision of the United Nations to divide the British mandate region of Palestine, counter to the will of the Arab states. This act leads at once to bitter wars between the Jewish immigrants (→ Zionism) and the Arab armies, wars that Israel wins

		(the "Six Days' War," 1967, and the Yom Kippur War, 1973).
since the 1960s	In Western Europe, an Islamic diaspora emerges	Wars (between India and Pakistan; Algerian War; Kurdish War), and economic migration (from Turkey, Pakistan, and Maghreb states), lead to the formation of Muslim communities especially in England, France, and Germany. In some measure, ghettos appear in large cities (Bradford, London, Berlin-Kreuzberg), or on their outskirts.
1967	Six Days' War between Israel and the Palestinian Arab states. Israeli capture of the Temple Mount and the Wailing Wall	Israel occupies Syrian, Jordanian, and Egyptian territories. In consequence of the recent wave of expulsions, the Palestinians are politicized, and terrorist actions are perpetrated by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), under Yassir Arafat.
1979	Islamic revolution in Iran	In an at first general opposition to the regime of Shah Reza Pahlevi, the traditionalist group around Ayatollah → Khomeini prevails. Under his charismatic leadership, an "Islamic republic" forms, in 1979/80, with a spiritual leadership of Mullahs (→ Theocracy). Anti-Western,

		especially anti-American, propaganda, and the repression of religious minorities (Baha'i, Zoroastrians, "Parsees") typify political rhetoric and practice. Since the end of the twentieth century, the rather reformist course of President Khatami prevails, in which the interests of youth, women, and intellectuals are especially supported.
February 14, 1989	→ Fatwa against Salman Rushdie	Khomeini issues a Fatwa (juridical pronouncement) against Anglo-Indian novelist Salman Rushdie: the death sentence for apostasy.
1989–1992	Sovereignty or independence of Muslim states in Central Asia after the collapse of the Soviet Union	Independence is declared by Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The independence of the Caucasian Republic of Chechnya is disputed in two bitter wars and a Russian occupation.
1991	Second Gulf War between Iraq and a Western Arabian alliance over oil state Kuwait	The war against Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, which leads to the re-emergence of Kuwait and its dynasty, reactivates traditional caricatures of a "Christian West" and an "Islamic East." The alliance of Western Arabs, however, operates from fundamentalist Saudi Arabia.

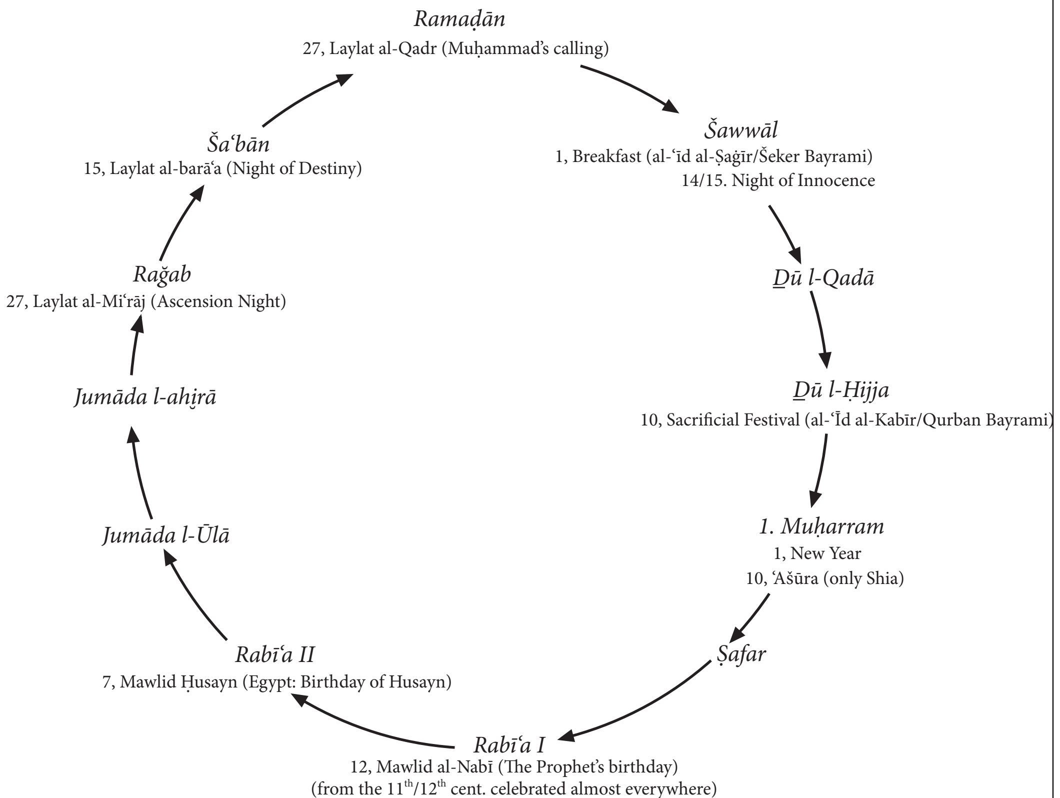
1992	Beginning of fundamentalist disturbances in Algeria	After the suppression of the electoral victory of the Islamist FIS, the conflict begins between Islamists and the government with attacks mainly on journalists. The situation begins to escalate in c. 1994, and a militant arm of the FIS is founded: the GIA. A reconciliation parley is held in Rome in 1995, but then violence is renewed. The army, and militant Islamists of various groups, engage in bloody confrontations, and entire villages are victims of massacre.
1994–2001	Taliban in Afghanistan	The Islamist "Taliban" (Pers., "students" of the religious right; sing., "Talib") first appear on the scene. Trained in religious schools in Pakistan, and in military circles of the Mujaheddin, ethnic Pashtuns, especially, capture Kabul in 1996, and plan the construction of an "Islamic state." Promptly, they proscribe television, cinema, music, and the internet. They repress women and religious minorities. In 2000 and 2001, they destroy the statues of the Buddha in the North of the country. Since 2001, Hindus have had to identify themselves

		by wearing a piece of material with a particular pattern, as with the Jewish Star of David during the Third Reich.
1995	Compulsory separation of theologian Naṣr Ḥamid Abū Zayd	In a lengthier process, fundamentalists accomplish the removal of liberal Egyptian theologian Naṣr Ḥamid Abū Zayd for reason of "apostasy," in view of his historico-critical approach to the Qur'an.
2001	Sept. 11: Islamic terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, with some 3020 victims dead	After the September 11, 2001 attacks on the New York World Trade Center by members of radical Islamic organization al-Qaida, engineered by expatriated Saudi Usama bin Ladin, an "anti-terror alliance" comes into the picture, under the leadership of the United States, and ends the rule of the Taliban.

Islam: Festal Calendar

Due to the method of observation of the moon, the pure lunar calendar used by Muhammad, which determines the times of religious duties, etc. (e.g., fasting), is very inexact. Accordingly, even in Islamic antiquity, additional months of twenty-nine and thirty days were introduced. This device occasions a shift vis-à-vis the solar calendar. In parallel with the Islamic lunar year, other calendars were used from the outset, such as that of Yazdegird (Iran, 365 days), resting on the solar year, or the Julian (Egypt, Spain). Conversion tables and formulae for calculation, therefore, appear in astronomical works in Arabic as early as the Middle Ages. For example, we have Bīrūnī's "Chronology of Ancient Peoples," composed around 1000. Iran knows of the solar year, besides, by Hijra calculation, therefore by (Gregorian) solar years, counted from 622. Most Islamic states apply the Gregorian system; only in religious materials is the Hijra year found as well. The respective year of the Hijra can be looked up in tables or be calculated with the formula C = 3H/100 + 622, where C is the Gregorian year, and H the Hijra year, rounding off to whole numbers.

Festive Cycle



Agnes Imhof

Israel → Palestine/Israel

Japan → China/Korea/Japan

Jehovah's Witnesses

Origin

1. Jehovah's Witnesses (until 1931 the *International Association of Bible Scholars*) are an independent international Christian religious community that has performed intensive Bible and mission work since the 1870s. The name 'Jehovah's Witnesses' goes back to the biblical passage Isaiah 43:8-13: *Jehovah* (instead of Yahweh) takes a reading of the ancient Hebrew word for God YHWH that has altered vocalization (and a wordplay on *adonai*, 'Lord'), which Jewish believers use out of reverence for the → name of God itself.

One meets Jehovah's Witnesses on the street, in public areas, at intersections, and at the doors of homes. The key theme of their invitations to religious discussion and Bible study is the 'Kingdom of God.' According to the understanding of Scripture maintained by Jehovah's Witnesses, this realm is a regime on earth that, in the impending future, under the peaceful rule of Jesus Christ, will solve all of the problems of humankind. In the wars, natural catastrophes, and social collapses of the twentieth century, Jehovah's Witnesses see the fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecies (Matt 24, Rev 6, and 2 Tim 3:1-9). Against this background, unsalutary developments appear as signs of the (end) time, which indicate the proximity of God's punitive judgment upon his enemies (Battle of Armageddon, Mountain of Megiddo, Rev 16). Thus, the religious community of Jehovah's Witnesses—the more than 5.9 million faithful today, active in 234 countries—belongs to the *chiliastic* movements, known to the history of Christianity in no small number (→ Millenarianism/Chiliasm). True, they do not maintain this constant expectation or anticipation (Matt 24:42) unconditionally today. The reason is that, in the past, the reinforced expectations of many 'Bible Scholars' or Jehovah's Witnesses of the inauguration of the 'Thousand-Year Kingdom' (cf. Rev 20:1-10) had not been fulfilled in connection with certain dates (1914, 'Jubilee Years' 1925 and 1975). These hasty speculations, nourished as well by the Watchtower literature, have led to faith crises and disappointments. Still the Jehovah's Witnesses have stabilized, and at this time are expanding worldwide.

2. With the creation (1879) of the newspaper *Zion's Watchtower and Herald of Christ's Presence*, the early group of Bible scholars and their revered founder Charles Taze Russell called into question doctrines and traditions of the established churches. They challenged, for example, the church doctrines of the Trinity, the immortality of the soul, and the torments of hell. By way of an independent Bible study, they countered earlier Bible scholars on the question of theodicy with a Messianic eschatology oriented to the present world: Jesus Christ is the Son of God, he gave his life as a ransom for humanity, and he maintains a spiritual 'Presence' (in

Messianic Eschatology

Greek, *parousía*). Next to come is the institution of the Kingdom of God, an earthly paradise, in which the dead themselves shall at last come to resurrection.

Self-Concept

3. Jehovah's Witnesses see themselves in the tradition of all of those in the course of history who have felt their way to the primitive gospel and the proclamations of the Bible and have sought to live them consistently—influenced, again and again, surely, by human speculations and errors—and have been crushed, persecuted, and put to death by political and clerical power (for example, the Waldenses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, → Heresy).

Jehovah's Witnesses take the Bible as a whole, and see in it the revealed word of God. For them, the sense of scripture is literal, and its infallibility inspired (*scripturalism*). Every believer, then, must be directed by biblical principles. For them, faith and 'proclamation' form an indivisible unity. In terms of their self-understanding, a passive membership, or a practice of the faith restricted to private space, cannot be in this 'society of preachers.'

Organization

4. The religious community of Jehovah's Witnesses knows no membership contours fixed in writing: all are 'brothers and sisters in faith' as soon as they are baptized (see below parag. 6a). The absence of a division between professionals and laity within the Jehovah's Witnesses' religious living environment does not demand of each individual a mere partial commitment. While most Jehovah's Witnesses are engaged honorifically as 'publishers' or 'pioneers' (fulltime missioners who defray the expenses of their sustenance with a part-time job), there are also high-ranking missionaries or co-workers at the Central Office (in Brooklyn), and in the more than one hundred branch offices worldwide of the *Watchtower Bible and Tract Society*, founded in 1881, which represents Jehovah's Witnesses' legally registered publishing company. The spiritually supervisory 'governing body' is likewise in Brooklyn, and is practically identical with the group at the head of the Watchtower and Bible Society. Worldwide mission work is supported by voluntary contributions, and high-ranking co-workers are maintained by the organization in a community resembling a religious order.

Cult and Daily Religious Practice

5. Jehovah's Witnesses meet several times weekly in their gathering places ('Kingdom Halls'). 'Elders' (from the Gk. *presbúteroi*) and Service Office 'assistants' (from the Gk., *diákonoi*), who must meet particular biblical requirements (1 Tim 3:1-13), assume responsibility in the individual communities. In their practice of divine service, Jehovah's Witnesses know no fixed rituals. Once yearly, on the fourteenth of Nisan, at sunset (according to the calculation of the biblical calendar), they celebrate the 'memorial meal' (the Lord's Supper) to recall the death of Christ.

Thereby they distinguish *Memorial Meal Sharers* and *Memorial Meal Observers.* The Sharers consist in those Jehovah's Witnesses who today belong to the surviving 'remnant' ('Bride of Christ')—those 144,000 members of the elect, of the Messianic reign of peace, gathered since the Pentecost event of 33 CE.[1] The *Memorial Observers* are that numerically undetermined group of believers who hope for an 'eternal life' in the future paradise on earth.

By reason of their pagan origins, church festivals like Christmas or Easter are considered forms of idolatry. The members' plain, modest places of assembly are supported worldwide by voluntary contributions. A part of these moneys goes for assistance and construction in regions of crisis and catastrophe.

The experiences of a community of siblings—singing, praying, encouraging, taking instruction in the assemblies, organizing missionary undertakings—essentially structure this religion's environment and everyday life. Along with feelings like trust, and a sense of security, the members of this community also develop certitude that membership here is necessary for the acceptance and acknowledgment of God.

6. Three aspects deserve special attention in any balanced consideration of Jehovah's Witnesses: (a) an ethics of the faithful grounded in the Bible, (b) the external effect of religious practice, and (c) the reaction of state and society toward this religious community in terms of potential conflict.

Ethics

a) Consciousness of having found the 'one true faith' (cf. Eph 4:4-5), and of belonging as citizens to the eschatological Kingdom, steeps this community's religious ethics. Their moral norm is the example of Jesus. This element is what keeps them at a distance from political movements. In national and ethnic conflicts, or even military confrontations, they take a steadfastly neutral position. The use of violence and military service are rejected in principle; pre- and extramarital sexual activity, as well as → abortion, is defined sin. Appealing to Gen 9:4-7 and Acts 15:28-29, Jehovah's Witnesses refuse blood transfusions, or any medical treatment employing blood and blood products, and seek out alternative therapies. Enthusiastic, earnest commitment is regarded as evidence of a genuine personal consecration to God. The individual must be intimately familiar with the teachings of the Bible, as unconditional priority attaches to the goal of being a 'teacher of the word.' Thus, with Jehovah's Witnesses there is no infant baptism. Christian baptism by water, for a Jehovah's Witness, is an outward sign of complete bestowal of oneself to God through Jesus Christ. Thus, baptism represents the most important event in the believer's life.

External Effect

b) House-to-house visiting is a characteristic feature of Jehovah's Witnesses. A capacity for active → mission ('service of preaching') must be maintained through intensive group relationships, ongoing bible study, and activities of worship. The spectrum of methods of proclamation extends from congresses held for public effect to improvised underground activities.

Relationship to State and Society

b) Although Jehovah's Witnesses feel obligations vis-à-vis governments, in a case of conflict between state requirements and a commandment of faith the latter is assigned priority (Rom 13). This reservation of conscience coincides with the theologically founded Western Christian tradition of the responsibility of the individual before God.

Persecution

c) Jehovah's Witnesses refused to swear loyalty to the regime of → National Socialism, and refused military service during conscription. Thus, the religion (25,000 members in Germany) was outlawed and persecuted

as early as 1933. Some 10,000 were locked in prisons and concentration camps, where 1,500 lost their lives. More than 250 were executed for refusing military service. Resistance became an obligatory precept for the community's self-respect and self-assertion. In 1950, Jehovah's Witnesses were once more proscribed, this time in the German Democratic Republic, suffered discrimination, and were subjected to arbitrary imprisonment. Almost always on account of their precept of neutrality and their refusal of military service, Jehovah's Witnesses today are restricted or proscribed in more than thirty countries (according to the Watchtower Society, 1999).

While Jehovah's Witnesses are in favor of open dialogue among all religions, and tolerance for various worldviews, their religious neutrality constrains them to forego participation in ecumenical movements.

7. Jehovah's Witnesses have been more and more involved in considerations of public interest in recent years. In Germany, for instance, their nonparticipation in political elections on the basis of a Christian irreconcilability of political and religious activities (John 17:14, 18:36), led to the rejection on the part of the Federal Court of Administration, on 26 June 1997, of the religious community's application for recognition as a legal corporation. Jehovah's Witnesses are currently making more use of the resources of public information to combat misunderstandings, especially those of tendentious and polemical reports in the media in connection with the debate on 'sects' (→ New Religions; Sect), and inadequate public information. With the founding of 'Hospital Connection Committees,' which form a dense information network worldwide, Jehovah's Witnesses seek to procure optimal medical treatment without blood transfusions. Thus, owing especially to the religion's normative orientation, interaction with Jehovah's Witnesses today comports a challenge to other Christian groups to confront their own basic notions.

1. Rev 7:4-10, 14:1-7; Luke 12:32. In 1999, 8755 Jehovah's Witnesses professed their 'heavenly' hope to be included in this class.

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→ *Apocalypse, Baptism, Bible, Millenarianism/Chiliasm, Mission, Protestantism*

Robert Schmidt

Jerusalem

The Holy City

1. For the Judeo-Christian tradition, Jerusalem is 'The Holy City' plain and simple, the center of the world and the most important pilgrimage location. Jews, Christians, and Muslims revere the city as a kind of showcase of divine revelation and salvation. As a 'heavenly Jerusalem,' it is a major symbol of religious longing, and a driving force of religious utopias. As an 'earthly city,' it was always the bone of contention when it came to claims of possession and power interests. Today it is claimed by two nations, Israeli and Palestinian, as their capital city.

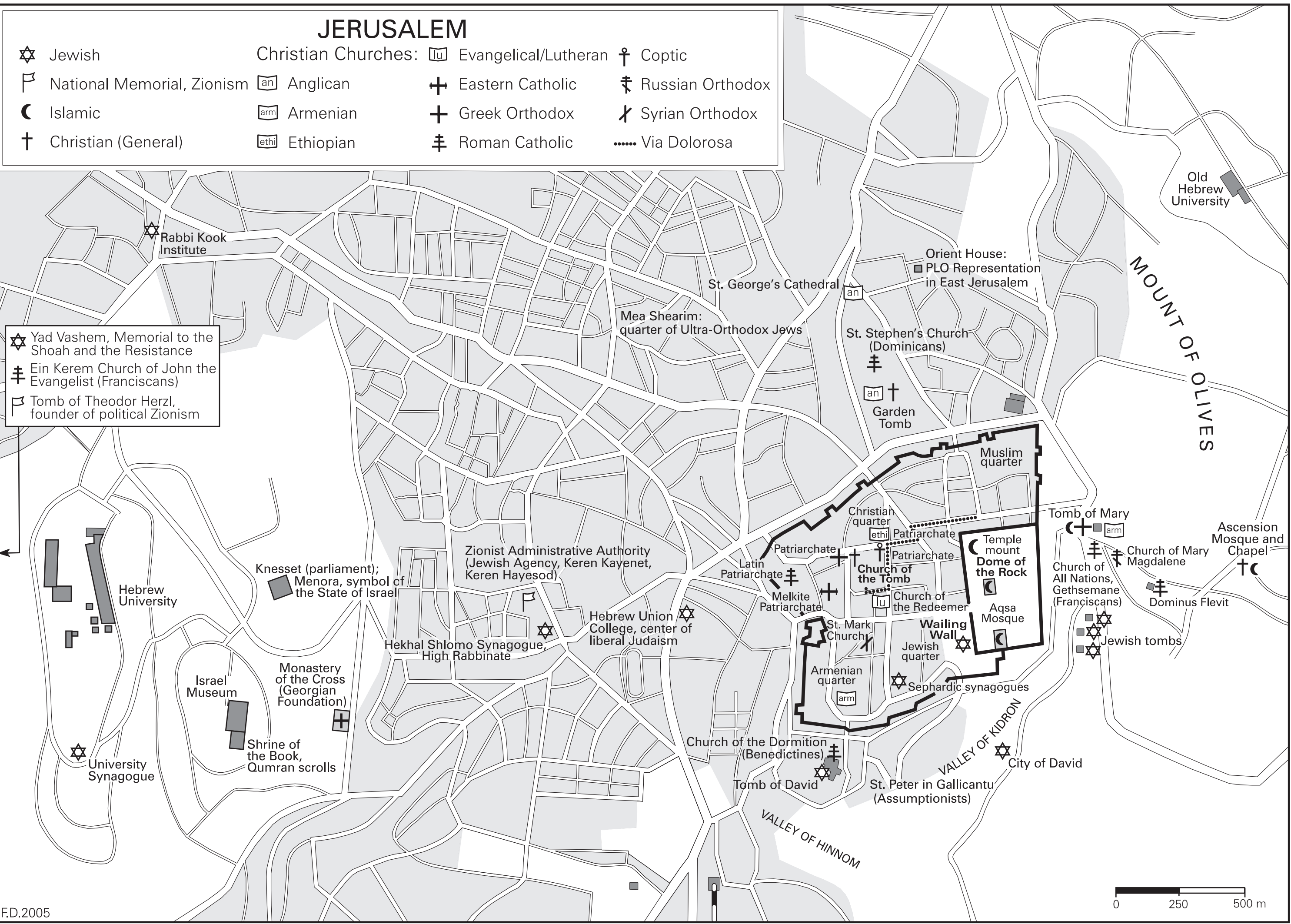
Jerusalem lies 800 meters high, in the mountainous land on the border of the Judaic wasteland, off the beaten track of the great trade routes that, for millennia, have crossed the 'fertile crescent' between Egypt and Mesopotamia. The name of the city can be traced back to City of God Salim, a name containing the Semitic root of the word for 'peace': in Arabic, *salaam*, and in Hebrew, *shalom*. Thus Jerusalem has often been designated the 'City of Peace.' Actually, there is scarcely a city over which more wars have been waged: in the course of its almost 5,000-year history, it has been captured thirty-seven times. Although Jerusalem seldom experienced a time of peace, it is firmly attached to the vision of a reign of peace in which swords are beaten into plowshares (Isa 2:2-4).

Holy City of the Jews

2. a) Jerusalem was one of the numerous Canaanite city-states in Palestine. The place of sacrifice was to be found in the heights of the city, and is identified in tradition as Mount Moriah, the hill upon which Abraham was to sacrifice his son Isaac (Gen 22). Around 1000 BCE, David captured the city, and made it the capital of his Jewish kingdom. He transported the Ark of the Covenant, the key sanctuary of the tribes of Israel, to Jerusalem. Consequently, he transferred the cultic and religious center of Israel, that had previously been found in Sichem (today's Nablus) with its Mount Garizim, to Jerusalem with Mount Moriah/Zion. Mount Zion was deemed the sacred center of the Kingdom, and the middle of the world. David's son Solomon built the Temple on Mount Moriah, as the stable place of worship, to house the Ark of the Covenant containing Moses's stone tablets of the Law, symbol of the presence of God (all this according to the biblical accounts). With the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians in 587 BCE, the Ark of the Covenant was lost, and in the rebuilt Second Temple the Holy of Holies was left empty. After the Romans destroyed the Temple and the City once and for all in 70 CE, the symbolic presence of God was finally transferred to the western, surrounding wall, which is now left over as the last remains of the Temple. Jews are able to pray there on the commemoration day of the destruction of the Temple (Wailing Wall).

Christians

b) With the erection of the Temple to Jupiter on the Temple Mount, the Romans sought to have Jerusalem called Aelia Capitolina, and transformed into a Roman colony. With the arrival of the Christians, another rock became the center of religious veneration: Golgotha, as the assumed place of Jesus's crucifixion, with the nearby tomb as the place of his resurrection. Over both places, the Emperor Constantine erected in 335 the dome of the Church of the Tomb. Its monumental construction indicates a new sacred



JERUSALEM
Jewish
National Memorial, Zionism
Islamic
Christian (General)
Christian Churches:
Anglican
Armenian
Ethiopian
Evangelical/Lutheran
Eastern Catholic
Greek Orthodox
Roman Catholic
Coptic
Russian Orthodox
Syrian Orthodox
Via Dolorosa
Old Hebrew University
Rabbi Kook Institute
Orient House: PLO Representation in East Jerusalem
St. George's Cathedral
MOUNT OF OLIVES
Mea Shearim: quarter of Ultra-Orthodox Jews
St. Stephen's Church (Dominicans)
Garden Tomb
Yad Vashem, Memorial to the Shoah and the Resistance
Ein Kerem Church of John the Evangelist (Franciscans)
Tomb of Theodor Herzl, founder of political Zionism
Muslim quarter
Christian quarter
Patriarchate
Tomb of Mary
Ascension Mosque and Chapel
Temple mount
Dome of the Rock
Latin Patriarchate
Church of the Tomb
Church of Mary Magdalene
Church of All Nations, Gethsemane (Franciscans)
Zionist Administrative Authority (Jewish Agency, Keren Kayenet, Keren Hayesod)
Knesset (parliament); Menora, symbol of the State of Israel
Hebrew University
Melkite Patriarchate
Church of the Redeemer
Dominus Flevit
Aqsa Mosque
Hebrew Union College, center of liberal Judaism
St. Mark Church
Wailing Wall
Jewish quarter
Jewish tombs
Hekhal Shlomo Synagogue, High Rabbinate
Israel Museum
Monastery of the Cross (Georgian Foundation)
Armenian quarter
Sephardic synagogues
VALLEY OF KIDRON
Church of the Dormition (Benedictines)
City of David
Shrine of the Book, Qumran scrolls
University Synagogue
Tomb of David
St. Peter in Gallicantu (Assumptionists)
VALLEY OF HINNOM
0
250
500 m
F.D.2005

center of the world, and it became the pilgrimage place for Christians. On the world maps of the Middle Ages, consequently, Jerusalem is shifted to the middle, so that it became the geographical navel of the world even cartographically. In Christian theology, besides, the concept of the 'Heavenly Jerusalem' acquired importance. The motif comes from Jewish apocalypticism, which, in the time of the destruction of the Temple, had produced a counter-image: the utopia of a new, ideal city of the future, in which only God and the highest Good would reign. In the New Testament, the heavenly Jerusalem becomes the primordial model of the Church, an image now present transcendently, which, at the end of days, will descend upon the earthly Jerusalem.

Muslims

c) After the Muslim capture of Jerusalem by Caliph Omar in 638, the Temple mount received new importance as a sacred place. From the rock Moria, it was told, Mohammed had entered upon his ascension. On the rock, Caliph Abd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock cupola alongside the al-Aksa mosque, and thereby created the third most important sanctuary of Islam, after Mecca and Medina, as well as the Islamic counterbalance to the Church of the Tomb and the Wailing Wall, in the city of, now, three religions that go back to Abraham. Excepting the time of Crusader rule (1099–1187), *al-Quds* ('the Sanctuary') has been an Islamic city to this day, in which Jews and Christians also live, and as a rule, have access to their holy places.

Divided City

c) Since mid-nineteenth century, the interest of the European colonial powers in the 'Holy City' has been awakened. Thus, the construction of the Catholic Dormition and the Evangelical Church of the Redeemer, in connection with the visit of German Kaiser Wilhelm II in Jerusalem in 1898, not only symbolized the presence of German Catholicism and Protestantism in Jerusalem, but also asserted the claim to power by the German Reich. Jerusalem also became the mighty goal of a Jewish immigration, especially from Eastern Europe, and Jews finally constitute the majority of the population of Jerusalem.

In 1917, with the occupation of Palestine, the British ended the four-hundred-year Ottoman rule of Jerusalem, and with the Balfour Declaration laid the foundation for the creation of a Jewish state, and the kindling of the Arab-Jewish conflict in that country. After a United Nations plan of division had foundered, one that would have turned Jerusalem into an international zone, the city was divided, in the 1948 War for Independence, with an Arab East Zone (including the old City), and a Jewish West Zone.

The Six Days' War of 1967 ended the division of the city with the capture and annexation of East Jerusalem. The status of Jerusalem remains disputed, however. While the United Nations insisted on a special international status, Israel in 1980 declared the entire city its national capital. But Palestinians still see their capital in East Jerusalem, and the entire Islamic world continues to assert its claim to the holy places there, symbolized in the Dome of the Rock.

Growing Fundamentalism

d) At present, the political confrontation in the Near East conflict is maintained less and less under national auspices, but rather under religious

ones. The unrest leading to the Intifada—the 1980 uprising of the Palestinians against Israeli occupation—saw its beginnings mostly on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The growth of → fundamentalism in all three major Western religions fosters the misuse of religious myths and symbols as a weapon in the political struggle. Accordingly, despite the presence of three religions that honor it as the City of Peace, Jerusalem is a city of hatred and religious conflict.

4. Everyday life in Jerusalem is to a great extent impregnated with religion. In the *Orthodox Jewish quarter* of Mea Shearim, the nineteenth-century Yiddish *shtetl* lives on (→ Judaism). The inhabitants reject the Israeli state, since only the coming Messiah can found a Jewish kingdom. They pay no taxes, and perform no military service. Now and then they cast stones at drivers as transgressors of the Sabbath rest. In the *Armenian quarter*, which can be entered only through a narrow gate leading into the Patriarchal compound, the life of the inhabitants is altogether that of the Armenian Orthodox Church. Armenians in Jerusalem see themselves as guardians of the cultural and religious identity of the Armenian people.

Not only does the city's economy strongly depend on tourism and pilgrimage, but even the image of the streets is impregnated with it. Pakistani Muslims, on their way to the Dome of the Rock, may encounter, for example at the Gate of Damascus, American Jews on their way to the Wailing Wall, and Italian pilgrims seeking to follow the route of Christ's passion, behind a wooden cross, along the Via Dolorosa. Their way leads past what is doubtless the most remarkable kitsch ornamentation in the world—a crescent, cross, and Star of David, candles, incense, models of the Dome of the Rock, and seven-armed chandeliers. Here are the religions in peaceful togetherness—at least in the show windows of the souvenir-merchants.

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→ *Conflict/Violence, Palestine/Israel*

Christof Meyer

Jesuits

1. 'Jesuits' is the general designation for the Catholic community and → order founded by Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), the 'Society of Jesus' (Lat., *Societas Jesu*, abbr. 'S. J.'; in Span., *Compañia de Jesús*). The Order's principal concern is worldwide apostolic and missionary activity. To this end, the Order has placed itself directly under the Pope as representative of the Church as a whole—in contradistinction from the regional church or diocese (fourth vow: obedience to the Pope). Further characteristics are a centralized outer structure, on the basis of obedience, and a strict inner organization, including an academic priestly training of rather many years.

Founder and Founding

2. After incurring serious wounds, Basque courtier and officer Iñigo López de Loyola turned to the study of Christian theology. In emulation of his favorite knightly hero Amadis, from the later romance cycle, he worked out a 'mystique of service' as a knight of Christ. In 1534, together with six companions, he pronounced the sacred vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience. In 1540, Pope Paul III issued the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*, officially recognizing the new community as an order. In 1531, Ignatius was elected the first Superior General of the Society of Jesus. The Order does not regard itself as a monastic community, as which it would have a stable, cloistered residence; rather it is the demands of the apostolate that are the criterion of inner organization. At the center stands the spread of Christian doctrine and faith through preaching, spiritual exercises, and works of love (where a goal and manner of life are established in the first rule of the Order, "Formula Instituti").

Development and Constitution

3. After the exemplar of an army, the Order is organized in a strict hierarchy, with a General at the top. The image of a 'spiritual army' reflects the medieval ideal of the noble knight in the service of Christ. At the same time, this organizational structure serves as a tool for the militant thrust of the Counter-Reformation. The Superior General, with his seat in Rome, is elected for life, and conducts the business of governing the Order. The legislative organ of the Society, the General Congregation, which determines the guidelines of the Order, elects the Superior General. The society distinguishes three types of Jesuits: scholastics, who are in training; fathers, who have been ordained priests; and brothers, 'lay' members of the Order. A further distinction is made between the 'professed'—ordained members who have professed the papal vow and are destined for apostolic mission—and the 'coadjutors' (Lat., 'Assistants'), who do not pronounce this vow, and whose activity is that of priests or brothers.

4. During the first century after the founding, the Order spread out rapidly, and advanced to be one of the major agents of the Counter-Reformation. Along with mission and the battle against heretics, tasks arose in the area of training and education, as well as in the cultivation of theology and the sciences. In 1559, General of the Order Aquaviva issued a general Order of Studies (in Lat., *Ratio Studiorum*). The Jesuit work in the schools stood in the service of musical religious education of youth and moral training. Internal conflicts (methods of accommodation, the

rites controversy), conservatism, and a growing inner immobility of the Order led to outer hostility. Under pressure from the Bourbon courts, Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society (*Dominus ac Redemptor,* 21 July 1773). By papal decree (Pius VII, *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum*, 7 August 1814), the suppression was rescinded. The history of the Society in the nineteenth century is uneven, and marked by enmity and expulsion. The international character of the Order went contrary to the new self-concept of the national states; its reproduction under the auspices of the restoration rendered it suspect in the eyes of liberal and socialist powers. The Order's position in in favor of the dogmatization of the infallibility of the Pope (First Vatican Council, 1870) led to difficulties with Protestant national church movements in Germany, and peaked in 1872 in Bismarck's 'Jesuit laws.' (Cf. the *Kulturkampf*: state against the Catholic Church and against an 'ultramontanism' focusing on Rome; rescission of the Jesuit laws only in 1917).

Mission

5. In Ignatius's own lifetime, the first extra-European missions left Portugal for India (Francis Xavier, 1541) and Brazil (Manuel de Nobrega, 1549). Xavier went on to Japan and China. Beginning in 1574, Alessandro Valignano was entrusted with the mission to the Far East; Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci worked successfully in China. Here, as in India and Japan, the method of 'accommodation' was applied. This tactic attempts to render Christian teaching easier to integrate in a given culture by adaptation in dress, custom, and lifestyle to those of the native population. Work methods, mission strategies, and means are evaluated and applied on the criterion of their effectiveness (c.f. the concept of 'inculturation,' developed after Vatican II). Japan's first encounter with Christianity occurred in 1549, with the landing of Spanish Jesuits in Kagoshima. Under the leadership of Francis Xavier (1506–1552), they plied their mission at the princely courts of southern Japanese provinces, and founded the first Jesuit communities (Hirano, Yamaguchi, Funai). At first, the new religious teaching seemed to the Daimyos to be a variant of Buddhism, and, together with their vassals and subjects, they adopted the foreign belief, promising themselves economic advantages from contact with the Europeans. However, central concepts and faith content such as guilt, sin, and forgiveness remained strange; they found no correspondence in Japan's religious teachings (→ Shintô; Buddhism). Finally the suspicion crystallized that, with the help of the Fathers, the Spanish were planning to conquer and colonize Japan. The activities of the Jesuits ended after a scant one hundred years, with a cruel persecution of Christians by the Japanese government (expulsion, torture, crucifixion of members of orders). The main showplace was Nagasaki. Foreigners must leave the country; Japanese Christians recanted the new faith under compulsion, or went underground ('Crypto-Christians'; in Jap., *Kakure Kirishitan*).

Stereotypes

6. Biretta and cassock have long since been laid aside, and the 'Roman collar' transformed into the cravat. The Order's presentation and policy have been changed. Still, clichés and stereotypes abide: papal militia, papal lobby, elite order, blind obedience, the intellectual, the atheist, the pragmatic opportunist ('the end justifies the means'). Entangled in secret machinations and conspiratorial scenarios, Jesuits, along with Freemasons and Jews, are fantasized as subversives, acting globally or as agents of foreign powers. The

cliché of the intellectual derives from the Jesuit's long years of training, and involvement in education, but also conforms to the negative, anti-intellectual stereotypes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Methods of accommodation, and moral 'casuistry' (with 'probabilism'), fostered the imputation of the end-means rationality. Conspiratorial scenarios of the nineteenth century (e.g., rumors of Jesuits being the wire-pullers in the Dreyfus affair) impregnated the image of the Jesuit with that of the enemy of the state and a traitor.

Jesuits Today

7. With some 25,000 members worldwide, in 113 countries, the Society of Jesus is the largest order of priests in the Catholic Church today. New themes have occupied the Order since the 1970s: place of woman in the Church, inter-religious dialogue, assistance to refugees, sociopolitical engagement in Latin America (→ Liberation Theology), peace and disarmament. Projects and aid organizations have been founded for new assignments: international refugee assistance ('Jesuit Refugee Service'), 'Jesuit Volunteers' devoted to work with socially marginal groups, peace initiatives, and a forum for inter-religious dialogue ('Jesuit Secretariat for Inter-Religious Dialogue'). Jesuits performed the work of pioneers in the confrontation of the West with → Zen Buddhism. H. Dumoulin, H. M. Enomiya-Lassalle, H. Waldenfels and others have made various contributions to the scholarly investigation of Zen, along with the practice and development of an actual 'Christian Zen.' The spiritual point of departure for Lassalle (1898–1993) was the spirituality of Ignatius's Exercises. He attempted to integrate Zen as a form of meditation and practical method into Christian spirituality (accommodation in reverse!), and his pupils continue his efforts. The Jesuits' critical confrontation with some of the philosophical, ethical, and socio-political questions and developments of the 1960s and 1970s have changed the stance of the Order on a number of issues, in some cases leading it to positions contrary to the official opinions of the Church (cf. socio-political engagement in Latin America, criticism of the duty of absolute obedience vis-à-vis the doctrinal opinion of the pope and of the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*'s proscription of birth control). Tones critical of pope and papacy increasingly color the internal development of the Order: Pope Paul VI reacted by imposing silence on the Jesuits gathered in Rome for the Thirty-Second General Congregation in 1975. The role of the Society as the 'strong right arm of the papacy' seems to have been played out, especially after the accession of Pope John Paul II in 1978: the ultra-conservative militant Catholic organization Opus Dei (Lat., 'God's Work') has replaced it in that capacity.

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→ *Catholicism, Mission, Order/Brotherhoods, Papacy, Zen Buddhism*

Sabine Bayreuther

Jesus

The Historical Jesus

1. Jesus was a Jewish preacher and healer appearing in Galilee (in today's Israel), especially in the region of Lake Gennesaret. His biography is visible only sketchily behind the religious reception of his activity, which reception forms the content of the four "Gospels" (writings of the Christian Canon) and related sources. That Jesus was born shortly before the death of King Herod the Great (4 BCE) may be a historically accurate approximation. His father and he were building artisans. The father seems already to have died by the beginning of Jesus's public appearance (between 26 and 29 BCE). Under Roman governor Pontius Pilate, Jesus was executed in → Jerusalem by crucifixion (→ Cross/Crucifixion); it may be assumed that the accusation was his criticism of Jewish temple worship and the suspicion of having planned a popular uprising against the Romans.

Teaching

2. Jesus taught mainly among the simple folk of a country region. He proclaimed an entirely new relation between God and human beings, along with the imminence of the world event that he called the 'Kingdom of God.' In preaching this Kingdom, he clothed it in stories and sayings that make use of a rich pictorial language ('parables'). The point of departure for his ethics is the conviction that the interior of a person is more important than the exterior, and that therefore a purification and renewal of the human being must occur from within, through trust in God, righteousness, and love. Outward behavior is not unessential, but it is without value if it is in contradiction with an inner attitude. This conception brought Jesus into conflict with other expositions of the Jewish order of life; the confrontation was kindled especially in his denunciation of official determinations of Sabbath rest, and of the rejection of persons who were regarded as unclean (skin diseases, handicapped, mentally ill, etc.). According to the writings of his followers, Jesus turned to such persons repeatedly, delivering many of them from disease or → possession with a call to God, and thus led them back into society.

For a number of his adherents, Jesus came to be regarded as the Messiah (Heb., *mashiah*, '[Lord's] Anointed [One]') of Jewish tradition, and the object of hopes for a political deliverance from Roman rule. On his last pilgrimage to Jerusalem, for the Feast of Passover, he apparently himself reckoned with his arrest and execution under this accusation. There, in the circle of his twelve disciples, he celebrated a ritual meal, and interpreted it in the sense of a current Jewish conception, through which it became the farewell meal of a martyr whose blood can efface the sins of the people.

Reception

3. From the very beginning, a number of groups appealed to Jesus. For instance, homeless and destitute itinerant ascetics raised the claim of continuing Jesus's lifestyle. Their ideas are ordered in a larger ascetical movement, originally resident in India, and there, among other things, taking a classic form in Buddhist monasticism. It appeared in the Mediterranean area in the form of itinerant Cynic philosophers, for example.

Jesus in Christianity

Emerging from Jerusalem, another group was formed, whose point of crystallization was the belief that Jesus had been raised from the dead by God and had thereby been certified as the Messiah (in Gk., *Christós*). Both of the latter currents quickly had effects beyond Judaism, and led to the rise of *Christianity* as a distinct religion, at whose center stands Jesus as the risen Lord. On the other hand, Jesus's effect among his own Jewish popular and religious community was of brief duration.

By the fifth century, the dogma had formed in Christianity that, in the person of Jesus, God had appeared in human form, taking that form actually, and not merely seemingly. Jesus Christ was interpreted as *one* person, in whom divine and human nature are joined 'unconfusedly,' but undividedly. Thus he was understood according to his divine nature as one of the three persons of the divine 'Trinity'—along with the Father and the Holy Spirit—that, together are the one, 'triune,' God. This dogma provided the wherewithal for the formation of countless different interpretations of Jesus in Christianity. In the Byzantine Empire, he represented especially the Ruler of the All (*Pantokrator*), while in the Western European Middle Ages the suffering aspect of the crucified Christ was emphasized. The Reformation held firmly to the latter aspect, but marked even more profoundly the redemptive effect of Jesus's death.

In the nineteenth century, Romanticism discovered Jesus's 'co-human' traits anew. Authors of this period like Ernest Renan, David Friedrich Strauss, and Daniel Schenkel sought to write the actual life of Jesus, until, in his *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (Ger., "History of Research into the Life of Jesus"), Albert Schweitzer showed these biographies to have been reflective images of the time in which they had been written. Nonetheless, the concerns of theologians to reconstruct the actual historical Jesus and his proclamation went even further, with the attempt to uncover this factual material through a critical analysis of the biblical texts. The extent to which this material can become visible 'behind the Bible's Christ of faith,' however, remained disputed.

For many members of the Christian churches, Jesus Christ is a superterrestrial figure, vaguely mingling with the image of God, and is often felt to be someone watching one's own life for signs of good and evil unless he is invoked in a process of emancipation. Characteristics that are positive, but powerfully typical of the folktale, attach to the image of the infant Jesus ('Christ Child') activated at Christmas time and offered to children as being the one who brings 'presents.'

In recent decades, the discussion is fraught with the fascination of *alternative images of Jesus* (Jesus the revolutionary, the hippie, the magician, the 'female man'), and with a high vulnerability to theses that present Christianity's Jesus of faith as deceit. In this connection, the relation between Jesus and the Jewish Qumran community, among other things, is brought into play.

Jesus in Other Religions

The religious effect of Jesus reaches far beyond Christianity. In Islam, Jesus is central to the message of the *Qur'an* as a prophet who was born of a virgin through the word and Spirit of God. Islam sharply rejects any interpretation of Jesus as a divine person, along with his death on the cross and his resurrection. For Muslims, Jesus is alive in heaven, and effective as an advocate in need; at the end of the world, he will play an important role, and will confess himself a Muslim.

In *reform Hinduism*, since the nineteenth century, Jesus has been adopted as one of the human manifestations (*avatara*) in which God appears time after time, or as one of the supreme actualizations of the principle that God and the human being are ultimately undivided. In the Theosophical Society, anthroposophy, and the 'New Age movement,' further concepts—often in mutual dependency with the Indian interpretations—have been influential.

Literature

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→ *Bible, Christianity, Cross/Crucifixion, Lord's Supper/Eucharist, Qumran*

Andreas Feldtkeller

Jihad

Etymology

1. In its basic denotation, the Arabic word *jihad* means 'exertion,' or 'effort in the direction of a certain goal,' and appears in the Qur'an, in the majority of cases, in the context of military 'exertion along the way of God.' It is important that the Meccan suras of the Qur'an preach patience when it comes to attacks on the Muslim community, while in the Medinan suras the right to repel attacks appears; it finally became a prescribed duty to subdue enemies. The prevailing military meaning of the jihad in the first century of the *hijra* (Islamic reckoning of time) is connected with the expansion of Islam all the way to Asia Minor and Southern Europe. The stagnation of expansion (→ Islam) in the course of the second century leads to a reinterpretation of that concept in Islam: *jihad* no longer means primarily a military effort against an enemy without, but the effort of a battle against the inner reservoir of one's own drives, therefore a battle against one's own ego. The spectrum of the concept of jihad, then, extends from exertion in the sense of aggression, to that of meditation, to the juridical term *jihad*, meaning effort on the way to the solution of a legal problem, which is especially important with the Shiites (→ Iran). Consequently, there is a basic distinction between two forms of jihad: the 'great' jihad (*jihad al-akbar*) and the 'small' jihad (*jihad al-asgar*). The 'great jihad' had a greater historical meaning than the original form of the 'small jihad,' and in the course of time led to a plenitude of philosophical and mystical writings of Muslim thinkers, which has also influenced juristic thinking.

The 'Small (Military) Jihad'

2. In the early age of Islam, the battle or war later classified as the 'small jihad' counted as the obligation and duty of every Muslim, and as a fundamental bolster of the order of belief and faith: it formed a sixth in addition to the five pillars of Islam still recognized today. Today, only radical groups only maintain it. In early Sunnite law, it counted as an obligation—as 'the best of deeds after prayer,' and as one of the 'gates of Paradise.' For Shiites, owing to the current incertitude concerning the twelfth Imam (→ Iran), there can be no jihad until the hidden Imam appears once more. In principle, the duty to do battle against an outside enemy is in Islamic law the sole permitted manner of war, since Muslims ought theoretically to form a single community; any armed conflict among Muslims is officially forbidden. Thus, the concept of jihad is unambiguously a missionary duty as well, when it serves the spread of the faith. There is general agreement that, for the jihad, non-Muslims can be called to assist.

The duty of a jihad is a collective one, on the principle of sufficiency, that is: as soon as a number of Muslims have come together that is sufficient in order to fulfill this duty and prosecute the jihad, it is no longer the duty of the rest of Muslims. But then, in case of a general mobilization, the 'particular duty' of each individual Muslim to prosecute the jihad comes once more into force. As early as the eighth century, however, the beginnings of reinterpretation are drafted, along with the development of the second sense of jihad, soon to be valued more highly.

The manifestations of the renewed interpretation of jihad, in the sense of *jihad al-asgar,* among the radical Islamistic movements of the twentieth century, all for the purpose of excluding and eliminating political adversaries by having them declared as 'enemies of Islam,' amounts to the 'Fascisizing' of the concept. By 'Fascisization' is meant the reinterpretation of the concept of jihad as *jihad al-asgar*, among extremist groups such as the *Front Islamique du Salut* in Algeria, or the *Refah Partisi* of the Necmettin Erbakan in Turkey, which preach a fanaticism of the doctrine of purity, aimed, as a rule, at secular or even socialist-oriented members of society, as well as against tolerant liberals and intellectuals. The military splinter groups of these political currents, the *Groupe Islamique Armée* in Algeria for example, use this concept as a tool of terror.

The 'Great (Spiritual) Jihad'

3. The 'great jihad' is important especially with the Shiites, who designate it the 'spiritual jihad' and assign it a higher value. It denotes an 'effort imposed upon oneself to achieve moral and religious perfection.' At present, it is of especially great meaning for secularists of the Islamic world who are of a democratic orientation and involved in cultural activities. Here the jihad is understood as an 'effort along the way of conflict-solution,' or as an 'effort to be recognized on the international cultural scene' (Fatima Gallaire). For example, during his incumbency, Tunisian statesperson Habib Bourgiba decided, by counsel's opinion, that laborers need not fast during the month of → Ramadan, since factory work would be social work in the sense of jihad. *Cybermuslim's* homepage on the Internet lists the addresses of Islamic activist and assistance organizations whose brief self-description invariably indicates that they understand jihad in the sense of 'intellectual or social effort.' Their goals are the realization or preservation of peace and social justice.

In the wake of Khomeini's successful revolution in Iran in 1979, Muslim thinkers also interpret jihad as a struggle against 'McWorld,' clearly

indicating a mature self-awareness of the Islamic world vis-à-vis the world dominated today by the United States of America.

Ideologization

4. This ideologization of the jihad is a modern development of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, having to do with the renovation of colonial history from the Muslim side. There is precious little propaganda to be found in favor of the jihad in Islamic history; Saladin's victory against the Crusaders is a conspicuous exception. Doubtless this form of 'great jihad,' for defeat of the socioeconomic problems of the Islamic world of the present, is of greater importance than the 'small jihad.' After all, in the Muslim world, too, the thought is clear that, with war, no one today can win in the long run.

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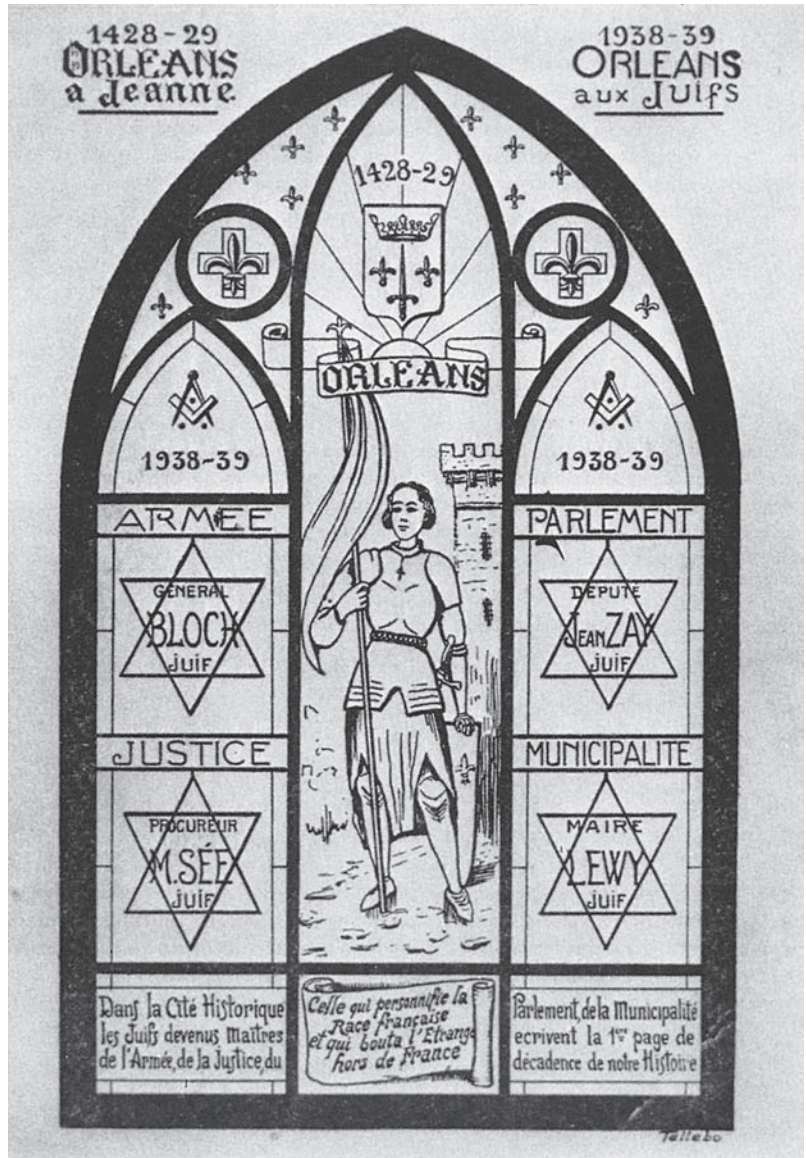
→ *Conflict/Violence, Fundamentalism, Holy War, Islam, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Terrorism*

Assia Maria Harwazinski

Joan of Arc

Life Story

1. Joan of Arc, the 'Maid of Orleans,' was born the daughter of a well-to-do farmer in Lotharingian Domrémy, on the Meuse. January 6, 1412 is indicated as her birthday. From the age of thirteen, she heard the 'voices' of Michael the Archangel, Saint Margaret, and Saint Catherine of Siena, from whom beginning in 1427 she received the political task of intervening in the Hundred Years' War between France and England, and liberating the country from the English troops. Joan forced her way to the Dauphin, to convince him of the authenticity of her divine mission. On the recommendation of a commission of theologians—who also verified Joan's virginity—the Dauphin permitted Joan to intervene in the war that, by now, was all but lost to the dynasty of the Valois. Under her military leadership, an army was dispatched to deliver the besieged city of Orleans, and it succeeded in lifting the siege of the English troops. After victory in Orleans, the Dauphin did not hesitate to have himself crowned as Charles VII, King of France, in Reims, on 17 June 1429. The enthronement was the high point of Joan's brief political career; her military efforts continued, as she saw to the fortification of cities.



Christian Joan of Arc as battler of the 'non-French,' or, more precisely, of the Jewish citizens of France: the 1939 anti-Semitic plaque from Orleans is presented as a Gothic church window for a reason. As personification of the 'French race,' the French national saint stands with 'God and Fatherland' under the vault of heaven strewn with Bourbon fleur-de-lis, against the 'Jewish infiltration' of Parliament and the military, justice and the municipality, the supporting 'pillars' of the Republic. The iconographical connection to Freemasonry—symbolized by the square and compass in the upper third of the pillars—suggests a world-conspiracy of various groups: Judaism, Freemasonry, and Communism, were 'anti-state forces,' to be battled in National Socialist Germany, as well. (Jutta Bernard)

In a sortie from the city of Compiègne, on May 23, 1430, Joan was taken prisoner by the troops of the Duchy of Burgundy, who were allied with the English. It is unclear why Charles VII did nothing to ransom her, despite an offer from the Burgundians. The result was that—for a horrendous sum of money—she was handed over to the forces of the English occupation. Under the administration of Bishop Pierre Cauchon, a political trial was staged according to the rules of procedure of the Holy Inquisition. Under massive pressure from the English, the Maid was sentenced as a heretic, and on May 30, 1431, she was burned alive. Twenty years later, Pope Calixtus III permitted a procedure of rehabilitation, that, in conformity with the altered political situation, concluded in Joan's posthumous acquittal.

Under pressure from French nationalistic forces, Joan was beatified by Pope Pius X on April 11, 1909, and canonized by Benedict XV on May 16, 1920.

Reception

2. Little in the political life of the French national saint, or in her activities, seems credible to us today, or even possible in our understanding of the historical facts. Joan has become a myth. In myths concerning persons, ideologies are concentrated, and the persons mythologized supply the abstract edifices of idea with a dimension of the cultic. In the veneration of a hero, a martyr, ideology acquires a ritual dimension. In Joan of Arc, a whole parcel of different, and contradictory, ideologies flow together into one. The myth of an Amazonian, virgin-pure warrior, of agricultural origin, who, by her sanctity, frees her native land from the troops of an imperialistic invasion, and then—betrayed by a man, her King—becomes the victim of a clerical Inquisition, seems an appropriate symbol for representatives of any political coloration. In terms of respective specific interests, particular aspects of the myth are stressed, others are 'forgotten.'

From the very beginning, Joan's image was the object of an extreme tension among various interests. From the side of the French, she was venerated as a wonderworking virgin sent by God, and from the side of the enemy denounced as "the devil's disciple and spy, the so-called *Pucelle* [virgin]," who owed her victories to black magic (according to a letter from the Duke of Bedford, commander-in-chief of the English troops, to his King).

In today's interpretation, Joan's image is even that of a pitiable physical or mental cripple: she was actually insane (Bertrand Russell), or developmentally impaired physically. The absence of her defloration is to be explained as a deficit, and is adduced as grounds for deviant behavior on her part. Joan herself legitimated her insistence on wearing men's clothes with her well-founded fear of sexual brutalities at the hands of her guards, although this transgression of the Mosaic Law was to be one of the main grounds invoked for her conviction.

Far from hindering her public expansion, the rather absurd conjectures on the life and sex of Joan of Arc seem actually to have promoted it. Joan has her 'market,' with some three hundred new products a year; and, of course, the market is avid for novelty.

Further, the Maid of Orleans must have been unusually well adapted for political manipulation throughout history. In the French Revolution, royalists appealed to a monarchist Joan who crowned the rightful king. The revolutionaries, at the same time, promoted the image of a young woman warrior who—atop the very barricades—had delivered France from the evil of a purposed despotic dictatorship. A similar constellation was repeated in the 1940s: Joan served not only as symbolical figure of the national-oriented anti-Fascist resistance of Charles de Gaulle against the National Socialist German troops of occupation during the Second World War, but her allusion was just as earnest an instrument of the Fascist propaganda for the deportation of Jews on the part of the Vichy government of Marshal Pétain. Both protagonists were confessed clients of Joan of Arc, and explicitly appealed to the Pucelle in their summonses to the barricades.

But Joan of Arc also has her interpretations as a feminist *provocateure*, triumphantly penetrating the military domain of the male, or as an early

symbol of the North-South conflict, in which Joan's battle is taken as anti-imperalistic resistance (Régine Pernoud). The radical political left, of course, appreciates playwright Bertold Brecht's vision of Joan as the heroine of the working class in the battle against American capitalism in Chicago's stockyards ("Die Heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe"; 1929/30; Germ., "Saint Joan of the Stockyards" 1929/30; premiere, Hamburg, 1959). A woman burned at the stake 450 years ago is still, to our own day, a projection screen of the most varied interests.

A recent example is the grotesque struggle over a statue of Joan in Strasbourg. The National Front, a party of the extreme right, is particularly attached to memorials of Joan of Arc for their political rallies and demonstrations; Jean-Marie Le Pen, then Party Chair, is Joan's confessed admirer. By way of rewarding Alsace for the electoral victory there, the Party's annual convention was held in 1996 in Strasbourg. As there was no preventing the meeting, Socialist Mayor Catherine Trautmann—later French Minister of Education and the Arts—who, for her part, proclaims Joan as a symbol of the woman's movement, simply had the saint's statue taken down. Now political opponents could no longer deploy under her banner there. In French party politics, the Other Side must, to this day, be prevented from celebrating 'their' hero Jeanne d'Arc with wreaths at her feet.

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→ *Collective Representations, Gender Stereotypes, Hero/Heroism, Sexuality, Veneration of the Saints*

Stefan Hartmann

Joke (Religious)

Word and Concept

1. The word 'joke,' like 'jocund,' or 'jocular' is from the Latin *jocus*, meaning a game or joke. A synonym for 'joke,' namely, 'witticism,' as well as words such as 'witty,' 'witness,' and the word 'wit' itself—meaning both attentive intelligence ('keeping your wits about you'), and cleverness at humor—come from the Old English *wit*, meaning 'know,' as that word survives in the legalese 'to wit' ('i.e.,'), and are akin to 'wise,' 'wizard,' and other words and expressions in various languages, denoting or connoting knowing.

The joke is one of the simple literary forms, and is usually transmitted orally, as anonymous brief prose. Beginning with an introductory narrative limited to the essentials, it aims for the final point, which brings the listener to laughter—provided the attempted account is understood

Judaism

(1) Hasid: "I'm going to tell you a miracle my Rabbi worked. We were going along on a hay wagon when it started pouring. Everybody was yelling, but the Rabbi spread his arms—and do you know what? It rained on the left, it rained on the right, but in between, where the wagon was going—it was completely dry!"

But the Mitnaged said, "That's nothing. Wait till you hear the miracle *my* rabbi worked! We were riding on a train, and the track got blocked by snowdrifts. It was late on a Friday afternoon. Finally the train got by. But then it started to get dark, and the Jews on the train started yelling . . . (By nightfall the Sabbath had begun, and traveling by conveyance was no longer permitted.) So the Rabbi spread his arms, whispered a prayer—and do you know what? On the left it was Shabbes [Sabbath], on the right it was Shabbes—and the train went in between!" (Landmann, p. 113)

(2) United States: The son of a wealthy, observant couple gets a Jaguar sports car for his birthday. The father says, "Before you drive around in that, you'd better have the Rabbi say a *broche* over it (pronounce a blessing on it). The young man goes to the Orthodox rabbi and says, "Rabbi, please say a *broche* over my Jaguar."

"I can say a *broche* for you, but what's a Jaguar?" So the young man goes to a Reform rabbi. "Rabbi, please say a *broche* over my Jaguar."

"Your Jaguar is interesting. But what's a *broche?* (Meyerowitz, p. 93).

Islam

(3) Once Dshuha was on his way to market to buy a donkey. He met a man who asked him, "Where are you going?"

Dshuha answered, "To market, to buy a donkey."

The other responded, "Say, 'God willing' "! (As the future is ultimately in the hand of God, a pious Muslim will add that expression.)

But Dshuha said, "I don't need to say, 'God willing.' There are donkeys at the market, and I have money in my pocket."

But when he got to market, thieves stole his money. Then on the way back home, he met the same man, who asked him, "Where are you coming from?"

"I'm coming from market, God willing! And I have no donkey, God willing! And now I'm going home robbed, God willing!" (Marzolph, p. 43)

(4) One day Nasreddin Hodscha was performing his ritual purification at a lake. As he was washing his feet, one of his shoes fell into the water. At first he did not know what to do, but then he said to the water: "Look, I'm going to give a fart, and you'll get your purification back. Just give me back my shoe."

Buddhism

(5) Buddhist teacher: "Today I should like to speak to you about the *anatta*-teaching: the Buddhist conception that there is no such thing as a determinable, abiding 'I.' "

Pupil: "To whom are you going to speak about that?"

Hinduism

(6) God: "Devotee, why have you undertaken ascetical exercises for so many years?"

Devotee: "To get a hot-water heater, Swami!"

God: "Couldn't you have asked for something in God's power?" (Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi, p. 122)

(7) "How do I get to *Pillayar-temple* [Temple of the God Ganesha] Street?
"You can take a taxi, you can take a rickshaw, you can walk, or you can do *ankappratatcinam* [Traverse the distance with a series of prostrations]!" (Echinger Ferro-Luzzi, p. 123)

Christianity
a) *Catholicism*
(8) Michelangelo was painting the Sistine Chapel. He noticed a woman who came in every day to pray. One day he thought he might amuse himself at her expense, and suddenly called down from the scaffolding: "Hello down there! I'm Jesus Christ!"
But the woman completely ignored him.
So he tried it again: "Good woman, Jesus Christ is speaking to you!"
No reaction.
Nonplussed, the painter spoke even louder:
"This is Jesus Christ! Listen!"
At this the woman looked up at last, and said, "Shut up, I'm talkin' to your Mother!"

(9) A man who had just died finds himself at the gates of hell. The devil on duty lets him in, and takes him on a sightseeing tour first. The new denizen of hell is completely amazed. Everyone is laughing and dancing, there is food and drink and cozy corners for lovers. But then he sees, through a half-open door, a pool of fire in which poor souls are being tormented by devils. Red-hot tongs, boiling oil, everything is there.
"So!" he whispers, flabbergasted, and turns questioningly to his companion.
The devil shrugs his shoulders. "Those are the Catholics. That's the way they want it."

(10) A Jesuit archaeologist who has been digging in Jerusalem comes to his General, in high excitement, to tell him that he has discovered the grave of Jesus.
"Wonderful!" says the General.
"Maybe so. But he didn't rise from the dead! His skeleton was in it!"
"You don't say!" replies Father General. "So he really existed, then?" (Bemmann, p. 121)

b) *Protestantism*
(11) During the Spanish Civil War, a Protestant missionary attempts to convert a Catalonian anarchist. "You can spare yourself the trouble, Reverend. I don't even believe in the true religion! How am I going to believe in yours?"

(12) A group of newcomers is being shown around heaven by an angel. Most impressed, they look around everywhere, until they pass a high wooden fence, where the angel holds his finger to his lips to indicate silence to be kept by all. Out of hearing, one of the group asks the angel what had been behind the fence.

"Oh," replies the angel, respectfully, "that's the Adventists. They think they're the only ones here!"

New Myths
(13) An American Indian observes the landing of a heavily armed UFO. Annoyed, he calls out, "Oh no, not again!"

(Jokes without source references rest on oral tradition.)

and received (provided the listener 'gets the point'). As fiction, a joke can recount possible, improbable, or altogether unreal events. Its discourse refers to formulae, and shows a preference for the dialogue form (question-answer schema).

Point and Joke Techniques

2. For the 'point' (as used in the expression above) to succeed, a joke must comport a moment of surprise. In the introductory narrative, a horizon of expectation is constructed, into which the 'point' steals through an unforeseeable turn, or which it confirms in an unexpected manner. The selection of the jocular techniques and themes rests on culture- and group-specific, as well as on personal, preferences. Unlike the situation comedy, which, in the religious area, comes to expression for example in cult drama or → myth (→ Trickster), jokes rest primarily on *speech and thought comedy. Word and speech plays* employ the ambiguity of discourse, or creatively recast it. They are, as a rule, untranslatable. Another joke technique consists in the *breach with convention.* Here, 'points' ignore norms of discourse, behavior, or logic. They make use of rhetorical figures like reversal, exaggeration, and understatement. Obvious connections are ignored; diverse, indeed, contradictory elements are linked, equivalated, 'switched.' A prerequisite for an understanding of such 'points' is an acquaintance with what counts for 'normal' in a given context. This technique is especially effective when the division among elements of diverse values is removed, and the trivial is paired with earnest or dignified—for example, religious—thematics (as in inset, Joke no. 7).

Appropriate and Incongruent

Taboos

3. A particularly keen form of breach with convention is at hand in the *breach with taboo.* Sexual taboos, anal and fecal taboos, disease, accident, and death are omnipresent, and are vulnerable to 'dark humor.' On the one hand, these are themes avoided in everyday discourse; on the other, breaches with taboo are precisely expected in jokes. Tabooed themes as a rule include religion. One who dares make jokes about the sacred comes under suspicion of → blasphemy, and challenges the wrath of the divinity/ies or of the offended believer. Avoidance of the latter is an imperative precisely of inter-religious contacts. Whether a joke is felt to be offensive varies with the narrative situation ('Who is talking to whom about what religion?'), and with the particular elements of a religion that are being addressed. Far from all pious persons see an affront in jocular narrative. Jokes are narrated by all: believers, unbelievers, mockers, religious indifferents, and religious specialists.

Functions of Religious Jokes

4. Theories on psychological and social *functions* of joking are not infrequently based on considerations of the need for compensation for the obstacles of life—for example, → Freud's metaphor of the psyche as a 'steam kettle,' in need of a 'safety valve' to release aggression and libido.

Enjoyment

Not all persons seem to share this need. But those who tell jokes and listen to them are said to acquire space or room for emotional and aesthetic enjoyment for its own sake.

Themes and Disputes Internal to Religion

Jokes transmit popular religious knowledge. Bible jokes, and the mythological allusions so much loved in India, presuppose 'inside knowledge.'

Beneath the surface, a special thematics is constituted by problematic themes, for instance by the opposition between social and mythic roles (as in Joke no. 8) or the question of evil (→ Theodicy, Joke no. 3). Productive themes include internal religious disputes (Jokes no. 1, 2) and processes of change (John XXIII at the opening of the Council: "Here I sit, I can do anything else, God help you!" Or: "Anybody remember the Seven Commandments?")

Aggression and Subversion

Jokes are not per se aggressive, but can transport aggression. It is the narrative situation that is decisive. Frequently, two figures enter the scene in a hierarchical relationship: teacher and pupil, bishop and priest, divinity and human being (Jokes no. 5, 6). In many cases, a momentary leveling or reversal of the order of power is reached. As subversive compositions, jokes attack authority and expose it. Under reversed auspices, they are directed against disadvantaged groups, especially → minorities. Here, just as in sexist jokes, the purpose is an attestation of the superiority of the narrators and the defense of their privileged status.

Demarcation and Polemics

Directed without, religious jokes serve for *demarcation* and *polemics*. Jokes in which the protagonists successively 'outdo' one another bring representatives of various communities into confrontation ('A minister, a priest, and a rabbi . . .'). The faith content of other groups is exposed to humorous observation in jokes about 'ultimate reality' in the 'hereafter' (Jokes 9, 12). Finally, narrators can feature themselves as the object of a joke, as is so brilliantly done in Jewish jokes. Jokes can therefore name inconveniences and nuisances, express criticism, and question religious → authority, but they can also serve to confirm → prejudices and solidify positions.

Figures

5. Customary joke-personnel consist of *stereotyped figures*, betrayed in these textual loci and—occasionally—called in question. Indian humor, for instance, features the self-seeking priest, the hapless astrologer, and the ascetic by no means averse from the world: in Christian contexts, the naïve nun, the good-for-nothing pastor, the fork-tongued Jesuit, and the missionary enjoyed by lions and cannibals for dinner. Unmistakably, general human experiences are represented in jokes by male figures—still at heaven's or hell's gate. Female figures lead to a female-specific 'point.' Some traditions have *standard protagonists*: among the most celebrated is the Turkish *Nasreddin Hodsha*, who fuses with the Arab *Dshuha*, whose name, in turn, in multiple variants, embellishes collections of comic lines well into Central Asia. As a Mullah, Nasreddin is a man with (limited) religious formation: his relation to God extends from the pragmatic to the shameless. In his intermediary position between bumpkin, and member of the theological establishment, he enjoys the freedom of the fool, the blatantness of the rascal, who deceives others, and the clumsiness of the individual who gets himself into difficulties. His repertory spans a gamut from robust situation comedy to the surreal.

Particular Jocular Traditions

The Jewish Joke

6. The *Jewish joke* arose as "highly intellectual, craftily honed, dialectical folklore"[1] of the Middle and Eastern European Jew (Ashkenazi). Its genesis stands in connection with Talmudic casuistry and its concerns to bring the requirements of the Law and daily life in harmony with one another

(→ Talmud). In order to examine the applicability of a law, legal problems are set in ever more fabricated, out-and-out fantastic situations. This is reflected in the Jewish joke as a preference for surreal trains of thought, however it is "at the same time a secularized form of the Talmudic disputation and its persiflage" (J. Janke). Jewish jokes also employ painful content, such as problematic contact with non-Jewish culture, or the situation of the baptized, between-two-chairs, Jew, and they parody the sham logic of → anti-Semitism. The Jewish joke has reached North America with the immigrants, and survived even the Shoah in the comic tradition of the United States, as witness film comedians like the Marx Brothers and Woody Allen.

Clerical Joke

A category in itself is constituted by jokes of the *Catholic clergy*, which spring from a hierarchically ordered world apart. These address group-specific taboo themes that underlie the (self) censorship of everyday discourse. Painful experience does not eschew jokes—on the contrary. The debate concerns intra-ecclesial power structures, the power of conviction (theme: sleeping during the sermon), and the demands of the pious life-style. This last contribution is often in the sexual area, which is taken into account in numberless jokes about → celibacy. Another onerous subject, ordinarily passed over in silence, is that of doubts of faith (Joke 10).

Transmission and Commercialization

7. Inasmuch as the textual loci of the joke are those of *oral tradition*, it is difficult to decide their age, or even the modalities of the joke in the past. Informal transmission is an invitation to the formation of variants. Consequently—as with the → fairytale—there are itinerant jokes, in which a quasi-structural 'point' is clad in ever-new relations. Today, jokes appear as part of daily culture, in the printed media, shown as cartoons or comics, as well as in cabaret presentations and comedy. While the formative agents of the joke, for example comedy shows or satirical newspapers, work with intentional breaches of taboo, those responsible for the production of the mass media are constrained to take careful accounts of 'when the fun is over' for the audience. Today, mental and physical handicaps, fatal diseases such as cancer and AIDS, sexual violence, and the radical right seem more strongly tabooed than religion.[2]

Comedy and Jokes in Religions

8. Are jokes open to an ordering to religious goals? In sacred scripture itself, if not thigh-slapping laughter, humorous elements, at any rate, have been discovered.[3] The didactic or homiletic use of humorous *exempla* ('little stories') was a component of the medieval preacher's art, in the spirit of the joy of Easter laughter. Comedians of the history of religions include outsiders in the form of personalities like Zen masters or Sufis, who have dedicated themselves to an intentional break with convention. From the perspective of Islamic mysticism: Idries Shah sees the possibility of calling conventional habits of thought into question with jocose parables as 'eye-openers,' as with the Mullah Nasreddin stories.[4] The cognitive function precisely of paradoxical and surreal jokes—as with the koans of → Zen Buddhism—lies in their relativization of conventional human logic in posing the 'surprise question': "What is real?" "What is rational?" "Who is 'crazy,' who is wise?"

1. Meyerowitz 1971, 8.
2. Lambernd, Jochen, Scherz ist Trumpf: Humor im Fernsehen, eine empirische Analyse am Beispiel der Comedy-Show "RTL Samstag Nacht," Aachen 1998, 196f.
3. Jonsson 1965; Radday/Brenner 1990; Rahula 1997, 51-73.
4. Shah 1997.

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→ *Blasphemy, Popular Culture, Prejudices/Stereotypes*

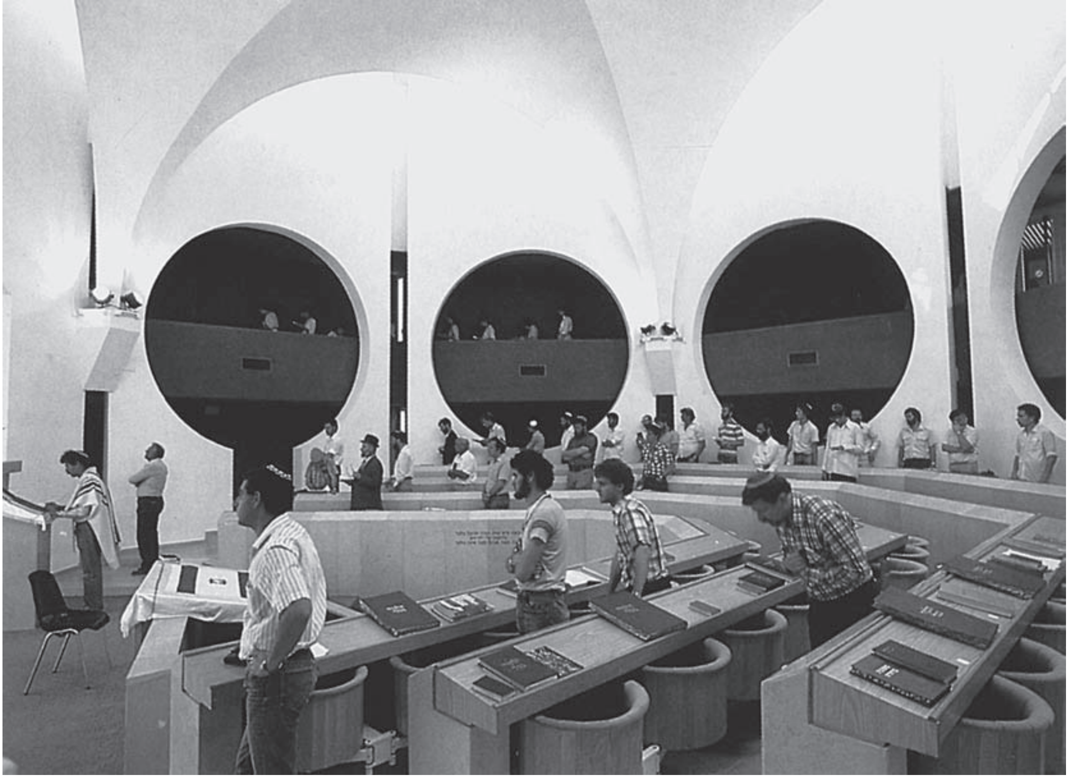
Kirsten Holzapfel

Judaism

1. *Jews in the world:* There are about 13,000,000 Jews in the world. In most countries outside of Israel, they are a small, vanishing minority. Their quantitative representation, however, is scarcely proportionate to their qualitative importance. In their own self-concept, the Jewish people are the 'whirlwind of world history'; nor are they alone in this estimate. One need only pick up the paper, or glance at a TV guide, to measure the importance of the Jewish theme. Anti-Semites are so obsessed with the omnipresence of the Jews that they have invented the myth of a Jewish world conspiracy, and glimpse Jewish machinations behind every occurrence. This negative anti-Semitic perception of Jews as 'foreigners' par excellence is the verso of the positive Jewish self-perception. There are at least two reasons for Judaism's towering importance, one of them religious and the other political.

A World Religion

a) Judaism is a *world religion*. Here it is not the number of members that 'counts,' but Judaism's universal conception of God and the human being, a conception that cuts through all family, tribal, and national boundaries. The God of the Bible did not create the first Jew, but the first human being—and that God is concerned with the well-being, the salvation, not only of the Jewish people, but ultimately with that of the whole of humanity. Further, as Nietzsche and the young Hegel disapprovingly observed, Judaism is a 'slave religion': it represents not the standpoint of the owners, but that of



Hebrew University, on Mount Scopus in the vicinity of Jerusalem, has a synagogue. The characteristic breadth of the synagogal community room—as with mosques in Islam, but unlike Christian churches' axial direction to the altar—is filled out in a circular design, with the pulpit (*almenor*, *bima*), from which the Bible is read and expounded, in the middle. Even in modern architecture, in most cases the prescription is observed that women assist at divine service from a gallery, without active participation. From without, some modern Israeli synagogues have the shape of a pavilion or large tent, thereby indicating the nature of the sanctuary before there was a Temple with a permanent location: God does not live in one place alone (so that He would be 'homeless' were it to be destroyed), but descends to his people wherever they are to be found, even as they wander in the desert. (Christoph Auffarth)

their servants, and therefore corresponds to the yearnings of the greater part of humanity for emancipation and freedom. This explains how Judaism, numerically so insignificant, could become the progenitor of great world religions. Although the relation of the scion religions to their forebear was disturbed by conflicts of legacy, older Jewish authorities themselves, as Moses Maimonides (1138–1204), acknowledged the role of Christendom and Islam in the spread of the God's word.[1] The promise to the common tribal ancestor Abraham (Gen 12:3) has been literally fulfilled. The 'Abrahamitic' religions, taken together, represent by far the largest of the religions. True, the descendant religions take their distance from their progenitor, and their sources transmit negative assessments in its regard. Consequently, most persons, altogether independently of whether they have ever come in contact with Jews, have prejudices against them.

b) Jews, on the other hand, have become the embodiment of the *political minority*. In Christendom, they were the only 'tolerated' religious minority, and in Islam one of the few such. But their situation remained ever precarious. For example, Christianity conceded to the Jews the right of abode and occupation, so that, as Church Father Augustine put it (in his commentary on Psalm 59:11-12), they might testify to Christianity, albeit against their will: "Do not destroy them, but scatter them abroad by your power, that my people [the Church] may not forget."[2] Christianity had appropriated the Jewish sources, while the Jews themselves were excluded or debased as a sign of the Christian triumph. The Bible, Jewish prayers, the Psalms, Jewish hope (the Messiah), the Jewish name for itself as a people (Israel), and the Jewish capital, Jerusalem, were all now



Mea Shearim, a quarter in Jerusalem, is a replica of an Eastern European *stetl*, and so, practically a city in itself. Orthodox Jews, mostly of Hungarian origin, live here: The men, with their black hats and full beards, are completely devoted to religion and the study of the Torah. The boys have ringlets, and start to school at the age of three, where they are taught to accept the Torah as literally true. The Messiah is to be awaited by way of a holy life: a Jewish state and Zionism constitute no progress. Financially, the settlement is dependent on gifts, and the families live without any wants, in small, old, group dwellings. In the earliest (1874), four families shared a kitchen and a bath. The houses are decrepit nowadays; but

'Christian.' In the darkest of backgrounds, above which Christianity could swell so brightly gleaming, they were demonized, and ever and anon subjected to denigration, persecution, forced conversion, expulsion, and annihilation. One of the aims of the Enlightenment was to do away with this Christian prejudice, and the middle-class revolution had inscribed the demand for equal rights for the Jews on their standards. But as shown by the epochal programmatic composition of the Prussian War Council, Christian Konrad Wilhelm von Dohm's *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (Ger., "The Improvement of the Jews as Citizens"; 1781), it was not only the Jews' situation, but the Jews themselves that were deemed in need of improvement, and the Jewish religion constituted an obstacle to their emancipation. The thinkers of the Enlightenment, then, sought the emancipation of the Jews not only from the discriminatory Jewish Laws, but also from the antiquated laws of the Jews for themselves. Only the extensively de-Judaized Jew should be assimilated and integrated into the confessionally neutral state. Despite many reactions, the emancipation and assimilation of the Jews made progress everywhere in the course of the nineteenth century. With the collapse of liberalism, however, and the rise of political anti-Semitism and racism in the last quarter of the century, even this attainment of Enlightenment and Revolution was finally erased, and the relegation of the Jews to ghettos and extermination camps in the twentieth century cast all of the persecutions of the 'dark Middle Ages' in shadow.

No group has borne the fate of the minority in as many circumstances as have the Jews. The history of the Jewish → diaspora is a goldmine for research on the scapegoat mechanism, which the Hebrew Bible itself had

described (Lev 16) and unmasked (Isa 53). Humanity—as French Jewish philosopher Emmanuel Lévinas has said, looking back on this tortured history—has blossomed through Jewish wounds. The unsettling question abides, how the two reasons that we have seen for the universal meaning of Judaism are connected. Why have the people chosen for the good of the world become the people damned to calamity throughout the world?

Scripture

2. *The Jewish Tradition:* a) The Hebrew Bible, or 'Old Testament'—relativized by the New Testament, and corrected by the Qur'an—became universalized. But Judaism, or, more precisely, rabbinical Judaism, regards itself not only, as Christianity saw it, a religion of the letter, and as Islam saw it, a 'people of the Book' of the Old Testament. Scripture (*ha-k'tav*) consists of the thirty-six writings (*kitevei ha-qodesh*) of the Hebrew Bible (acronym, *TaNaKh*), namely, the five books of Moses (*chumash,* the 'teaching,' or *torah*, in the stricter sense of the word), the nineteen books of the Prophets (*nevi'im*), and the twelve "writings" (*ketuvim*). Granted, scripture is fixed to the last 'jot and tittle' (*koz*), indeed to the ornamental turns (*tagim*) of the letters, and immutably. But scripture is only one of the foundations of Judaism. The other is a specific 'tradition' (*massoret*), here meaning not any incidental folkloristic customs and usages, but a strictly obliging, originally orally transmitted, teaching (*torah*). Rabbinical Judaism has therefore fixed two sources, of equal authority: the written teaching (*torah she-bi-k'tav*) and the oral teaching (*torah she-be-al-pe*).

The Oral Torah

b) The adoption of an *oral Torah*, it is easy to show, is not an arbitrary supplement to the written Torah, but its necessary complement. Scripture itself uses the self-definition of 'readings' (*mikra*), since the oral Torah is intended for public presentation, and should consist of a precise teaching and instruction (*torah*) for the people. The reading (*kria*) of the literal word (*keri*) from a consonantal writing without vowels or punctuation itself rests on oral tradition (*massora*). Against the Careans (from *kara*, to read), a Jewish sect of the eighth century, who accepted only scripture, and rejected the oral teaching, the apologist of rabbinical Judaism, Yehuda Halevi (1075–1141), objected that, without oral tradition, it would be impossible even to read, let alone to understand.[3] With the reading, as the first biblical portrayal of such a presentation shows (Neh 8:8), an interpretation (*perush*) by an explicator (*mefaresh*) was connected, who was a specialist (*derash*) in the presentation of scripture (Esther 7:10), and who explained the teaching to the people. The most elementary stage of the presentation (*midrash*) was a translation (*targum*) of the material to be explained into the colloquial speech of the community (Aramaic, Greek). The translator (*metargem*) construed the scripture, but not slavishly, word for word—rather he made use of current religious concepts and needs: "Who, says the Talmud, translates a verse literally is a liar."[4] Furthermore, two kinds of expansive presentation of scripture can be distinguished: the presentation of the Law (*halakhah*), and the presentation of the narratives (*aggadah*) of the Bible. Unlike the *haggadah*, the *halakhah* is absolutely binding. *Halakhah* means a 'going,' a 'change,' and denotes the way prescribed by the Jewish religion from cradle to grave. Being a practical norm, the meaning of the *halakhah* must be clearly decided at every moment, while no such decision applies to the *aggadah*, which includes philosophical and theological controversies. This distinction

modernization is precisely what the people do not want. Yiddish here is mainly of Eastern European origin; Hebrew is used only for religion, not in everyday life. And so the quarter forms a world in itself; outside, inhabitants are misfits. For those afar, it presents a nostalgic ideal; for their neighbors, if the villagers happen to block the streets on the Sabbath, rather a nuisance. (Christoph Auffarth)

has even been formulated to the effect that Judaism is an orthopraxis rather than an orthodoxy. Finally, even the → *Kabbalah* ('transmission') can be addressed as a mystical Midrash interested especially in the cosmogonic and theogonic mysteries of the Torah (*sitrei torah*) in connection with the work of creation (*maassei bereshit*) and the Prophet Ezekiel's vision of the chariot of the throne of God (*maassei merkavah*). The Kabbalah's most important source, the thirteenth-century Book of Zohar, is presented as a second-century rabbinical Midrash. The Midrash, in all of its forms, is constantly concerned that the letter of the Torah not become a 'dead,' indeed 'killing,' letter (cf. 2 Cor 3:6).

'Oral teaching' (*torah she-be-al-pe*) is properly understood a revelation independent of written teaching, that has been orally transmitted from Moses on Sinai, in an uninterrupted chain, until Rabbi Yehuda Ha-Nassi codified it in the *mishna* ('teaching,' properly 'repetition') in the second century. The explanations and complementarities of the written law give rules for all areas of life: (1) farming (*seraim*), (2) festivals (*moed*), (3) women (*nashim*), (4) injuries (*nezikin*), (5) sacrifice (*kodashim*), and (6) purity (*toharoth*).

c) If the codifiers of the *Mishna* had the intention to establish the Law once and for all, then they failed. After all, the teachings not given in this codex, but remaining without (*baraitoth*), have by no means fallen into oblivion, but have been collected as a halakhah considered an effect or addition, for example in the *tosefta* ('appendix'), and confronted in the schools with the Mishna. The controversial discussions of the teachers (*amorim*) over the origin, meaning, and validity of the Mishna and the other Tannaitic material are material of the *gemara* ('completion'). Together, Mishna and Gemara make up the *Talmud* ('study,' 'teaching'). There are two 'mountings' of the Talmud. The first, the Jerusalem Talmud (*Yerushalmi*) emerged from the teaching houses of Palestine, and was closed at the beginning of the fifth century. The second, the Babylonian Talmud (*Bavli*), testifies to the determining influence of the rabbinical academies of Babylon on the Jewish diaspora up to the eleventh century. Subsequently, the foci of the study of the Talmud shifted, on the one side, to North Africa and Spain (*Sepharad*), and on the other, to France and Germany (*Ashkenas*), here especially in Mainz. R. Shlomo ben Yizchaqi (1140–1105), of Troyes, called 'Rashi' after the initial of his name, studied in Mainz, and retained, in his explanatory glosses to most of the Talmud, the fruit of the Rhineland houses of study that were to be destroyed in the First Crusade. Rashi's continuous *Commentary on the Talmud* is indispensable for the traditional understanding of the text. The text is written without periods and commas, in difficult Aramaic dialects, with many loan and foreign words and variant readings. Rashi's *Commentary* is in all standard editions of the Talmud printed in the inside margin, alongside the text. His *Commentary* was continued, as well. The disclosure and publication of the Babylonian, as well as of the Jerusalem Talmud, like its commentaries, commentaries on the commentaries, corrections, and supplementary clauses or amendments, proceeds apace, and has appeared, for example, entered down in the apparatus in the margins around the text in the famous edition of the Talmud that appeared at the end of the nineteenth century in Vilna. The Talmud and all of its expansions form the backbone of Jewish tradition.

Rashi's Commentary

Solutions to Disputed Question

d) It is altogether erroneous to regard the Talmud as a kind of Jewish code of law. As a rule, discussions of the law of religion (*halakhah*) remain undecided in the Talmud. Obviously what is at stake or of interest is more the controversial, analytical publication and disclosure of the Halakhic material, than the practical rule. Further, comprehensive and very disparate Aggadic material has been worked into the Talmud, and bears on all spiritual aspects of religious life. The Talmud, then, is the successive 'noting down' of the religious life of the Fathers in all of its dimensions. Of course, unambiguous decisions are offered in the Halakhah. They are decided by specialists (*possqim*, pl. of *posseq*). Halakhic questions (*sheeloth*) can be addressed to any available rabbi. Responses (*tshuvoth*) are binding in the first instance only for the inquirer; how far they apply as a binding general norm depends on the authority of their collection of responses (*sheeloth u-tshuvoth*). From time to time, the need arises to gain an overview of the deciding Halakha (*halakha psuka*) and to gather it in a codex. Of the four comprehensive codifications of the law, "The Covered Table" (*Shulkhan arukh*) of Yosef Karo (known as Bet Yosef, 1488–1575) is basic down to the present day. Previously, it had been Maimonides with his *Mishne Torah,* who pursued the intent of definitively resolving all Talmudic and post-Talmudic controversies, and to create a kind of *Codex Juris*. But finally, what has occurred with the *Mishne Torah*, and all other codifications, as likewise to the Mishna, is that they have gradually branched out in commentaries, which are called 'arms bearers' (*nossei kelim*), but which actually, and in every respect, bear to the field their divergent traditions, and thus reopen discussion on the sources and validity of the law. It was also basically in view of the traditional form of *learning* that criticism was directed at attempts to reduce Judaism to a legal handbook, and Jewish life to the pursuit of an unquestioned indication of usages. A literary form was sought that, as already was the case with the Talmud, the living exposition of the law (*perush*), and the collected lists of the law (*khibbur*), would be bound together. The success of Yosef Karo's composition doubtless rests mainly on the fact that it met this requirement. His *Shulkhan arukh* was only an appendix to his *Bet Yosef*, a comprehensive discussion and grounding of his halakhic decisions as based on the sources. But his *Codex* is imbedded in criticism, commentary, and updating, circling the printed text like a spiral, that continue to this day.

Directions of Judaism

3. All *modern directions of Judaism* can be distinguished in terms of how they correspond to this normative tradition and the *Shulkhan arukh.* To be sure, there had always been controversies (*makhloqot*), and the rabbis even construed the history of their tradition along the lines of controversial disputations (*sugot*). But with Judaism's modern directions, what is at stake is no longer a matter of the customary conflict of scholars within tradition, but of various positions with regard to tradition as a whole, and the authority of its vehicles. The intra-Judaic discussion is a paraphenomenon of the European process of modernization.

Hasidism and Enlightenment

a) The three most important religious renewal movements of the eighteenth century remain extensively within the framework of tradition. Almost simultaneously, Israel ben Eliezer, known as the Ba'al Shem Tov (1700–1760), Elia ben Salomo, the Gaon of Vilna (1720–1797), and Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) emerged as towering figures. The Ba'al is the founder of Eastern

Jewish pietism (→ Hasidism), who questioned rabbinical scholasticism and preached a folk religiosity that included a stress on emotions. The Gaon was the pioneer of the rabbinical opponents (*Mitnaggdim*) of the Hasidim, and introduced a renewal of the critical study of the Talmud, as well as of the Talmud academies (*jeshivoth*), in Eastern Europe. Mendelssohn is one of the seminal figures in Jewish Enlightenment (*haskala*), who championed the maintenance of the special Jewish lifestyles, as well as the connection of the Jews to the modern movement of education and Enlightenment, and who stepped forward on behalf of equality for the Jews and against the hegemony of the Jewish legal scholars. The first two directions, still alive today in Hasidic quadrangles and Lithuanian Talmudic colleges, have joined forces in the battle against the incursions of the enlighteners (*maskalim*) into Eastern Europe.

Haskala: Enlightenment

Emancipation and Assimilation

b) In Central Europe, with the progress of the nineteenth-century emancipation and assimilation of the Jews, a modernization of the Jewish tradition became a question of survival. Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), leader of the Jewish reform movement and cofounder of the liberal *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* ("School for the Academic Study of Judaism") in Berlin (1872), came out for a religious adaptation of Judaism to the Protestant Christian environment, and advocated extensive reservations when it came to the reception of the traditional *Halakha*. By contrast, his opponent Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888), founder of the Orthodox *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* ("Israelitic Religious Society," 1851) in Frankfurt am Main, and of the exemplar of the *Orthodoxes Rabbinerseminar* ("Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary," 1873), stood for the strictest Halakhic observance, with a simultaneous cultural adaptation (*Torah im Derech Erez*). Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875), meanwhile, first Director of the *Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar* ("Jewish Theological Seminary") in Breslau (from 1854), sought a scientifically grounded middle way between Orthodoxy and the Reform, a historically based alteration-in-continuity. Judaism's three directions—Reform, Neo-Orthodoxy, and Conservatism—diverge on fundamental Halakhic questions, for instance with regard to the criteria of membership in Judaism, and have founded, in their rabbinical seminaries and their communities, especially in the United States, their own respective Jewish traditions, that abide to this day.

Zionism and the State of Israel

c) *Zionism*, appearing at the end of the nineteenth century as a response to anti-Semitism, produced a revolution in all previous standpoints, and critically confronted all previous forms of tradition and assimilation. National and secular as Zionism's conception of Judaism might be, religion was still a key expression of culture and popular mentality. In response to the growing discrimination against and elimination of European Jews in the first half of the twentieth century, political Zionism soon appeared to Jews of all religious directions to be the only correct answer in view of history. Orthodox Jews are nevertheless divided with regard to the *State of Israel.* On one side, a national religious party was formed (1902, *Mizrakhi,* properly "Oriental"), which, as a tip of the scale between the great political blocs, exercises a disproportionate influence in today's State of Israel, and pursues the Judaization of an extensively secular Israeli society. The ideology of a national religion is embraced as well by extreme religious settlers, as the *Gush Emunim* ("Bloc of the Faithful"), who lay claim to the biblical

tribal area of Judah west of the Jordan (→ Fundamentalism). On the other side stand the *Haredim* (as it were, "God-Fearing"): most of the *Hasidim* and *Mitnaggdim*, who reject the Jewish state as a collective assimilation to the non-Jewish world, and in dress (kaftan, etc.) and language (Yiddish) extend in the land of Israel the existence of the diaspora. An especially extreme group, the *Neturei Karta* (Aram., "Guardians of the City"), regards the Jewish state as a sinful threat to the Messianic redemption, refuses all contact with it, and maintains relations with its Arab enemies. Despite the political contrarieties, all religious parties are at one in the struggle against 'Western' culture and the liberal denominations that dominate in Anglo-American countries.

Religious Renewal

Since the late 1970s, contemporaneously with the reinforcement of Christian and Islamic fundamentalism, Judaism has seen a religious renewal. After the demise of the great revolutionary ideologies, in which Jews frequently fought in the very forefront, after the crisis of political Zionism, and under the enduring shock of the → Shoah, a re-examination of Jewish sources and history occurred, which occasionally took extreme forms, even in Judaism. However, this renewal also rescues the lived and learned Jewish tradition in our generation: in Israel, in the United States, in England, and in France, editions of the Talmud are published for the laity, and the Yeshivot have never been so frequented as they are today.

1. Hilchot Melakhim 11:4. This locus is censored in the usual printings.
2. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 18:46.
3. Halevi, Yehuda, The Book Khusari, 3:30-31.
4. Talmud, Tractate Kidushin, 49a.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Antiquity, Book, Canon, Diaspora, Hasidism, Jerusalem, Kabbalah, Palestine/Israel, Race/Racism, Shoah, Talmud*

Daniel Krochmalnik

Judaism: Time Chart[1]

The Babylonian Exile (597–538 BCE)

597/586 BCE	First and second capture of Jerusalem Beginning of the "Babylonian Exile"	Deportation to Babylon of a part of the upper class of Jerusalem and Juda; preservation in Exile of faith in God; Torah, Sabbath, and circumcision; beginning of the polarity between the Land of Israel and the → Diaspora, lasting up to today.

The period of the Second Temple (538 BCE–70 CE)

538	Edict of the Achaemenid Cyrus II	The original Aramaic composition of Ezra 6:3-5 governs

1 Jewish time-calculation according to: Mahler, Eduard, *Jüdische Chronologie*, Frankfurt/M. 1916 (reprinted Hildesheim 1967). Mahler's chronological tables (pp. 526-605) begin only with the year 4001 (240 CE) of the Jewish calculation, but include, altogether, 2,000 years. His recalculation of the Christian time calculation, therefore, follows in this reckoning only from the year 4186 (= 426 CE).

		the financing of the construction of the Temple. The Hebrew "proclamation" (ibid., 1:1-4) joins the decree for the temple construction with the permission for the return of the exiles.
520–515	Rebuilding and Dedication of the Jerusalem Temple	Eighteen years after the edict of Cyrus II, there follows, under Zerubbabel—supported by Prophets Haggai and Zechariah—the laying of the Temple cornerstone.
2nd half of 5th cent.	New order of Jerusalem and Juda under Ezra and Nehemiah	Separation of the returned exiles from the *am ha'aretz* ("People of the Land"), reconstruction of the city walls of Jerusalem, and diverse religious reforms; Israel submits to the Torah.
175–164	Time of the Rule of Antiochus IV Epiphanes	Flourishing of Hellenism, and penetration of Jerusalem by foreign sects.
167–164	Maccabean Uprising	Proclamation: Antiochus IV establishes the cult of Zeus Olympios in the Temple. Judas Maccabeus as leader in the guerilla war against Seleucid troops.
14th Dec. 164	Rededication of the profaned Temple	Hour of the birth of Hanukka Holiday, celebrated among the Jewish people, from 24 Kislev to 2 Tevet.

140–63	Dynasty of the Hasmonaeans	As early as 150 BCE, the important normative group of the Pharisees begins to take shape. After 70 CE, the Pharisees manage to develop the decisive influence on rabbinical Judaism. Founding of the Qumran settlement.
37–34	Time of the Rule of Herod the Great	Consolidation of Pharisaic rabbinical Judaism by Hillel—the towering figure in religious law, and founder of a dynasty of Patriarchs reaching from here to 426 (429) CE.
c. 30 CE	Activity of Jesus of Nazareth	Until the end of the Talmudic era, it is rather hesitant attitudes toward Jesus that prevailed.
66–70	Jewish uprising against Rome: Capture of Jerusalem and Destruction of the Temple	Jewish groups attached to the Temple were caught in a decline (e.g., the Sadducees). Pharisaic rabbinical Judaism saw a replacement for Temple services in prayer and the reading of the scripture.
Time of the Talmud (70–640)		
from 70	Jochanan ben Zakkai	Reforms liturgical life in Yavne.
132–135	Bar Kochba uprising	Simeon bar-Kochba is the name of one celebrated as the King Messiah (his name, *Bar Kochba,* is used as meaning “Son of a

		Star," with a reference to Num 17) who leads the second uprising against Rome. With his failure, the Jews are expelled from Jerusalem, which, as Aelia Capitolina, becomes the city forbidden to the Jews (until well into the fifth century).
135	Martyrdom of Rabbi Aqiva	Born c. 50, Rabbi Aqiva ("Father of Rabbinical Judaism") sets guiding rules for the deduction of the "law of religion" from the Bible, and lays the foundation for the Mishna.
c. 200	Codification of the Mishna and Tosefta	R. Meir and R. Jehuda ha-Nasi are normatively involved in the codification and redaction of Mishna and Tosefta (trailblazing writings on Jewish Law).
after 219	Babylonian Academies	In Sura, on Rav's initiative (Rav Abba ben Josef ben Chama, d. 352), Nehardea and Pumbadita are erected (schools of higher education on the Torah). Based on the instructional methods of Eretz Israel, the method here is to study the Mishna, assimilate decisions and determinations in religious law, and cultivate Haggadic traditions.

426	4186	End of the Patriarchate	The Patriarchate, supreme representative organ of the Jews vis-à-vis the Roman government, ends with the death of Gamaliel VI. The center of the Jewish people in Eretz Israel remains Tiberias. Anti-Jewish legislation leads to riots/ excesses on the part of Christian fanatics.
5th–7th cent.		Final Redaction of the Babylonian Talmud	The redaction of the Babylonian Talmud is ascribed to Rav Ashi (d. 424) and Rabina (d. c. 500). Interpolations are made up to about the time of the Arab capture of Babylonia (634), and even subsequently.
The Jewish Middle Ages: Jews between pogrom, ghetto, and privilege (7th–18th cent.)			
c. 570–632	c. 4330–4393	Muhammad	Borrows Jewish traditions and prescriptions: monotheism, elements of biblical and post-biblical history, position in prayer facing Jerusalem, calendrical divisions, etc. In 624 begins a widening breach with Judaism.
622–721	4382–4482	Arab Conquests Rise of Islam	640: victory over the Byzantines in the land of Israel. 711/12: Capture of the Iberian Peninsula. Under Islam, as "People of Scripture," Jews are among the protected citizens (*dhimmi*):

			special tax, disadvantage in legal disputes, proscription of marriage with Muslim women. The statute of the *dhimmi* guards against an assimilation of Jews into Islamic society.
762–767	4522–4528	Anan ben David founds the sect of the Ananites (Later: "Karaites") in Baghdad	Karaites reject rabbinical religious law, in favor of the Bible as foundation of the presentation of law. The Karaite movement, in contradistinction from the Rabbinic, favors the establishment of the Mazora (vocalization of the text of the Bible, the insertion of diacritical marks to indicate vowels).
middle of 8th cent.		Conversion of Khazars to Christianity	Ninth and tenth centuries: Kingdom of the Khazars as a Jewish state with Christian and Muslim minorities. In 965, annihilation of the Khazars by Svyatoslav of Kiev.
928	4688/89	R. Saadja (882–942) becomes Gaon of the Academy of Sura	He composes works by subjects: religious law, philosophy, interpretation of the Bible, grammar, literature, and poetry. He further distinguishes himself by his anti-Karaite polemics.
middle of 10th to middle of 12th cent.		Zenith of Sephardic Judaism in Muslim Spain	Close connection between Jews and the Omayyad princely court. Enhanced

			Jewish social position in Islamic society. Trail-blazing accomplishments in, e.g., literature, philosophy, and linguistic science (→ Time Chart of Islam, in present volume).
c. 940–975	c. 4700–4736	Activity of Physician and Minister Chasdai ibn Shaprut (Cordoba)	Between 955 and 960: correspondence with Khazar King Joseph
1040–1105	4800–4866	Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi) of Troy (northern France)	Composes important commentaries on the Talmud and the Bible. His commentary on the Pentateuch becomes the first Hebrew book ever published.
1096	4856/57	Beginning of the First Crusade	Summoned Nov. 27, 1095, by Pope Urban II. Massacres in, e.g., the cities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz. Consequence: decentralization and settlement of Jews in smaller, countryside communities.
1120	4880/81	First *Sicut Judaeis* bull of Pope Callistus II	Followed by several bulls of this kind until 1432. Augustine's teaching on the lesser, but worthy of protection, status of the Jews is translated into enforceable ecclesiastical and secular law. Papal protection and free exercise of religion are included in the essential content of the bulls.

1144	4904/05	First indictment for ritual murder in Norwich (England)	In its wake, convert Theobald of Cambridge maintains the absurd notion that Jews would cast lots to determine which Christian child is to be offered in sacrifice before Passover.
1163	4923/24	First Synagogue in Kaifeng (China)	Jews from India or Persia come to Kaifeng even before 1127, to work in the cotton industry there.
1190	4950/51	Maimonides composes the "Guide of the Perplexed" (*More Nevukhim*)	One of the most important compositions in the philosophy of religion of the Middle Ages. Maimonides seeks to bring Aristotelian philosophy and revealed religion into a synthesis.
1215	4975/76	Fourth Council of the Lateran	Constitutions 67-70: Restriction of the span of tax collection, obligatory signs of identification: yellow ring and Jewish hat (Caliph Omar I ordered Jewish identification tokens as early as 644), prohibition of the exercise of public violence, and determinations for maintaining the purity of the Catholic faith among proselytes.
1225–1274	4985–5034	Thomas Aquinas	Referring to Augustine, provides the rationale for the position of the Jew within Christian society: Jews are subjected to the reigning princes in

			perpetual servitude. Thus, they are to be shown tolerance, and afforded protection.
July 1263	Tammuz/ Av 5023	Disputation of Barcelona	The disputation between convert Pablo Christiani and R. Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides) has wide-reaching consequences for the Christian-Jewish polemic. In 1267, Nahmanides emigrates from Spain to Eretz Israel.
1264	5024/25	Statute of Kalisz (Poland)	King Boleslaus V grants Jews the privilege of settling in Poland-Lithuania. The statute serves later Polish rulers as a model for broader comprehensive privileges in respect of the Jews.
18th July 1290	9th Av 5050 (!)	Expulsion of the Jews from England	As a result of their impoverishment, and consequent tax arrears, King Edward I decrees the expulsion of some 16,000 Jews.
9th Oct. 1334	9th Cheshvan 5095	Ratification of the Statute of Kalisz	King Casimir III ("the Great") extends the rights of the Jews from Kalisz throughout all Poland. His love for Esterka of Opoczno, a Jewish woman, is legendary.
31th March 1492	3rd Nisan 5252	Edict of expulsion of "Sephards" from Spain (1496 from Portugal)	Some 150,000 Jews are expelled to Morocco, Venice, southeastern Europe,

			and the Netherlands; 50,000 are forced to receive baptism, and 20,000 are killed.
16th cent.	from 5276	Ghettoization	1516: Ghetto in Venice (reception of the Sephards). 1555: Pope Paul IV decrees the consignment of Jews to a closed residential area of Rome. As a consequence, the Jewish communities suffer a gradual social isolation.
1648–1657 1665–1666	5408–5418 5425–5427	Uprising of Ukrainian Cossacks and pogrom of the Jews by Bogdan Chmelniecki; Sabbatian movement; messianic crisis vis-à-vis Sabbatai Zvi (1626–1675)	On Ukrainian and Polish soil, several hundred Jewish communities are annihilated, and c. 100,000 Jews killed. Subsequently, there arise a number of messianic movements, such as that of Sabbatai Zvi: Nathan of Gaza declares Zvi the Messiah. But in September 1666, the latter converts to Islam, occasioning a protracted crisis in Judaism.
1654	5414/15	Arrival of Jews in New Amsterdam (New York)	A year later, the immigrants, chiefly of Sephardic heritage, receive the right of citizenship in the colony.
1656	5416/17	Oliver Cromwell	Annuls the edict of expulsion, and Jews may settle in England once again.

Haskala (Jewish Enlightenment) and Hasidism (18th cent.)

1700–1760	5460–5520	Israel ben Eliezer (Baal Shem Tov)	is accounted the founder of → Hasidism, which emerges from Poland/Lithuania, a movement of rebellion on the part of poor, uninstructed people against the intellectual rabbinical elite. The spiritual superior of Hasidism is the *tzaddiq,* who functions as "intermediary" between God and the people. The movement becomes an important social factor in the Judaism of Eastern Europe.
1720–1797	5480–5558	Gaon Elijahu ben Solomon Salman, of Vilna,	one of the greatest Jewish scholars of all time, issues a summons to a renewal of the study of tradition, and battles the Hasidic movement, among others.
1729–1786	5489–5547	Moses Mendelsohn	is accounted the father of the Haskala, the Jewish Enlightenment. His amicable contact with G. E. Lessing brings him to the notion of leading Judaism out of its spiritual and cultural ghettoization. His writing, *Phaedo, or on the Immortality of the Soul, in Three Dialogues* (1767; 2nd ed., 1768) becomes a chef d'oeuvre of the Enlightenment.

1785–1840	5545–5601	Nachman Krochmal	is the leading exponent of the Haskala movement in Eastern Europe, and one of the founders of the *Wissenchaft des Judentums* (Ger., "Science of Judaism"). In his *More Nevukhe ha-Zemam* ("Guide of the Perplexed of the Time"), he develops his thoughts, in confrontation with Hegel's idealist philosophy of history.
Between Zionism and Anti-Semitism (1880–1933)			
May 1881	Ijjar/ Sivan 5641	Kiev Pogrom	Anti-emancipationist tendencies on the part of the Russian government vis-à-vis the Jews, bolstered by German anti-Semitists, lead to more pogroms.
1881/82	5641/42	First *Alyia* (Immigration)	to Eretz Israel as upshot of the Russian pogroms.
1894–1906	5654–5667	Dreyfus Affair	Jewish officer Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935), from the Alsace, is groundlessly suspected of espionage. Under pressure from the intellectual public, the indictment is finally dropped. Consequence: anti-Semitism as intellectual and political movement has less importance in France than in the German Empire.
1896/97	5656/57	Beginnings of the Zionist Movement	In February 1896, motivated by the Dreyfus trial,

			journalist Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) publishes his programmatic *Der Judenstaat* (Ger., "The Jewish State"). In August 1897, he convokes the first Zionist congress, in Basle. One of its demands is for a "publicly and juridically guaranteed homeland in Palestine" for the Jewish people.
1904–1914	5664–5675	Second *Alyia*	to Eretz Israel. Effect: the decisive alteration in the concept of national rebirth. In 1909, the immigrants found Tel Aviv as the first city in the new homeland. Construction of the first Kibbutzim.
October 1905	Tishri/Cheshvan 5666	Pogrom in Odessa	After the turn of the century, Russia is the scene of further extensive anti-Jewish pogroms as a means of securing Tsarist hegemony. Effect: many Jews emigrate to Central and Western Europe, and to America and Eretz Israel.
November 2, 1917 17th Cheshvan 5678		Balfour Declaration	The declaration of intent on the part of British Foreign Minister Arthur J. Balfour for the "creation of a national homeland in Palestine for the Jewish people" (in a letter to Lionel W. Rothschild) becomes a binding norm in

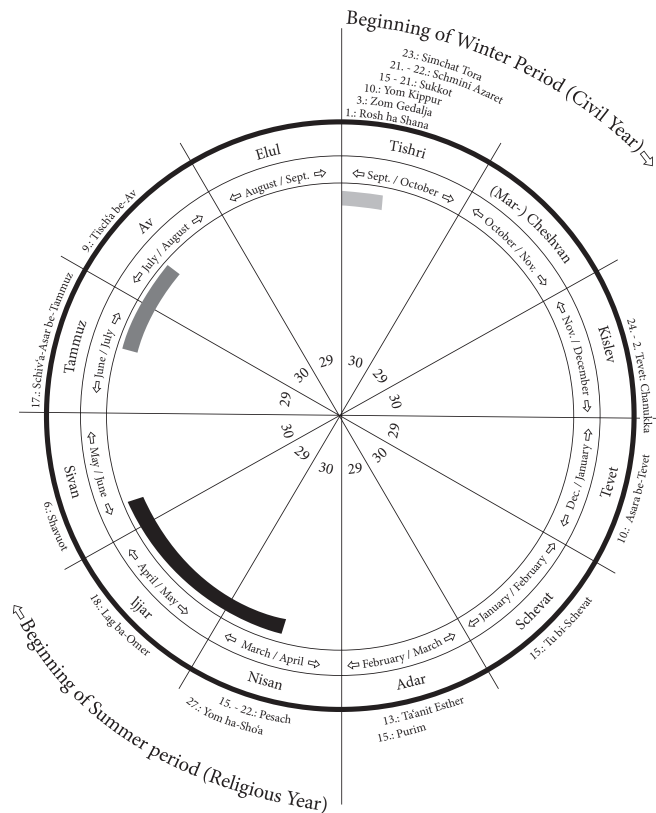
			public law (in the Preamble, acceptance of the peoples' union mandate for Palestine, 1922).
The National Socialist persecution of the Jews, the shoah, and the results			
September 15, 1935	17 Elul 5695	"Nuremberg Laws" passed as foundation of Nazi racial policy	*Reichsbürgergesetz* (Ger., "Law of Citizenship in the Reich"): henceforward, Jewish members of the state are without civil rights. *Blutschutzgesetz* ("Law of the Protection of Blood"): prohibition of marriage between Jews and "members of the state of German, or related, blood."
November 9/10 1938	15/16 Cheshvan 5699	*Reichspogromnacht* ("Reich Pogrom Night")	Occasion: Herschel Grünspan's attempted assassination of German Legation Councilor E. vom Rath. Outcome: 75 Jews murdered and 25,000 arrested, 267 synagogues destroyed and 7,500 Jewish homes and businesses laid waste.
January 20, 1942	2 Shevat 5702	Wannsee Conference	Meeting of leading National Socialists, for coordination (present: Reinhard Heidrich, Chief of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, Heinrich Müller, Gestapo Chief, and Head of Protocol Adolf Eichmann), in preparation or the systematic murder of the European Jews ("Final Solution of the Jewish Question").

1939/ 1942–1945	5699/ 5702–5705	→ Shoah	State-organized murder of some six million Jews by the National Socialist German Reich.
April 4–May 16, 1943	14 Nisan –11 Ijjar 5703	Jewish resistance in the Warsaw ghetto	For the first time Jewish resistance becomes public to the eyes of the world. More than 56,000 killed in the struggles.
January 27, 1945	13 Schevat 5705	Russian troops liberate concentration camp at Auschwitz	Since 1966, January 27 has been the official Day of Memorial for the victims of National Socialism in the Federal Republic of Germany.
Present			
May 14, 1948	5 Ijjar 5707	David Ben Gurion proclaims the State of Israel	First Jewish state since antiquity, and end of the British mandate over Eretz Israel.
1948–1951	5708–5712	Mass Immigration to Israel	Some 700,000 Jews, from Europe and the Arab countries, immigrate to Israel (1949: Project “Magic Carpet,” in which some 49,000 Jews flee Yemen for Eretz Israel. 1950: Project “Ezra and Nehemiah,” some 120,000 Jews helped out of Iraq).
September 10, 1952	20 Elul 5712	Conclusion, in Luxemburg, of the Reparations Agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany	January 16, 1952: the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, with a slim majority (61 to 50) votes to accept money from Germany.

1960	5720	Theodor Heuss visits Israel	As first German President to visit the State of Israel: Theodor Heuss.
April 11–December 12, 1961	25 Nisan 5721–8 Tevet 5722	Eichmann trial	1960: Adolf Eichmann, responsible for the death of some 400,000 Hungarian Jews, as well as for the dispossession and deportation of others, is hunted down in Argentina by the Israeli Secret Service, and executed after a sensational trial (Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem,* 1963).
May 12, 1965	10 Ijjar 5725	Adoption of diplomatic ties between the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel	Consequence: recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the Arab states, and the breaking off of relations between most Arab states and the German Federal Republic.
June 5–10, 1967	26 Ijjar–2 Sivan 5727	Six Days' War	Results of Israel's victory over the united Arab armies: occupation of East Jerusalem, including the Temple area and the Western Wall ("Wailing Wall"). Occupation of the West Jordan territory, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Golan Heights. Ultra-orthodox religious parties oppose a withdrawal from the "areas"; beginning of Palestinian resistance.

1978	5738/39	Isaac Bashevis Singer (1904–1991) receives the Nobel Prize for Literature	The American author returns the down-trodden world of Eastern European Judaism to life in his writings (in Yiddish).
1990	5750/51	Immigration movement from the Soviet Union to Israel	By 1999, some 750,000 Jews have immigrated to Israel from the succeeding states of the fallen Soviet Union. Russian Jews thus constitute the strongest group of peoples in Israel (ahead of the Moroccan Jews with their some 550,000 persons).

Judaism: Festal Cycle



Aseret Yeme ha-Tshuva: 10 penitential days (1–10 Tishri)

Yeme ha-Omer: time of paying the *omer* (15 Nisan to 6 Sivan)

Ben ha-Mezarim: "In Affliction" (17 Tammuz to 10 Av)

The Year

- The Jewish year consists either of 12 months (*shana pshuta*, "common year,"—lit., "simple year"), occurring 7 times in a cycle of 19 years, or else of 13 months (*shana me'ubbret,* "intercalation year"—lit., "pregnant year"), in which case there is a second month, *Adar* (*Adar sheni*).
- The calendar year begins with the month of *Tishri,* the holiday cycle with the month of *Nisan.*

The Month

- Jewish months have either 30 (*male,* "full-numbered") or 25 days (*chaser,* "faulty," "deficient"). Only (Mar-) Cheshvan and Kislev can be both full-numbered (and then the entire year is reckoned as *shlema,* "over-numbered"), deficient (then the whole year counts as *chasera,* "deficient"), or both deficient and full-numbered (then the year is *kesidra,* "regular").
- The first day of a month is New Moon Day (*Rosh Chodesh*).
- The month of Elul is seen as the time of conversion, and of preparation for the ten-day penitential time in Tishri.

The Holidays

- Division:
  - Biblical feasts:
    - — 3 pilgrimage feasts: Pesach, Shavuot, and Sukkot
    - — Rosh ha-Shana and Yom Kippur
    - — Rosh Chodesh
  - Post-Biblical feasts (selection)
    - — Purim and Chanukkah
    - — Memorial days: Lag ba-Omer and Tu bi-Shevat
    - — Modern feasts (Israel): Yom ha-Atzma'ut ("Independence Day"—Israel's national feast day commemorating the founding of the state, on 5 Ijjar 5708, = May 14, 1948—and Yom Yerushalayim ("Jerusalem Day," to recall the reunification of the city on 28 Ijjar).
- On the first day of each month, *Rosh Chodesh* is celebrated, New Moon Day.
- In the diaspora, a second day is added to each Biblical holiday (with the exception of Yom Kippur).
- The days between the first and last days of *Pesach* and *Sukkot* are "half feast days" (*Chol ha-Mo'ed*); important work may be performed on them.
- In an intercalation year with 13 months, Purim is celebrated in the second month of A*dar.* In the first *Adar, Purim katan* ("Little Purim") is celebrated instead.

Dirk Bültmann

Kabbalah

Kabbalah and Secrecy

1. 'Kabbalah' is the term employed by both practitioners and scholars to denote the esoteric lore and practice cultivated by elite rabbinic circles from the Middle Ages to the present. The word itself is derived from a root that means 'to receive,' and hence 'Kabbalah' signifies in its most basic sense → 'tradition.' Needless to say, Kabbalah is not monolithic in nature; on the contrary, it is better described as a collage of disparate doctrines and practices encompassing such diverse subjects as alchemy, → astrology, → magic, → mysticism, theosophy, and theurgy. An essential feature of the Kabbalah from its historical inception has been the emphasis on → secrecy. One could even say that kabbalists have consistently maintained that the mystical phenomenon must be circumscribed within the framework of → esotericism. The notion of a secret may imply a doctrine or practice that potentially could be communicated but whose communication is withheld from those who do not possess the requisite intellectual and moral perfection or it might denote a truth that is inherently ineffable and therefore must be kept secret, since any form of communication would be prove to be inappropriate or worse a distortion. The hermeneutic of esotericism displayed in many kabbalistic sources does attest to the elitist posture based on the presumption that secrets must not be divulged to those unworthy to receive them, but it certainly goes beyond it as well, inasmuch as the concealment of the secret is dialectically related to its disclosure. Simply put, the utterance of the mystery is possible because of the inherent impossibility of its being uttered. Even for the adept who demonstrates unequivocally that he deserves to be a recipient of the esoteric 'gnosis' there is something of the secret that remains in the very act of transmission for the secret has an ontological referent that is separate from the phenomenal realm and thus transcends the limits of human understanding and modes of conventional discourse. Alternatively expressed, the duplicitous nature of secrecy is such that in order to be a secret, the secret cannot be disclosed as the secret it purports to be, but if the secret is not disclosed as the secret it secretly cannot be, it cannot be the secret it exposes itself not to be.

Theosophic-Theurgic Kabbalah

2. It is commonplace in contemporary scholarship to distinguish between two major typological trends of medieval Kabbalah, theosophic-theurgic and ecstatic-prophetic, a distinction that can be traced to nineteenth-century scholarship though only developed in the twentieth century. This classification, however, runs the risk of oversimplification. Careful scrutiny of the relevant texts indicates that kabbalists whom we dub as 'theosophic' were capable of ecstatic experiences of a unitive nature and that kabbalists labeled 'ecstatic' presumed that esoteric gnosis imparted theosophic wisdom. Moreover, shared traditions about the secret names of God, and particularly the most sacred of these names, YHWH, the sefirotic potencies as the means and end of mystical communion, and the theurgical interpretation of ritual, bridge the presumed gap separating the proposed schools of Kabbalah. But in spite of the legitimate challenge to the typological schematization, it is still useful to utilize these categories in providing a thumbnail sketch of the different schools of Kabbalah.

The Sefirot

Theosophic Kabbalah is concerned primarily with the visual contemplation or imaginary envisioning of ten luminous emanations that reveal the light of the Infinite that must remain hidden if it is to be revealed. A variety of terms are used to name these emanations but the one that became most emblematic was *sefirot*, an idiom initially employed in the first section of an older multilayered anthology of cosmological and cosmogonic speculation, *Sefer Yetsirah*, the "Book of Formation," which may in part be traced back to Late Antiquity but which was likely redacted into a discernible textual form in the ninth and tenth centuries. Whatever the origin of the term and the genealogy of its meaning, the distinctive turn taken by kabbalists is to assume that the *sefirot* are the hypostatic potencies that collectively constitute the configuration of the Godhead.

In the course of generations, allegedly new and more intricate images have been deployed by kabbalists in the poetic envisioning, but these were, in great measure, based on principles already at work in earlier sources, albeit reticently, such as the idea that each of the *sefirot* reflects all the others, or the even more arcane notion that there is a decade of potencies either above or within the first of the *sefirot*, which parallel the ten regular gradations, a philosophical idea imaged mythically as the primal human form perched above a second human form, perhaps the symbolic locus of the secret of the androgyne.

In spite of the evolving complexity of kabbalistic theosophy through the generations, the *sefirot* remained structurally at the core of the contemplative visualization that characterizes the way of wisdom, the life experience, transmitted by masters of tradition. The sefirotic gradations are configured in the imagination in potentially manifold semiotic deflections and ocular displacements, but the principal form by which they are imaged is an *anthropos*, the primal Adam in whose image the lower Adam was created. The goal of the kabbalist is thus inherently speculative, but one must avoid a conceptual split between the practical and theoretical. The theosophic structure itself entails a performative gesture (whether of a nomian or anomian nature) and, conversely, a performative gesture entails the theosophic structure. Indeed, the redemptive nature of kabbalistic esotericism ensues from the inextricable reciprocity of doing and knowing: theosophic knowledge is a corollary of mystical practice, mystical practice a corollary of theosophic knowledge (→ Mysticism).

Symbolism of Light and Symbolism of Language

Gershom Scholem identified two main 'symbolic structures,' by which the *sefirot* are to be understood, the symbolism of light and the symbolism of language. The observation that the *sefirot* are viewed primarily under the symbolic guise of → light and → language is a generalization that has stood the test of time and is still a credible explanatory paradigm. In the kabbalist's imaginal representation of the infinite emerging out of its boundlessness, an image that pushes against the limit of understanding, emanation of light coincides with revelation of name. Consequently, seeing and hearing are intertwined in mystical envisioning, to behold the image of the invisible is to heed the evocation of the ineffable (→ Vision/Auditory Experience).

A current that runs through the landscape of Jewish esotericism presumes that Hebrew, the sacred tongue, may be viewed as the cosmic language or, in the telling phrase of Jacob Böhme, *Natursprache*, the single Adamic

language that is purportedly the source to which all the other languages may be traced. It is axiomatic for kabbalists, therefore, to assume that language, and particularly Hebrew, is essential; cosmology cannot be separated from semiotics, as the cosmological event is decipherable as a sign that must be interpreted. What exists in the world, examined sub-phenomenally, are the manifold permutations of the twenty-two Hebrew letters, themselves enfolded in the four-letter name, YHWH, which is identified further as the esoteric essence of the Torah. Nevertheless, the matter is complicated by the fact that kabbalists must (following the reason of their own mythologic) assume that the things to which words refer, the signified of the signifier, are themselves signs, since the ineffable ultimate reality can never be known except through the prism of language. If we are to suppose a genuine confluence of the ontic and linguistic, then there would be no way out of the further assumption that what is real is a sign that points beyond itself to another sign in an *infinite semiosis*, a seemingly endless play of representation.

Ecstatic-Prophetic Kabbalah

3. The brand of Kabbalah known as *prophetic Kabbalah* was expounded in the thirteenth century by Abraham Abulafia. As part of his response to the criticism directed towards him by one of the most powerful rabbinic leaders of the Spanish Jewish community, Solomon Ibn Adret, who was himself a master of the kabbalistic lore, Abulafia distinguished 'two types of Kabbalah,' namely, the Kabbalah of the *sefirot* and the Kabbalah of the → names. In spite of this typological classification, for Abulafia himself, the Kabbalah embraces both the knowledge of the *sefirot* and the knowledge of the letters, an idea that he traces back to thirty-two paths of wisdom mentioned in *Sefer Yetsirah*, which consists of the ten *sefirot* and twenty-two Hebrew letters. Both branches of Kabbalah are related to the names of God, which are contained in the one unique name, YHWH, also identified by Abulafia as the mystical essence of Torah. Cleaving to the latter, which is facilitated by the meditation technique of letter-permutation (*tseruf ha-otiyyot*), results in the attainment of a state of felicity depicted in terms of the philosophical ideal of intellectual conjunction (*devequt*), and is the ultimate focus of Abulafia's Kabbalah.

Mystical Experience of Union

Insofar as the self is unified with the Active Intellect in the experience of conjunction, and the latter comprises the ten separate intellects, which are identified as the ten *sefirot*, it follows that, for Abulafia, the sefirotic entities play an instrumental role in the mystical experience of union. The *sefirot*, which Abulafia also identifies as the attributes (*middot*) of God, are the channels by means of which the intellectual overflow is drawn upon the mystic and thereby induces his cleaving to the divine name. The *sefirot* as ideal intelligible forms are distinct from God, yet they are not found apart from him as they are expressive of his power. Abulafia describes the containment of the ten *sefirot* within the divine as a great secret. In language that he borrows from Eleazar of Worms, he links the ten *sefirot* to the ineffable name, decoding YHWH as *yod hawwayot*, the ten essences that are the separate intellects. The name is thus intrinsically connected to the sefirotic gradations. Abulafia insists, accordingly, that divine unity is expressed within and through the ten *sefirot*. His frequent warning against the danger of separating the *sefirot*, an act that he calls (in a manner analogous to theosophic kabbalists) by the rabbinic idiom for heresy, 'cutting the shoots,' must not be seen as mere rhetoric. On the contrary, according to

Abulafia, human intellect plays an active role in unifying God through the ten separate intellects as a consequence of intellectual conjunction, which is presented as the paramount mystical rationale for the commandments. Abulafia's psychological interpretation of the *sefirot* as internal states of mind is predicated on this ontological assumption.

In the experience of conjunction, the distinction between self and other is erased, for the realization of the former depends on merging with the last of the separate intellects, which is identified with the first of the intellects, a confluence symbolically portrayed by the figure of Metatron, the angel who is both an elder (*zaqen*) and a youth (*na'ar*), Israel and Jacob. For Abulafia, the imaginal form of the *angelus interpres* is composed of the letters of Torah, which are comprised within the Tetragrammaton. The imagination thus serves not only as the prism through which the invisible is rendered visible and the ineffable declaimed as the name, but as the vehicle by which the soul merges with Torah in its mystical essence. To be conjoined to the name, therefore, is to be incorporated into the textual embodiment of the name, that is, the imaginal body constituted by the letters YWHW, which comprise all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, the hylomorphic substance, as it were, of Torah, and, by extension, given the identification of Torah and the Active Intellect, of all that exists in the cosmos (the Active Intellect, according to the widespread cosmological view adopted by philosophical sages in each of the three monotheistic faiths in the High Middle Ages, believed to comprise the forms of all existents in the sublunar sphere). The soul, unfettered from the knots of corporeality by means of the meditational practice, is united with the Active Intellect and is thereby transposed into the body that is made up of the letters of Torah. The separation of the soul from the body, a form of simulated death that is true life, occasions the transposition of the body that restores the corporeal to its elemental form composed of the Hebrew letters.

Kabbalah as Divine Wisdom

To the degree that the self and the intellect are unified in the moment of conjunction, it is possible, even necessary, to speak of the *sefirot* as internal states of consciousness. But the psychological cannot be separated from the ontological, which is to say, these internal states correspond to the external intelligences that govern the movement of the celestial spheres. From this vantage point it is possible to use the term 'theosophy' to render Abulafia's characterization of Kabbalah as *hokhmat ha-elohut*, which denotes divine wisdom that stands in contrast to divine science as understood by Maimonides. The divine wisdom consists of the esoteric gnosis of the name, which cannot be attained by the discursive metaphysics of the philosophers. Indeed, on numerous occasions in his writings, Abulafia emphasizes that this knowledge cannot be apprehended by philosophers; it is unique to the prophets of Israel who have received and transmitted this knowledge as an oral tradition.

Abulafia is not totally consistent on this point as he embraces as well the philosophic classification that accords a special place for 'man' in general in the chain of existence, the being who has been granted the rational faculty by means of which one comes to know God. Indeed, in line with the Maimonidean approach, Abulafia even identifies *tselem elohim*, the divine image with which Adam was created, as the natural faculty of reason, and thus it would seem that he would necessarily have to resist positing an ontological distinction between souls of Gentiles and the souls of Jews,

for the former, as the latter, are immaterial intellects capable of attaining the disembodied state of conjunction, which is designated by the traditional eschatological category of the world-to-come. Notwithstanding the explicit affirmation of a philosophically influenced anthropology, Abulafia does maintain persistently that the people of Israel are accorded a privileged rank vis-à-vis other ethnicities, an elitist position that, in the spirit of Halevi and in opposition to Maimonides, is linked to the potentiality to attain prophecy and to the linguistic supremacy of Hebrew.

The Jewish People

The distinctive tradition (*qabbalah*) of the Jews, which has been received in a continuous chain from the prophets and can be traced to God, is superior to philosophical opinions based on the faculty of reason (*sekhel*) that is shared equally by all people. Just as Hebrew is the 'natural language,' that is, the matrix language of creation, basis for all other languages—which, by contrast, are deemed to be 'conventional'—so the Jewish people represent the ethnicity that embodies the human ideal most fully. This standing is connected more specifically to their possession of the divine name, which is expressed somatically as the inscription of the sign/letter of the covenant on the male organ and psychically as the envisioning of the name in the imaginal form of the divine *anthropos*. This possession, which Abulafia and other kabbalists considered unique to the Jewish people, facilitates the actualization of their angelic potentiality.

Contested Scholarly Demarcations

The presentation of Abulafia's views in this way significantly narrows the gap separating the two major trends of Kabbalah with regard to the conception of human nature that is most fully realized in the embodied polity of Israel. The morphological delineation of Kabbalah in any historical context, which alone can be the standard by which to measure the legitimacy and relevance of the typological taxonomy of contemporary scholarly conventions, requires one to take into account such matters, for only by considering these will one be attuned to the epistemological assumptions that inform the hermeneutical presuppositions that inform a particular mystic's experience of the world. Thus, for instance, Abulafia and Moses de León, taken respectively as paradigmatic proponents of the two main types of Kabbalah, prophetic-ecstatic and theosophic-theurgic, would have agreed that Hebrew is the essential or natural language, the language by means of which the structure of natural entities may be decoded. For both, moreover, the ontic character of the natural language is not to be sought in its semantic morphemes, that is, particular cultural configurations of the language, but in the phonemic and graphemic potentiality contained in Hebrew as a conceptual grid to chart the character of language more generally. Another perspective that would justify narrowing the gap dividing theosophic and ecstatic streams of Kabbalah is the mystical spiritualization of traditional → ritual, a process that involves union (or conjunction) with the divine. The transfiguration of ritual into a sacrament that occasions psychic ascent and the ontic reintegration into the divine is an experience that theosophic and ecstatic kabbalists alike considered to be on a par with prophecy.

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→ *Esotericism, God/Gods/The Sacred, Gnosticism, Language, Magic, Mysticism, Name(s), Revelation, Secrecy, Tradition, Vision/Auditory Experience*

Elliot R. Wolfson

Khomeini

Biographical Data

1. Ruhollah Musawi Khomeini, born on September 24, 1902 in Khomein (Iran), who died on June 3, 1989, was the spiritual and political leader of the Iranian Revolution of 1979. After studying religion in the sacred city of Qom, Khomeini achieved the title of a Mujtahid (→ Iran). He first came to public attention in 1943, when he criticized the deposed Shah for his dictatorial exercise of power and his sellout of Iranian interests to foreign powers. In 1963, now with the rank of Great Ayatollah, Khomeini was among the embittered adversaries of an introduction of women's suffrage, planned by the Shah, and of a land reform by which the clergy had been affected as well. He delivered harsh addresses against the Shah, complemented by a radically anti-colonialist attitude, which won him the praise of broad elements of the population, including that of the intellectuals. Inasmuch as he summoned the population, including the military, to resist the Shah's regime, he was exiled from the country. He went first to Turkey, then to Iraq and the holy city of Nadshaf, from which he was able to disseminate his religio-political and anti-monarchistic ideas without obstacle. At the end of the 1970s, there were new demonstrations against

the Shah, and massive rallies for Khomeini, whereupon the latter was banished from Iraq. Finding refuge in Neauphle le Château, in France, he once more summoned Iranians to resistance to the Shah, and now openly proclaimed the goal of an Islamic republic. During the following months, the situation escalated. On 16 January 1979, the Shah had to leave Iran, and, on 1 February, Khomeini arrived in Teheran. In the same year, he managed to exclude all groups of the opposition. On 3 December 1979, the new theocratic constitution was proclaimed, which ascribed sovereignty not to the people, but to God alone. Its sole legitimate representative was the 'concealed Imam' of Shiite tradition (→ Theocracy). Until the latter's return, he would be represented by the supreme cleric of the land. Khomeini's goal had been attained, the creation of a 'government of [Islamic] experts in the Law' (Pers., *velayat-e feqih*). In his lifetime, Khomeini himself held the position of 'religious and political leader,' the *Rahbar.* His successors in this office continue to dispose only of political leadership, religious authority having fallen to a ruling body.

The 'New' State

2. The introduction of the *velayat-e feqih* represents an innovation in the Shia (→ Islam): instead of an expectation of the Mahdi, the Redeemer, the *velayat-e feqih* should itself create a just rule, in the immediate present. Even the office of *Rahbar* is a novelty introduced by Khomeini. It had been tailored to him, and was de facto equivalent to the Imamate. Its claim to absolute authority was emphasized by the fact that Khomeini was seen as practically infallible. Thus, his → fatwas were elevated from the status of a personal doctrinal opinion to that of an obligation incumbent on all believers: usually, as in the case of the death sentence pronounced upon Salman Rushdie, and contrary to the provisions of prevailing Islamic law, they remained valid even after Khomeini's death. In other areas, as well, as in the interpretation of religious prescriptions, he altered existing law. Khomeini is by no means an Islamic fundamentalist, then, but must be classed as a reformer, indeed as a revolutionary.

Publications

3. Along with his addresses, and a legal commentary on various aspects of daily life, the *Touzih ol-masa'el* ("Explication of the Problems"), two publications are of special importance. In 1942, Khomeini published *Kashf al-asrar* ("Disclosure of the Mysteries"), in reaction to the occupation of Iran by allied troops in 1941 and the deposition of the Shah. There he severely criticizes the dictatorship of Reza Shah, alleging his failure to observe religious values and prescriptions, and calls for strict conformity to Islamic laws and norms; the latter, in turn, ought to be controlled by a body of mujtahids. The continuation of the monarchy was not called into question. In *Hokumat-e eslami* ("The Islamic Government"), a collection of lectures delivered in 1970, Khomeini represents a far more radical religious and anti-colonialist position: in this polemical writing, which opposes the separation of religion and state, he reproaches British and Soviet colonialists with having replaced Islamic norms with Western ones. The colonialists' intent, so runs Khomeini's indictment, is to repress religion, and therewith the influence of the *ulama*, the legal experts, in order to prevent the liberation and independence of Muslims. As an ideal, he envisions a government by clerics, and this he was eventually able to bring to realization.

Veneration and Criticism

4. Although Khomeini was theoretically no more than a traditional Mujtahid, with large segments of the population he had the reputation of being a saint even during his lifetime. Many Iranians believed that they saw his face in the moon. The seemingly impossible defeat of the Shah and his heavily equipped army, the failed rescue of the hostages from the American Embassy in Teheran because of a sandstorm, along with other 'miracles,' nourished the belief that Khomeini had divine assistance at his disposition. In addition, on the one side, there was his → charisma, and his popular and unpretentious manner of expression; on the other side, there was his gigantic propaganda machinery. By association with the battle of Kerbela (→ Iran), Khomeini was stylized as the icon of good that had conquered evil, the latter personified in the Shah. After his death, he was elevated to the status of a mythic figure. His body is exposed in a mausoleum in Teheran, with circumstance properly reserved for imams. Nor is it only architectonically that his mausoleum resembles the shrine of Husain in Kerbela; the rituals performed there, as well, are like those celebrated for imams.

Thus, Khomeini is reverenced by most Iranians even today as a charismatic personality and exceedingly extraordinary figure, and among their number even many of those whose attitude toward today's religious leadership is one of criticism. Just so, the Western world demonizes him. Years after his death, he is regarded in the West as the one who has led Iran back to the Middle Ages. He is accused of brutal suppression of women, contempt for human rights, and the introduction of the economic and social decline of the country.

The Iranian government does face great interior problems: the liberal wing, around secular leader President Khatami, who intends to open the country up, must take careful account of the framework that Khomeini has so narrowly erected. His legacy still weighs heavy in the balance today, and the conservative circle around religious leader Ayatollah Khamenei undeviatingly grounds its rejection of liberalization on the decisions and stern principles of its one-time exalted leader.

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→ *Fatwa, Iran, Islam, Theocracy*

Silvia Kuske

Kitsch, Religious

'Kitsch' versus Art

1. An 'aesthetics ready for occupancy,' is what Gillo Dorfles called kitsch; 'evil in art,' Hermann Broch; tastelessness, lack of character ('tricky subject'), pseudo-art, a contradiction between form and function—are what others have called it since. Nevertheless: "Of the inclination to kitsch, no one is free. Any superiority is therefore uncalled for" (Eberhard Roters). The word 'kitsch,' unclear in its origin, emerges in Southern Germany in 1870, and has since become an international concept. Kitsch stands today for trivial art and mass production ('oleographies,' 'plaster of Paris figures'), with no claim on artistry. Socio-historically, hidden behind the condemnation of kitsch lurks a class-specific prejudice, that, from the lofty chair of educated-middle-class taste, invalidates popular routine art vis-à-vis 'high,' purpose-connected art.

For one thing, this attitude tampers with the view of a democratization of art, which, in modern Western → industrial society, is now universally accessible, and—at least as reproduction (illustrated book, poster, replicate, devotional image) open to acquisition. "Art work in the age of its reproductibility" (W. Benjamin) is submitted to manifold processes calculated for ready application (of the singular, the exclusive, the perverse, the multifunctional): by way of alteration of the format (usually diminution or, as with posters, enlargement), or by replacing the original stuff with inexpensive material.

For another thing, the aesthetical verdict overlooks the fact that (religious, etc.) mass-generation possesses its independent worth, as production of symbol, for interpersonal communication, or creation of wares for determinate application (on a pilgrimage, at a festival, for a memorial). The manners of address of believers to religious kitsch, then, is first of all context-related—it does not occur from a somehow formed 'understanding of art,' but as ritual, magic, collage, or in private religious selection and adaptation in everyday practice: the 'cockpit' of a cab-driver or trucker in Palermo, Madrid, Peoria, or New York with his illuminated Madonna, his Christ on the cross dangling from the rear-view mirror, his dusty artificial flowers draping the likewise dusty, long-since faded snapshots of his wife and child helplessly glued to the dashboard, illustrates a private world of wish, assembled of ready-made substitutes for the wishes—a world irrevocably building on presence, on → love, on fetishism, a world that appeals to a feeling of security and familiarity, a world of special presence, even if the social, big-city 'daily grind' has suffocated so many forms of the ritualization of the → fetish.

2. The socio-psychological laboratories of the garden dwarfs, the 'holy picture' of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, the Christ amidst the field of grain, the crowning of Mary, or the Holy *Madonna della Sedia* ("Madonna of the Chair"), Christ at the Last Supper (→ Lord's Supper/Eucharist), the devotional image of the lower-middle-class bedroom, that was obligatory for decades, the world of the key-chain with its religious motifs, of the private home-altar, of an all-embracing, powerfully impressive world of religious feeling—frequently syncretistic, for instance that of the Afro-Cuban or Afro-American—has been little researched, and may well constitute less a question of the aesthetics of art than of comparative ethnology, or indeed of sociology across the board. Here, attention must be paid to the



Kitschy figures in clay or cement for sale along a street in Upper Italy. Garden dwarfs, praying Madonnas, a crowing rooster, an elephant, an ancient water-bearer, and, not to be ignored, as if multiplied by four, the woman with the rolling-pin, all dressed the same—a watching and punishing ghost.

producer and the supplier: the transition from cultic apparatus, to devotional item and votive offering, to the demands of tourists, just as easily overleaps the boundary of the practice of religion, as it is easy for the crowd of producers to settle within (orders) the communities and outside (locally produced small handwork). Throughout all world religions, it is a souvenir industry, particularly, that makes rather a good living on the calculated exploitation and marketing of a religious feeling concentrated on the domestic. Price does not play the decisive role here. The profession of membership in the → group (football fans, pilgrims) is an important individual motive (the 'fan syndrome'). In addition, what seems to be decisive for the emotional situation is the literal presentation of the idealized absent person or thing—the wish fantasies, the figures of the Mother, Redeemer, or patron saint (guardian angel)—a helpless, but nonetheless earnest, and to be taken in earnest, form of elimination of the alienation of daily life.

The psychodynamic level of kitsch has been clearly presented in two publications, by Ludwig Giesz and Abraham A. Moles respectively: by the former, on the basis of a comprehensive anthropology of the Mediterranean tourist as a 'kitsch person'; by the latter with a view to industrial manufacture technologies (e.g., of 'gadgets'), and their need-oriented, psychosocial design. As universally as kitsch appears or is produced, and as seemingly 'annihilating' as it is of 'every finer thought,' it is all the more immense and indispensable in the area of inter-personal presentation of religious feelings: love for devotion and meditation (not to be underrated), the gaze on high

toward the beautiful-in-itself, the glance at what may be, for me, holy. These feelings are globally valid for Western religious cultures, and significant as well for Eastern cultures of religion.

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→ *Art/Aesthetics, Everyday Life, Popular Culture, Private Religion*

Bernd Lutz

Korea → China / Korea / Japan

Ku Klux Klan

1. The Ku Klux Klan, later the "Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," is phonetically derived from the Greek *kúklos* ('cycle,' or 'circle'), appending an arbitrary spelling of 'clan' for the purpose of a triple visual alliteration that might inspire curiosity and uneasiness. The name originally designated a secret society of white men in the American Southern States unwilling to come to terms with the outcome of the Civil War (1861–1865)—the victory of the Northern states, and the emancipation of the black slaves. In the further course of American history, the Klan comprised, especially, a racist and 'nativistic' secret society of males of European extraction. Its main political goal was the defense of the supremacy of the 'white race.' Even today, not only in the United States, but also in European countries, groups convinced of the supremacy of the 'white' peoples over all others use the name Ku Klux Klan and the flag of the Confederacy (→ Race/Racism).

First Phase

2. Six unknown young men from comfortable families founded the original Ku Klux Klan in 1866, in Pulaski, Tennessee, as a secret brotherhood, without declared political goals. They were content at first to ride through the streets at night, disguised with hoods, and arousing fear and terror in the 'childlike' blacks, who could believe that they were witnessing the resuscitation of fallen soldiers of the Confederacy. A year later, a series of officers and soldiers of the old Southern army transformed the hooded club into a paramilitary troop, under General Nathan B. Forrest, for the purpose of interfering with the Republican state government of Tennessee, which cooperated with the North. Granted, the Klan did not dare provoke

an actual armed struggle; it was essentially satisfied with intimidating 'onslaughts' on the black population, as above, and subversive 'pranks' against state authority, in order to render it ludicrous in the eyes of the citizenry. By the beginning of the 1870s, it had practically disappeared again.

Second Phase

3. The Ku Klux Klan as a politically influential secret society, arrogating the right to private justice and violence, including lynching, was essentially a phenomenon of the first third of the twentieth century. The main area of its extension was now the Midwest and Northwest of the United States. Its self-image was that of a kind of conservative Christian action movement of Anglo-Saxon Americans wishing to mount a defense against the aspects of industrialization that were taking root, and seeing the concomitant 'infiltration' of foreigners as a major threat. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, expanding industry had attracted a mighty wave of immigration into the country, predominantly from the Catholic lands of Eastern and Southern Europe. The brutal monopolistic practices of maximized profits provoked radical populist and socialist counter-movements, both among Midwestern farmers in the country and among new immigrants in the industrial metropolis. Through all of this, many 'born Americans,' chiefly of English extraction, felt threatened in their ancestral Protestant Christian lifestyle. They premised an 'American primogeniture,' and posited theologically founded claims of a right of 'control over their surroundings.' Concretely, to them this meant limitations on immigration, a 'prohibition' of the marketing of alcohol, and the unconditional observance of puritanical moral prescriptions, especially in sexual behavior. They packaged these political ends in the belligerent concept of 'Americanism.'[1]

To a certain extent, the Ku Klux Klan was the warhorse and spearhead of this movement. Unlike its namesake in the nineteenth century, the new Klan was a predominantly urban phenomenon. It was militantly anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and anti-trade-union. It was by no means sectarian in the effort to achieve the goals of these attitudes. On the contrary; as early as the 1890s, for the purpose of repulsing the socialist/populist danger, the elite of the North had propagated a 'reconciliation' with the landowners of the old South, and to this end promoted a romanticization of a slave-owner society and its racist self-image. An eminent role was played in this turn by certain products of popular culture, such as Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman* (1905), and especially the film made on this model, David W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* (1915), the first 'epic' film of American film history. They spread the image of the Ku Klux Klan as that of a community of white men, persons of integrity, loyal to their families, who meet at night in a secret place, form a circle, hold a divine service, and burn a cross. (The original Klan did not burn crosses.) There was no deeper meaning of this act—merely dramatic self-edification and the theatrical terrorizing of others. The rite was obviously borrowed from Dixon's novels. The acts of terrorism solemnly vowed were preponderantly of a local nature, and directed as a rule against individuals who had contravened the code of 'Americanism.' These could be blacks who had 'forgotten their place,' or whites who behaved 'immorally' or had agitated for the unions. From time to time, actions were also directed against persons who did not 'fit in': Catholics, Jews, Asians, Mormons, new immigrants, drug addicts, alcoholics, adulterers, and so on. Victims were usually surprised by night

and 'punished'—sometimes even lynched, although usually they were merely 'taught a lesson' (e.g., flogged, tarred and feathered, and driven out of town).

At the height of its activity, in the early 1920s, the Klan numbered well over three million members, of whom, to be sure, the overwhelming majority were nonviolent. They served rather as the paying members of a political community of belief that served not least of all as a lucrative source of income for their ringleaders. The latter, for the most part, were cynical demagogues, who waged merciless battles for the income of the organization. True, there were strict hierarchies and ranks within the regional clans, but no overarching national leadership and organization. On this basis, exercise of power on the part of the regional and local leaders was practically unlimited as far as the institution was concerned. The attitude of the Protestant Churches was similarly open to the Klan, which depended on local relations. In many places, the Klan was identical with the local (fundamentalist) community, while in others the (liberal) Presbyterian community represented the only opposition to the Klan. The upward evaluation and ultimate legitimization of the union movement by the Roosevelt administration (policy of the New Deal, 1933–1938), along with the patriotic full employment community of the Second World War, finally deprived the Klan of its social and ideological grounds. In 1944, it was officially dissolved.

The Klan after the Second World War

4. A few years after the war, the first attempts at reorganization were made. Principal motives advanced in the process of mobilization now became the government's officially promoted hatred of Communism, as well as resentment of the emerging political emancipation of Afro-Americans. Granted, the postwar Klan was never able to ride far on the coattails of its predecessor: at its high point in the 1960s it numbered a scant 17,000 members nationally. Far from hindering the exercise of civil rights, the bizarre anachronism of its opposition rather hastened their acceptance among the broad public. The Ku Klux Klan rode a temporary final crescendo in the 1960s, this time as a marginal phenomenon of the broad neo-conservative and right-wing populist current that had formed in reaction to the democratization and secularization of the 1960s. Appraisals of the strength of the Klan's personnel in today's generation oscillate considerably, between 5,000 and 100,000. But as an organizing political power it has become insignificant today.

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→ *Apartheid, Fundamentalism, North America, Race/Racism, Terrorism*

Frank Unger

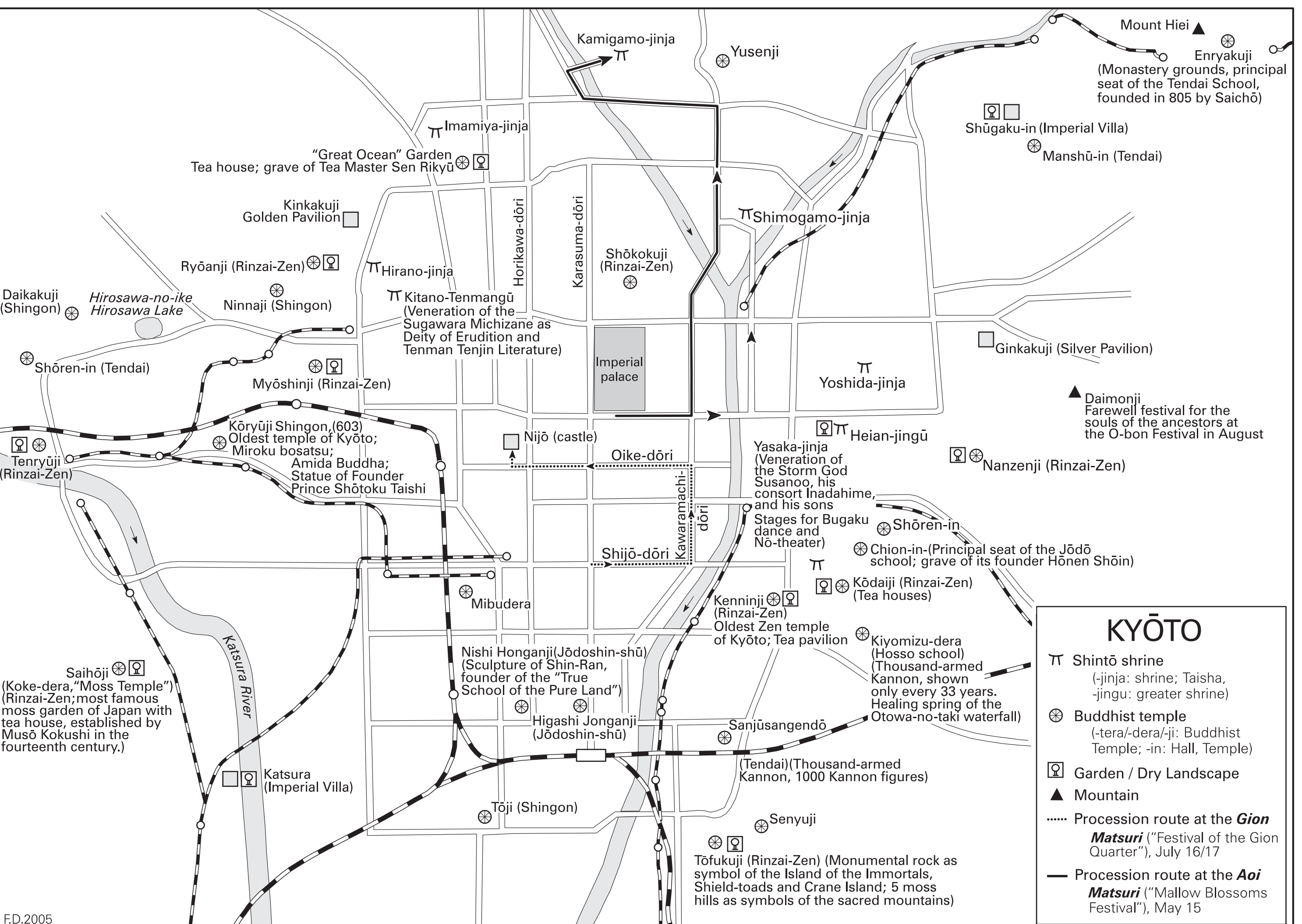
Kyôto

1. The ancient imperial city of Kyôto, in the Western part of the great island of Honshu, southwest of the Biwa Lake, was the capital of Japan from 794 to 1868. Its founder, Kammu Tennô (781–806), had the city with the historical name of Heiankyô ('Capital of Peace'), or Miyako ('Imperial Residence') laid out like a chessboard, after the exemplar of Chinese metropolis Ch'ang-an (today Xi'an). Like its model city, Kyôto had its Imperial Palace, with the seat of government, in the North, protected by the twin peaks of Hieizan in the Northeast and Atogayama in the Northwest. Kyôto, the historic city with its incomparable cultural legacy, is immensely wealthy from the viewpoint of religious history. It is the 'city of the holy places.' Two religious traditions dominate the image of the city, and impregnate human beings' daily existence. Several hundred Shintô shrines, places of pilgrimage, and Buddhist temples of all schools keep their powers of attraction today. → Shintô and → Buddhism exist in peaceful contiguity. Visits to shrines and temples, participation in the festivals and rites of the calendar year (→ Life Cycle) belong to everyday life, and are part of an everyday attitude. Nature itself (rivers, mountains, trees, and rocks; → Water, → Landscape) is drawn into the performance of religious practices, and in Shintô becomes the object of a sacred honor. Popular piety and tourism are intimately intertwined: the interests of tourism are occasionally superimposed on religious interests, and undermine them.

Buddhist Schools and Temples

2. a) From the outset, Kyôto was the seat of residence and government of the Emperor, until, in 1868, the latter raised Tokyo to the status of the new center of government, in the Meiji Restoration. Today, with few exceptions, the elements of the Imperial Palace of Kyôto are a pure tourist attraction, and have lost the cultic function that they once enjoyed in a framework of Shintô ceremonies at the Imperial Court. The local shift from Nara (capital during the Nara period, 710–784) to Heiankyô, in 794, was a reaction to Buddhism's increasing influence on politics. The new capital lay outside the expanse of the great Nara Monastery, whose resettlement to Heiankyô the Emperor had refused to effectuate. He saw to the protection of two new esoteric Chinese Buddhist schools that suited the needs of the court because of their willingness to abstain from political commitment. On the one side, monk Saichô (767–822) built Enryakuji Monastery in the North, on the Hieizan, on the principles of the Japanese version of the Tendai school, which he had founded in 805. That monastery was intended to protect the new capital from evil spirits that were supposed to come from the Northeast. Beginning in the late eleventh century, the Enryakuji, with its some three thousand branch and twig temples on Hiei Mountain, temporarily grew more and more powerful, lodging several thousand monks, and threatening the capital with military personnel from among the monks, in order to secure the gigantic land holdings of the high monastery and to accommodate its demands. Only in the sixteenth century did Shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi succeed in crushing the power of the Enryakuji. On the other side, Kûkai (744–835) founded the school of *Shingon Buddhism* in 806. Its principal seat is the 'mountain monastery' on the Kôyasan, in the interior of the Province of Kii (today, Wakayama). Under the influence of esoteric Buddhism, eclectic currents expanded as well, in a mix of Shintô and Buddhist reverential

Shingon Buddhism


KYŌTO
Shintō shrine
(-jinja: shrine; Taisha, -jingu: greater shrine)
Buddhist temple
(-tera/-dera/-ji: Buddhist Temple; -in: Hall, Temple)
Garden / Dry Landscape
Mountain
Procession route at the *Gion Matsuri* ("Festival of the Gion Quarter"), July 16/17
Procession route at the *Aoi Matsuri* ("Mallow Blossoms Festival"), May 15
Mount Hiei
Enryakuji
(Monastery grounds, principal seat of the Tendai School, founded in 805 by Saichō)
Shūgaku-in (Imperial Villa)
Manshū-in (Tendai)
Ginkakuji (Silver Pavilion)
Daimonji
Farewell festival for the souls of the ancestors at the O-bon Festival in August
Nanzenji (Rinzai-Zen)
Shōren-in
Chion-in-(Principal seat of the Jōdō school; grave of its founder Hōnen Shōin)
Kōdaiji (Rinzai-Zen) (Tea houses)
Kiyomizu-dera (Hosso school) (Thousand-armed Kannon, shown only every 33 years. Healing spring of the Otowa-no-taki waterfall)
Heian-jingū
Yoshida-jinja
Shimogamo-jinja
Yusenji
Kamigamo-jinja
Shōkokuji (Rinzai-Zen)
Imperial palace
Yasaka-jinja (Veneration of the Storm God Susanoo, his consort Inadahime, and his sons
Stages for Bugaku dance and Nō-theater)
Kenninji (Rinzai-Zen) Oldest Zen temple of Kyōto; Tea pavilion
Sanjūsangendō
(Tendai)(Thousand-armed Kannon, 1000 Kannon figures)
Senyuji
Tōfukuji (Rinzai-Zen) (Monumental rock as symbol of the Island of the Immortals, Shield-toads and Crane Island; 5 moss hills as symbols of the sacred mountains)
Kawaramachi-dōri
Oike-dōri
Shijō-dōri
Karasuma-dōri
Horikawa-dōri
Nijō (castle)
Nishi Honganji(Jōdoshin-shū) (Sculpture of Shin-Ran, founder of the "True School of the Pure Land")
Higashi Jonganji (Jōdoshin-shū)
Tōji (Shingon)
Mibudera
Imamiya-jinja
"Great Ocean" Garden
Tea house; grave of Tea Master Sen Rikyū
Hirano-jinja
Kitano-Tenmangū (Veneration of the Sugawara Michizane as Deity of Erudition and Tenman Tenjin Literature)
Kinkakuji Golden Pavilion
Ryōanji (Rinzai-Zen)
Ninnaji (Shingon)
Myōshinji (Rinzai-Zen)
Kōryūji Shingon,(603) Oldest temple of Kyōto; Miroku bosatsu; Amida Buddha; Statue of Founder Prince Shōtoku Taishi
Katsura (Imperial Villa)
Katsura River
Hirosawa-no-ike Hirosawa Lake
Shōren-in (Tendai)
Daikakuji (Shingon)
Tenryūji (Rinzai-Zen)
Saihōji (Koke-dera,"Moss Temple") (Rinzai-Zen;most famous moss garden of Japan with tea house, established by Musō Kokushi in the fourteenth century.)
F.D.2005

practices that survive in folk belief down to the present day. Shintô gods are identified with Buddhist figures, displayed in temples, and reverenced as local manifestations of Buddhist saints. Frequently, temples and Shintô shrines locally form units.

Amidha Buddhism

b) In the tenth century, among the followers of Tendai Buddhism, the veneration of Amidha, Buddha of the Pure Land (*jôdo*) or Western Paradise spread abroad, issuing in the twelfth century in a school of its own. The Chion-in (1234) is the principal temple of the Jôdo school. Amidha Buddhism, which emerged from the monasteries, became a great lay movement. Belief content and practices were simple, and their orientation was to the needs of the population. Front and center is a belief in redemption by Amidha Buddha, and the transitus to the 'Western Paradise.' Beggar monk Kûya Shônin (903–972) propagated the new message in the streets of Kyôto. The Honganji ('Temple of the Primordial Vow'), founded in 1272, originally part of the mausoleum for Shinran (1173–1262, founder of the 'New School of the Pure Land,' [Jôdoshin-shû]) quickly became the mighty center of this largest Buddhist movement in Japan today.

Zen Buddhism

c) In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, → *Zen Buddhism* gained a foothold in Japan. A plenitude of temple foundations then followed in the capital. The oldest Zen temple in Kyôto is the Kenninji (founded 1202); its first abbot was Eisai, founder of Rinzai Zen. Each of the *Gozan*, the 'Five Mountains' of the Rinzai school, has a representative in Kyôto and another in Kamakura; in Kyôto, toward the end of the fourteenth century, in hierarchical order, these included the monasteries of Tenryûji, Shôkokuji, Kenninji, Tôfukkuji, and Manjuji. At the great Zen monasteries, a flourishing culture of scholars sprang up. Their highly educated and elegantly conducted monks were appropriate for diplomatic missions and administrative activities, and worked closely with the apparatus of state. The monasteries were at once spiritual and artistic centers; especially, they were promoters of the traditional fighting techniques (martial arts) and the celebrated *Zen arts*. The Zen arts include very diverse artistic ways of creation and shaping: watercolors, calligraphy, poetry, Nô theater, flower arrangement, the tea ceremony, ceramics, architecture, and gardening. Clear rules, discipline, the schooling of body and of the attention, stand in the service of a personal spiritual development reflecting the Zen Buddhist methods of teaching. In the process of artistic creation, the pupil practices the art of psychic immersion, and absolute presence of mind, resembling the mental state of meditation. The artistic product, in its clarity, concentration, naturalness, and simplicity, is an expression of this mental and spiritual process. The sacred landscapes of the *Zen garden* are vivid examples of this art. In China itself, gardens were laid out that referred to hidden religious motifs. Far Eastern landscapes were exemplars of the Daoist Islands of the Immortals or the Western Paradise in Amidha Buddhism. It was especially under the influence of Zen Buddhism in medieval Japan that gardens were in the foreground as sacred topographies, and conscious symbols of the human quest for knowledge. One of the old Zen gardens of Kyôto is the Ryôanji Garden (→ Garden/Paradise, with photograph), created around 1500, incorporating the most consistent and most abstract form of *karesansui* (dry landscape), a garden of stone and sand. Simplicity and depth of shape and form invite one to meditation, and recall the simple style of the monochromatic watercolors. Many gardens are

The Zen Garden

intended to be contemplated from a certain point, and are laid out in relation to this point; they become a 'landscape painting,' whose material is taken from nature itself. Zen Buddhism impregnates the image of the city of Kyôto with its aesthetics of the garden. One of the most fascinating examples of Zen Buddhist garden aesthetics is the Moss Garden of the Saihoji, or Kokedera (Moss Temple), in Kyôto's West. Here, in exemplary fashion, Abbot Musô Soseki (1275–1351) realized the potential identity between the Zen monk and garden architect.

Shintô Shrines and Festivals

3. There are numerous large shrines in Kyôto, with their own local cults and yearly festivals. Kammu Tennô promoted the *Kamo* Shrine to the status of protective shrine of the city proper. It lies on the edge of the tilled agricultural plain. Here, each year on 15 May, the 'Festival of the Mallows' (*Aoi Matsuri*) is celebrated, as it has been since the sixth century, for the mollification of the divinities of the Kamo Shrine. It centers on religious ceremonies, and a procession around the festival in clothing from the Heian times. Kyôto's largest, most famous, and most animated festival is the month-long Feast of the Gion Quarter (*Gion Matsuri*), at the Yasaka Shrine, in July (celebrated first in 869, then, from 970, annually, with Shinto purification ceremonies and liturgical dances). The high point of the festival is the procession of twenty-nine splendid portable shrines and festival carts on July 16 and 17. In a framework of the Buddhist Feast of the Dead (*o-bon*), the *Great Farewell Festival* (*Daimonji Okuribi*) is celebrated, on the Daimonji Hill in Kyôto, on August 15, for the souls of the dead, who visit their kin for three days each year, and are solemnly received and honored by them. On the Day of the Farewell itself, great fires are kindled on five hills in the region of the city, and the population light paper lanterns, which they set afloat on the rivers. These float away, and guide the souls of the ancestors back to the realm of the dead. The background of the *O-Bon* Festival is the belief, received from the Chinese mainland, that the multitude of the ancestral souls determines the destiny of the family.

The Fushimi Inara Taisha (ninth century), in the South of Kyôto, is the most famous of the some 30,000 Shintô shrines dedicated to the rice divinity Inari, symbol of prosperity. The fox is her messenger. The hill behind the shrine is rimmed by thousands of cinnabar-red *torii*, wooden entrance gates to the sacred precinct of the shrine, which are financed by various commercial enterprises.

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→ *Buddhism, China/Japan/Korea, Garden/Paradise, Martial Arts, Shintô, Zen Buddhism*

Sabine Beyreuther

Labyrinth

1. The labyrinth is one of the symbols that exercise an enduring fascination upon human beings. Labyrinthine tracings and rituals are demonstrably present in many eras and cultures, and are applied with astounding persistence and identity of form. What is often called the 'original' labyrinth (Kerényi) lies beside its mythic place of origin, in Minoan Crete, and is propagated across the whole of the ancient Greek world, as well as perhaps received from the Mediterranean basin in India and Southeast Asia. The existence of labyrinths is demonstrable even in the Indian cultures of the Southwestern United States, as in Central America. The etymology of the word that has entered all Western languages from the Greek, but that is certainly pre-Hellenic, is unexplained and disputed. Today it is especially esoteric and psychotherapeutic literature that uses the classic labyrinth, and this literature uses it as an almost universally applicable symbol, so that its traditional interpretations have all but been lost for modern consciousness.

Phenomenology

2. For an interpretation of the labyrinthine motifs, a distinction must be made among (1) the labyrinth as a figure appropriate for use in movement (ritual or dance), (2) the labyrinth as a graphic figure (drawing, engraving, mosaic, architecture), and (3) the labyrinth as a literary motif, serving as a broadened metaphor for a difficult, dark problem, obscure or treacherous.

The original phenomenal embodiment of the concept of the labyrinth seems to have been the interweaving *line dance*, with the conceptual presentation of the labyrinth as a stone structure replacing it only later. Even in Homer, and then with Virgil (*Aeneid* V, 545ff.), the labyrinth is thought of as a dance. The case is the same with the conceptualizations of the labyrinthine Cranic dance on Delos. The labyrinth was primarily a ritual concept of movement: the 'labyrinthine way' was the path taken by line dancers. Thus also, the 'Troy-games,' familiar in antiquity and into the Middle Ages, are interpreted as ritual line dances in labyrinthine form. Accordingly, the ancient and medieval concept of the labyrinth offered only one way in and one way out: there is no getting lost in it.

The most current form of the labyrinth today, however, is the second, the *graphic labyrinth*, under which the maze is (falsely) included. The configuration of the labyrinth as a maze system, however, is attested only from the fifteenth century (Giovanni Fontana, ca. 1420). It has maintained itself in the form of the Baroque hedge and garden labyrinth to the present day. In that form, the specific concept of the 'labyrinthine' has degenerated into its universal minimalist metaphorical denotation.

Functions

3. Ancient tradition connects the labyrinth with the prison of the Minotaur in Knossos, built, in the saga of Theseus, by Daedalus, architect of King Minos. Its conception as a maze from which escape was possible only with the help of the proverbial 'Ariadne's thread,' however, is once more of modern origin. The thread rather, as an umbilical cord, secured the → hero's bond with the world of the human during his penetration of the labyrinthine depths. The primary interpretation of a labyrinth is doubtless to be seen as being in connection with a 'transition to the other' (→ Rites

of Passage). The labyrinth is to symbolize the spiritual transformation of the one who traverses it, inasmuch as that 'journey' consists of a successful traversal of exclusion and moment of reintegration. Thus, the labyrinthine form has found application in rites of → initiation and puberty, with the exorcism and exclusion of spirits, and in festivals of the calendar year. The labyrinth has been used to present both a passage to the realm of the dead, and as contact with the chthonic powers. Exclusion from the group is here presented specifically as an interior element as well as that of the beyond: the dancer moves to the center, turns within it, and struggles out of it. A person ran or danced through the 'castles of Troy' that were scattered across the coasts of Scandinavia. They were used as late as the eighteenth century. Medieval lawn labyrinths, instead, were set in a Christian interpretation of distance from God and return by repentance, and navigated, in prayer, on one's knees. Along with this interpretation of the labyrinth, however, comes a parallel meaning: that of the *labyrinth as space of protection.* In the Roman Troy-play, a labyrinthine riders' dance had a ritual role in the foundation of a settlement or temple precinct. Only in the Baroque did the labyrinth become a plaything: as arrangements of flowers or hedges, it was a component of feudal and public parks.

4. After a period in the nineteenth century that was out and out hostile to the labyrinth, when countless garden and stone labyrinths were leveled, the labyrinth today is the subject of a renaissance, as a symbol or metaphor, not only in the esoteric area, where it is especially important, but also among artists and architects (J. Willenbecher, T. Fox, R. Fleischner).

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→ *Dance, Initiation, Rites of Passage, Ritual, Symbol/Sign/Gesture*

Georg Hehn

Laicism

1. Laicism is a political ideology developing in Catholic-dominated France, under the name *laïcité,* beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. The French word *laïcité* is a neologism, derived from *laïque* (French, 'secular,' or 'lay'), which is in turn derived from the Greek *laós* ('simple people,' as distinguished from their rulers and priests). It arises as a counter-concept to the polemical expression 'clericalism,' which has been used since the Revolution of 1848 as a deprecating designation for the dominance of the Catholic Church in society. The aim for *laïcité* is the strict legal and institutional separation of church and state (→ Secularization), and thus comports the termination of ecclesiastical influence in politics, especially in educational policy.

Beginning in around 1923, under the designation *laiklik* (Turkish loan word from *laïcité*), laicism became one of the six ideological foundations of the movement promoted around Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881–1938), founder of the Turkish Republic (Kemalism). As part of a societal renewal, an aim of *laiklik* is the expulsion of religion (Islam) from public and state life. Since 1937 in Turkey, and 1958 in France, *laiklik* and *laïcité* are constitutionally anchored principles that mark the relation between religions and state down to the present day.

Laicism in France

2. In the Second Republic (1848–1852), opposition increased against the monopoly on instruction exercised by the Catholic Church since the Napoleonic concordat of 1801. With its point of departure in the premises of the French → Revolution (→ Enlightenment), the demand emerges for a state education that is in harmony with the basic principles of the Republic (*morale laïque*). A first Regulation comes in the *Falloux Law* of 1850. Along with the state 'public schools' (*écoles publiques*), 'private schools' (*écoles privées*) were permitted to teach, although they received no more than one-tenth of their annual fiscal outlay from state subventions. Further, religious education held by the church was permitted in state schools. In 1879, in the Third Republic, republican anticlerical forces win the political majority. In consequence, clerics are withdrawn from the highest educational offices across the board. Under Minister of Education Jules Ferry, as a compromise between conservatives and anti-clericals, the concept of the neutral world-view prevails. To some extent, this concept is implemented in the *Law on the Primary Schools* (1882), which, among other things, provides for the replacement of religious instruction by an 'education in morals and citizenship.' The provisional high point of the debate is: the *Law on the Separation of Church and State* (Dec. 9, 1912). The principles passed in this law form the basis of the modern laicist state system in France:

(a) No preference for any religion;
(b) No state financial support for religions;
(c) No interference on the part of the state in internal matters of religion;
(d) Religions are under private law, not state law, and, in order to be recognized, must be organized as *associations culturelles*, 'cult associations.'

This final regulation is a—failed—attempt to force the Catholic Church to adopt democratic structures.

The Holy See reacts to the laicist policy with blunt rejection. As soon as Pope Pius IX, in his *Syllabus of Errors* (1869), had condemned leading laicist premises (e.g. state monopoly on instruction), the Vatican, on February 2, 1906, prohibited the French bishops from implementing the law of separation, and thus, at last, a special regulation prevailed (1907).

Turkish Kemalism

4. With the Kemalist *laiklik,* the laicism historically imbedded in traditionally Christian countries spread out into the domains of Islam. This development is remarkable, in view of the special relations among states having Islamic governments and population. To them, the concept of two separate societal areas, religion and state, is traditionally foreign. The Prophet → Muhammad himself was at once religious and state leader. Nor in (Sunni) Islam is there any institution comparable to the Christian churches. After the founding of the Turkish Republic (1923), Ataturk and his followers had striven above all else to modernize Turkish society by adapting it

What does Laicism Mean, or What is Laicism?

An opportunity for persons to represent various religious convictions in reciprocal acknowledgment

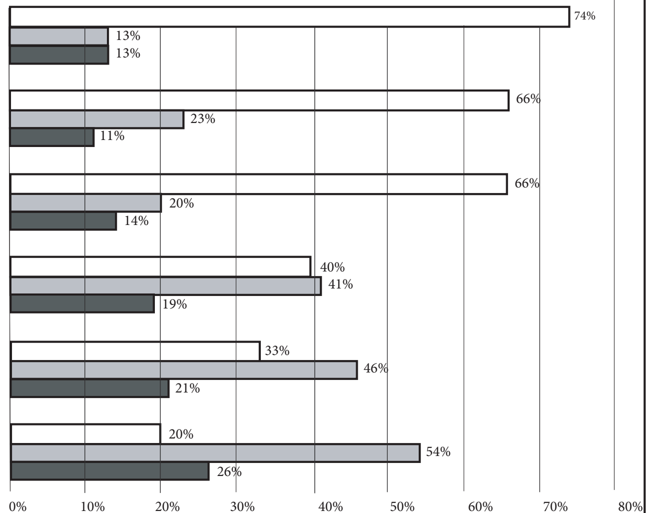
The route to the reception of freedom of instruction

The position that religious practices represent something strictly private

A bulwark against religious intolerance

The absence of any relationship to religion, with the ultimate intent of marginalizing the phenomenon of religion

The expression of anticlericalism



Mostly in agreement
Mostly disagree
No opinion

Source: *La Croix-L'Événement* (April 1989) citing Julien Potel, *L'Église Catholique en France. Approches sociologiques*, Paris 1994.

Survey by the newspaper *La Croix-L'Événement* (April 1989) on the understanding of laicism in France. Despite its historical roots in the struggle against the political influence of the Catholic Church, laicism in France today exists more as one of the foundations of religious tolerance. *Laïcité* has been transformed from a combative concept to a principle of coexistence in a society stamped by religious pluralism. Even today, however, the understanding of free education remains closely connected to the historical discussion.

to Western culture. Thus, *laiklik* is, first of all, the adoption of a French concept, now adapted to the special religious conditions of Turkey: not separation of Church and state, however, but separation of Islam and state. Unlike in France, Turkish *laiklik* is emphatically antireligious, conditioned above all by Ataturk's rationalistic and materialistic worldview. Turkish laicism was expressed first of all in a series of state measures in three areas of public life.

(a) *Subordination of religious institutions to state authority.* The Caliphate is abolished, and the ministries for Sharia Affairs and religious foundations are closed (1924). Instead, the new *Presidium for Religious Affairs* controls all religious officials and public religious declarations.

(b) *Educational system.* The Islamic schools are unified and nationalized (1924). Religious education, at first still separately administered, is abolished (1936).

(c) *Elimination of religious symbols and institutions.* The mausoleums are closed, and the cult of the saints thereby paralyzed; mystical orders (Sufis, etc.) are interdicted (both, 1925). Finally, Roman script replaces Arabic, the script of the Qur'an (1928).

With exceptions, these determinations are still in force today—indeed, to some extent, even expanded by succeeding governments. For example, since 1949, acts and enunciations contrary to the principle of laicism have been punishable by law.

The discussion on laicism has continued uninterrupted, and this in Turkey as well as in France—especially in the Turkey of recent times, in connection with the growing empowerment of Islamic fundamentalism. Here, the latter is regularly opposed by compulsory measures taken on the part of the state. Recent examples have been the prohibition of the wearing of headscarves or full beards in the universities (1995; → Veil), and, in February

1998, of participation in the government by the Islamist *Welfare Party* (*Refah Partisi*).

Finally, at the beginning of 1994, after the French conservative government had emended the *Falloux Law* and promised the private schools—of which 90% were Catholic—unrestricted subsidies, some 600,000 partisans of laicism poured into the streets of Paris (in the largest demonstration to be mounted there since the student revolt of 1968).

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→ *Civil Religion, Democracy, Enlightenment, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Islam, Revolution (French), Secularization, Veil*

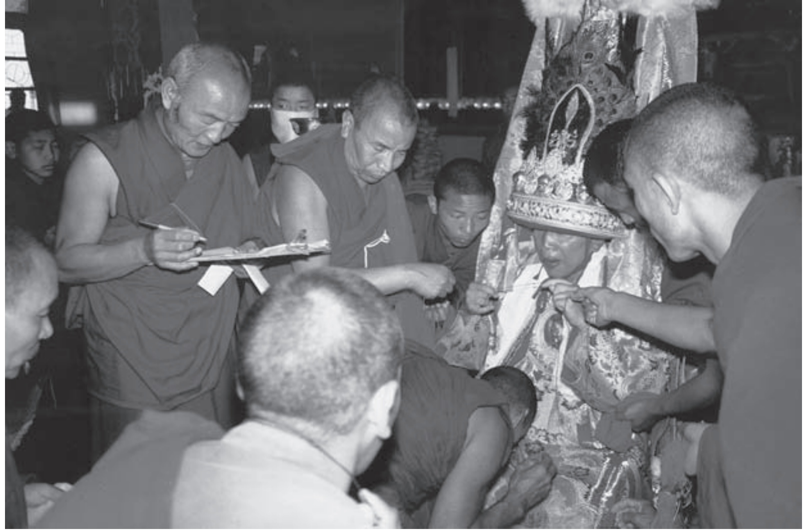
Oliver Grasmück

Lamaism

1. Lamaism denotes the version of → Buddhism practiced in → Tibet. Nowadays the concept refers especially to the theocratic system of Tibet before 1959 (→ Theocracy). (The prevailing Tibetan religion is now usually called 'Tibetan Buddhism.') 'Lamaism' comes from the word *Lama* (religious teacher), a title for ranking monks.

History

2. The first attempts to convert the Tibetans to Buddhism were made through Indian → Tantra Buddhism, beginning in 640 CE. Only through the efforts of Indian missionary Padmasambhava, however, did Buddhism begin to gain foothold in Tibet, from the eighth century onward. Its success was due to Padmasambhava's successful synthesis of traditional Bon religion and Indian Buddhism. The Tibetan kings promoted Buddhism, so that it quickly won many adherents. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century, there have been four schools of Buddhism in Tibet (*Nyigmapa*, *Kagyüpa*, *Sakyapa*, and *Gelugpa*), which accept one another. The differences among these schools lie partially in the importance they ascribe to meditation, their scripture scholarship, and their emphasis on a life of → celibacy. They also have partially different sacred scriptures and meditation techniques. The most influential school founded was the *Gelugpa* (Tib., 'the virtuous,' pl.), in the fifteenth century, whose followers in the West are known as the 'Yellow Caps.' Their founder was Tsongkhapa (1357–1419). The first → *Dalai Lama* was Gedungrub (1391–1475), on whom this title was conferred posthumously. In 1642, the fifth Dalai Lama was named by a Mongolian ruler as religious and secular leader of Tibet, whereupon he placed his master, the *Panchen Lama* (Sansk.-Tib., 'Great Scholar') in charge of religious affairs,


In Lamaistic Tibet, hundreds of oracles were active. These persons fell into a trance, and prophesied in a tongue that only schooled assistants could understand and translate. The highest-ranking of these was the state oracle, who even today is questioned in important decisions to be made by the Tibetan government in exile. The state oracles of Tibet placed themselves at great risk, however, since if they pronounced false prophecies, they could lose their rank and be imprisoned.

and raised him above himself in that area. This led to a rivalry, which has been exploited by China to the present day. Although the Panchen Lama had never had political duties before the twentieth century, China has repeatedly sought to appropriate him and exploit him in the division of Tibet. In 1951, the People's Republic of China annexed Tibet, and the authority of the Dalai Lama was completely abolished (1959). Between 1959 and 1976, the People's Army of Liberation, a Chinese force, destroyed more than ninety-nine percent of the originally 6,000 sacred buildings of Tibet. More than a million Tibetans were killed. Most of the 550,000 monks living in Tibet before 1959 (today there are only 6,900 at most) have been interned in labor camps or prisons, or driven into forced marriages. Monks and nuns continue to be subjected to torture even today.

The Theocratic System

3. After the appointment of the fifth Dalai Lama as religious and secular head of the country, Tibet was ruled as a theocracy. Socio-economically, Tibet was a feudal state. Nearly two-thirds of the arable land belonged to the government, to monasteries, or to the elite nobility, the last named numbering five percent of the total population. Nearly twenty-five percent of the male population were monks, to whom their basic sustenance was therefore afforded gratis. They met their further needs by offering religious services. The majority of the Tibetan population (sixty percent) were farm slaves, who had to work for their landowners without monetary compensation. The nomads (twenty percent of the total population), who had no compulsory labor to perform, were better off than the farmhands. Monasteries were supported primarily by the produce of their fields, and the unpaid labor of their farmhands. The country was administered by 170 titled officials, and the same number of clerical functionaries, who were monks of the Gelugpa school. Under the Dalai Lama, there were numerous offices with various tasks; their power and that of the abbot depended on the strength of the current Dalai Lama. When a Dalai Lama died, an interim regent ruled the country until the person seen as his reincarnation had attained his majority. Many Dalai Lamas died young; the regents

essentially ruled Tibet longer than did the Dalai Lamas themselves. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the thirteenth Dalai Lama sought to modernize the feudal economic system in Tibet along Western lines, but foundered at the opposition of the monastic elite, who feared for their future economic basis. The current, fourteenth Dalai Lama has likewise been concerned for reform, and in 1963, in exile in India, proclaimed a provisional constitution combining democratic and social progress with Buddhist principles. To this date, however, there has been no opportunity to test it in practice.

Lamaism Today

4. Living in their Indian and Nepalese exile, in over three hundred Tibetan monasteries, are more than 15,000 monks and over 1,200 nuns. In Europe and in the United States as well, some Tibetan monasteries have been founded in recent decades. Monks and nuns have to provide for their own maintenance, which is actually contrary to Buddhist monastic rules. Since 1985, monasteries in Tibet have been permitted to receive novices once more, after a long prohibition. But the capacities of the monasteries are far surpassed by applications. Since Tibet was opened to → tourism in the mid-1980s, visitors can see for themselves today a picture of the continuing massive suppression of freedom of religion in Tibet. On official travel routes, however, visitors see only monasteries that have been restored with tourism in mind. A special museum in Lhasa, built by the Chinese government for propaganda purposes, is intended to show the 'unbearable' situation of Tibetans before the Chinese takeover. While some of China's claims to this effect have a basis in reality, Tibetans' 'poor socioeconomic conditions' before 1959 are presented with exaggeration and distortion.

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→ *Buddhism, Dalai Lama, Mandala, Theocracy, Tibet*

Željko Marković

Landscape

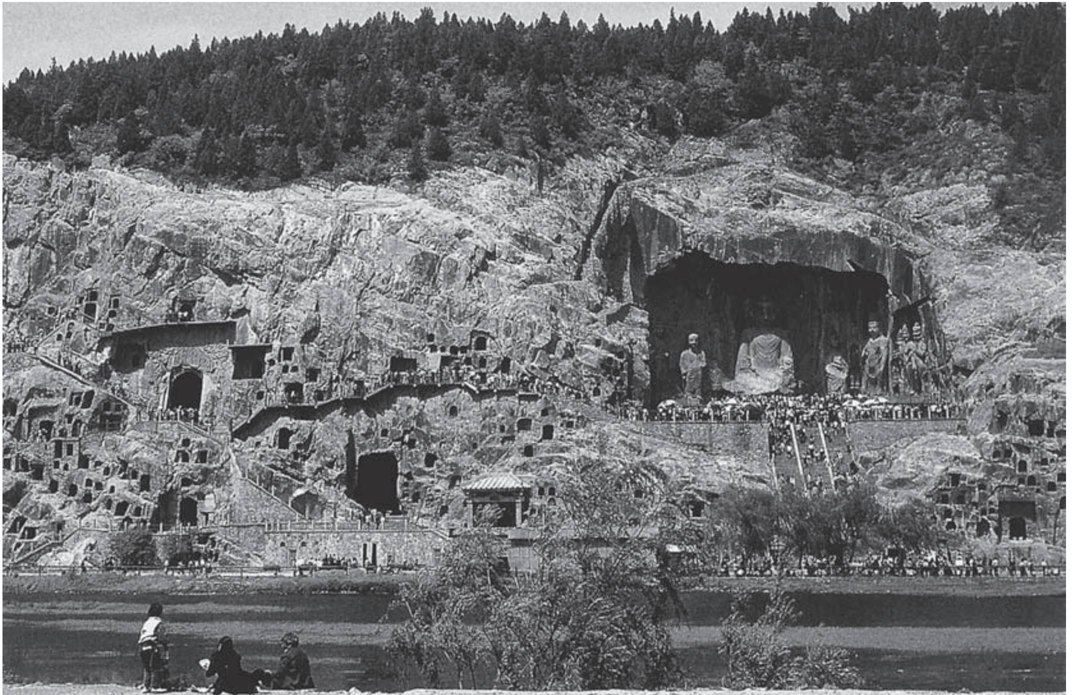
Definition

1. Landscapes appear by way of the perception and formation of the 'natural environment.' They are the consequence of special forms of subsistence ('cultured landscapes'), and the expression of social conceptions of order. Religiously motivated 'imprints' on a landscape are of various kinds. The structuring of space, the formation of centers, → boundaries, sacred places, or taboo zones, are all lasting manifestations of value concepts. The contrast between 'cultured land' civilization and 'natural landscape/wilderness' as a spatial projection, for example, is basic for the formation and

maintenance of a 'world within and without.' Thus, in rites of initiation, pilgrimages, and even, in a broader sense, today's tourism of adventure, landscape and a temporary stop in the 'wild' have real meaning. Places of worship can be artificially composed, like pyramids or temple ensembles, or they can be elements of the landscape that are 'ensouled by gods,' like trees, mountains, or waters. The beyond is persistently represented as an idealized landscape, usually as a garden or sylvan grove. As an aesthetically mediated totality of nature, landscape stands at the midpoint of the reaction of Romanticism, designated 'art religion,' against the rational world image of modernity.

Concepts of Landscape

2. Landscapes receive their characteristic *Gestalt* from the interplay of natural conditions with the historical elaborations under which natural space is assimilated. The most ancient testimonials to consciously perceived landscapes in European space include the Paleolithic cave paintings in France and Northern Spain. From the context of Chinese Daoism, we have the art of geomancy (*Feng-Shui*), which emerges from relations of origin and kinship between landscape elements, constructions, and society. The key motif of this approach can be understood as the cosmic paradigm of the tension of the sexes: here, all forms perceived as 'cosmic powers' are underlain by their division into female (*yin*) and male (*yang*) 'primordial powers.'[1] The focus of the cosmology of the Australian → *Aborigines*, which has come down to the present, is the connection of special elements of landscape in the form of 'sacred paths' mapped out by totem ancestors, in a mythic past described as the 'dream time.' In *antiquity*, the Latin concept *cultus* included activities such as the cultivation of the soil, the veneration



Religious landscaping in China. Since 494 CE, Buddhist monks have chiseled more than 1,200 caves along a 1.4-km stretch of the Longmen Hill, twelve kilometers south of Luoyang (Henan Province). The grottos of Longmen today form one of the three largest cave-temple installations of China. Many of the wall paint-

of the gods, and the education of the human being. In the *Middle Ages*, the transformation of natural into cultivated land became a religious duty. The agreement of 'being' and 'nature' had been God's command in the divine injunction to 'subdue the earth,' which humanity had received as the instrument of God. Natural landscapes, such as → forests, were a negative quantity. In a recommendation to princes in their establishment of cities, Thomas Aquinas, while acknowledging the importance of the beauty of a landscape, nevertheless warns of an "exaggerated attraction" there, "that would draw persons too much to pleasure."[2] The threshold between settlement and wilderness (the latter being mythologized in 'popular belief' as the place where witches dwelt) became a prominent feature of medieval landscape in the form of walls and fences.

ings, stone inscriptions, chiseled rock inscriptions, and more than 100,000 sculptures have been damaged or stolen over the course of the centuries, so that today only a part of the installation remains to be seen. (Benita von Behr)

In North America, from the beginning of colonialization the idea of 'wilderness' was a crucial element of identity, merging with ideas of 'civilizing' nature and the Native American population. In the nineteenth century, the American landscape became part of the → civil religion of the United States; the National Parks—Yosemite, in particular—can be read as an aesthetization of the American 'salvation project,' fashioned after the example of the Garden Eden (→ Garden/Paradise).

A counter-image to prevailing religion, and to a modern understanding of nature, was created by the *Romantic* conception of art, which claimed that, through a 'new mythology,' it was fashioning a new, superior system of interpretation. The religious aestheticization of landscape was a central consideration, an attitude proclaimed by Petrarch long before, in the report of his 1336 ascent of Mont Ventoux.[3] A nature 'decomposed' by science was countered with an aesthetic contemplation of landscape as standing for an 'integral' nature. What was important was meditation—'the power of the inward'—and the strength of the person who sallies forth alone into nature, as epitomized, for example, in the landscape compositions of Caspar David Friedrich. The Romantic notion of an 'inner paradise turned outward' came to embodiment in the English style of garden art, and was presented as landscape. The motifs of its figures received their orientation—in opposition to the severe order of the feudal Baroque garden—in the conceptualization of an Arcadian landscape. A 'piecemeal' consideration of nature was usually complemented here by an appreciation of the scenes, temples, and ruins of Asia or the East, or of antiquity.

Twentieth Century

In the tradition of the religious experience of nature embraced by Romanticism, we find the youth movement and reform movement of the *twentieth century*, the hippie culture, the ecological movement, and tourism. In this context, South Tirolean mountain-climber and environmentalist Reinhold Messner, with his reporting of his experiences of the 1970s in solitary, wild and hazardous, mountain expeditions, and statements like, "At such moments, persons learn to find God within themselves,"[4] became the herald of a new form of existential appropriation and experience of landscape. In the framework of a practice to be engaged during one's free time, 'adventure tourism' combines forms of consciousness that have already been developed in Romanticism: a critique of civilization, a refusal to replace the existence of religiosity with rationality; the experience of union with the infinite amidst the finite (→ Mysticism), and the instrumentalization of landscape and nature as a medium of religious self-reference.

3. As cities expand, and agricultural production wanes in importance, cultivated landscapes are disappearing today, along with the last 'wildernesses' (Amazon basin, New Guinea, Borneo). At the same time, there is a tendency to present new landscapes in the interior of cities, even in greenhouses. 'Nature experiences' are increasingly featured in the media, and simulations of landscaping are projected in virtual space. At the same time, industrial projects increasingly encroach on nature, while attempting to compensate with parks and 'natural' spaces. Even in this historically new reciprocation, one discerns the desire to reconcile civilization with nature.

1. Jellicoe 1987.
2. Warnke 1992, 91.
3. Burckhardt, Jacob, Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien, Gesamtausgabe, Stuttgart 1930, 5:213.
4. Messner 1979, 128.

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→ *Environmentalism, Forest/Tree, Garden/Paradise, Nature, Nature Piety, Place (Sacred), Romanticism*

Ursula Pieschel

Language

Just as there is a necessity to write this article in only one of the many natural languages, so too we can not discuss language in general, but must start with some historical examples.

Scriptural and non-Scriptural Religions

In Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, God's revelation was made available to humans through a language: Hebrew, Greek, or Arabic. The three religions attribute speech to God; in each the Word of God is associated with Creation ('God said' or 'God decreed'). In Judaism and Christianity human reason (*logos* in Greek) became intimately linked with this Word (also *logos*). Christianity went even further in affirming a divine-human commonality in speech by proclaiming that the Word became incarnate in Christ. (Most theologies teach that the highest authority belongs to the Incarnate Word—who spoke Aramaic, and not to the apostolic witness

given in Greek in the New Testament). The three religions each have an authoritative Scripture, which issues statements and commands, but there are nuances in the authority granted to it. The texts in their materiality are treated with respect.

Greek religion, being non-scriptural, made us familiar with gods who act rather than speak, teach, or issue laws. But Greek cults abound in oracular practices. At Delphi, the Pythia, under divine inspiration, issues oracles, often in answer to questions. The statements are frequently obscure, but *hermeneutes* are there to interpret what was said. Other techniques of → divination, through dreams, for instance, also make available messages that remain somewhat short of the clarity of the Ten Commandments. Contemporary studies of ancient techniques of divination (from the scrutiny of tortoise shells in China to the very elaborate Mesopotamian procedures) argue that these procedures strive to transform opacity into some meaningful statement. By gathering and classifying chaotic data, they lay the bases for what became known as rational procedures. Models of inquiry are being developed. In Africa, the diviner carefully interrogates the querent in search of an answer (J. P. Vernant et al. 1974).

Language, social formation, culture, and religion can thus be said to find their common birth in a process that aims to wrest some meaningful propositions from the "eternal silence of infinite spaces" that caused so much fright to Pascal. At the close of the 18th century J.-J. Rousseau speculated on origins and affirmed that language, society, and religion arose simultaneously. B. Constant built on this insight. After Humboldt's statement ("he who knows only one language knows none") came Max Müller's: "he who knows only one religion knows none." Human cognitive efforts are therefore perspectival. But it took time for this insight to be seriously exploited. This delay had something to do with the sort of religion that Christianity was.

Scriptural religions spread and maintain themselves on the understanding that a fully adequate, basic intelligible meaning has been made available. If religions are 'conquests of the world by interpreters,' interpreters who work from a Scripture have a clear base to work from. A language is for them a given fact. 'Faith is from hearing.' 'How shall they believe, unless it be announced?' Early Christianity formulated creeds, to separate the orthodox from the heretics (→ Heresy). In the medieval universities theologians used Greek metaphysics to frame a synthesis between rational truth and revealed truth. The → Enlightenment attacked this harmonious doctrinal whole and strove to demonstrate that 'revealed truths' were dogmas that were neither true nor rational, thereby setting the terms for Western debates for a long time.

Language Invites Further Language

This Christian history thus shows (like all others) a fundamental feature of language: namely to invite further language. It takes a socially enforceable act to declare a canon closed. But this being done, Scriptures remain to be interpreted. It does not take a long time, or many interpreters, before it becomes admitted that even the Ten Commandments are not as clear as all that. A further flowering of reasoning activity is called for.

A first path consists in legal recording and weighing of opinions. The three Scriptural religions have built huge edifices (quite distinct, of course) with the simple dual tool of pro and con. A second, more recent, path examines texts not to establish what they mean but what they meant. In the West

the opening of this new option is credited to Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) and his critical approach that enabled him to denounce some forgeries. This approach flowered with the humanists and the scholars of the Renaissance (→ Humanism). The rise of this type of historical consciousness had two immediate consequences. First the new critical approach could claim to be disinterested, because the historical question of what the text meant was kept quite distinct from the question of its contemporary relevance, of what it means. That Christians had a long tradition of pondering the presence in their canon of both a First and a Second Testament undoubtedly facilitated the articulation of this problem. So did the high valuation placed among them upon the task of translating of the Bible. And, second, the new 'scientific approach' marshaled immense resources (from archaeology to philology) to pursue its textual inquiries. Starting around 1820, a worldwide religious library was being studied in this way. Classical non-European languages started being formally taught: Arabic, Chinese, Sanskrit, Persian; soon Pali and Japanese followed. In a sense the nineteenth century social sciences only had to ask new questions and experiment with new methods: the libraries existed already.

Languages became scientific objects with the work of de Saussure (*Cours de linguistique générale*, 1916). The turn toward making the study of language a 'natural science' was taken when it was decided that investigations would be limited to actual, used (so-called natural) languages, and that no speculations would be ventured on the origin of language and no attempt made to invent an ideal language. In this wake, further sciences of language were born, psycho-linguistics and socio-linguistics. The latter should be of special interest to scholars in religion, since numerous religio-cultural conflicts have a language dimension.

The Linguistic Turn in Philosophy

After World War II many philosophers started doing their work in some space they constructed between their theories of language and their view of religion. The new developments came under the label of 'the linguistic turn.' Philosophies in the English-speaking world became dominated by attention to how language is being used, and by proposals on how it should be used. 'Linguistic analysis' spent therefore much time examining Christian theological affirmations with a view to assessing their verifiability or falsifiability (Ramsey 1957). Language was conceived at first almost exclusively as having a referential value. Such philosophies commonly gave 'a spectatorial account of knowledge' which tends to see the mind as a great mirror. (For the reaction, see Rorty 1979 and his defense for a therapeutic rather than a systematic view of philosophy.)

With the work of Wittgenstein, J. L. Austin, and R. Searle, philosophical attention shifted to a wide spectrum of uses of language. It became stressed that there is more to religion than belief in the truth of some doctrines. J. S. Jensen (2004) thus speaks of a 'semiotic turn.' Pragmatics became added to semantics and the focus included what people do to themselves and to each other when they use language. Attention was also paid to grammars and applications of speech acts (Winch 1977). "A language which we cannot imagine being used is not a language, and the sort of language we can imagine is determined by the language we ourselves use" (Rorty 1967, 17).

Semiology showed how to consider language as one in a series of signs used among humans. A distinction became crucial, that between speaking

and speaking about speaking. While the former acts in some way upon the world, the latter invites minds to reflect and to think in methodical ways, most specifically not to ask questions unless there are procedures to embark upon common work toward finding the answers. Language then became commonly acknowledged to be an unwieldy tool for knowledge ('unperspicuous') and yet not replaceable. We cannot think without words, but it is hard to think with them. A more serious attempt was also made at that time to examine religious language in general and not just typically Christian affirmations.

Somewhat simultaneously, some Christian theologians, instead of considering religious language as a way of teaching the faithful or convincing the Western doubters, put their ability to speak to new uses not so closely tied to traditional Western and metaphysical moorings. Acknowledgment of deep cultural diversity led them to promote and practice 'dialogue among religions' (in fact among religious people), often with the object of furthering mutual understanding. The objectives varied all the way from convergence on some truth to world peace. (For earlier accounts of the benefits to be gained from dialogue, see Despland 2004.)

Interpretation and Translation

Philosophers belonging to what Anglo-Americans call the Continental tradition have taken a hermeneutic rather than a linguistic turn, and have tended to place language in a broader family of communicative action (→ Communication). The heuristic and cognitive potentialities of metaphor were acknowledged. Theories of interpretations moved from texts to meaningful action (Ricoeur 1981; Joy 2004). The distance between speaking and speaking about speaking was also attenuated. Derrida (1970) distinguished two interpretations of interpretation. In the first case, the mind claims to decipher a truth (or at least tries to), to reach an origin which is free from the constraints of the world of signs. The other gives up the dream of full presence or reassuring foundation, and sees interpretation as a sort of play between two partners. (Interpretation then becomes more like translation.) Derrida recommends accepting both options and rejecting neither.

Philosophers (mainly those on the Continent) thus started to pay attention to practices of → translation. A recent French work (Cassin 2004) recruited 150 authors to write 400 entries on the difficulties entailed in translating philosophy. Why has Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Mind* become *Phenomenology of the Spirit*? And do ontologists know that Spanish has two verbs for *to be*, *ser* and *estar*, which have very distinct meanings?

The Contribution of the Social Sciences

In contrast, nearly all trends in the social sciences instructed theorists of religion to see languages as historical and perspectival, → discourse as constructed, and knowledge as socially attained. In 1903 Durkheim and Mauss (1963) wrote their essay on *Primitive Classification*. In 1910 Lévy-Bruhl laid the basis for comparative epistemology in *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* ("How natives think," 1926). It became admitted that languages inform to some extent the perceptions, concepts and modes of thought of the people who use them. Marcel Mauss undertook to improve upon Durkheim by showing the thousand and one forms of symbolic action (Tarot 1999). With such anchoring in social-cultural semantic realities, concepts like 'religious experience' and 'belief' became problematic. Needham (1972) argued that belief is an unanalysable private

state of mind and that we cannot establish 'believing' as a natural resemblance among humans. While the term seems indispensable to Europeans' account of themselves, Needham recommended that it be not used in ethnographic reports. When this social-scientific tradition met historians of religion attentive to the plurality of cultures, criticism turned to the questionable presuppositions and objectives that were present in much 'Western' science as it organized knowledge of other cultures. A major epistemological point was made: maps are not territory and many of our maps are totally incongruous (Smith 1978).

After the demise in the 1970s of a sociology of religion dominated by too exclusive an interest in organizations (or denominations), studies of religion went to the school of anthropologists (Wallace, Geertz, Turner) to focus on meanings and how meanings come to be shared through linguistic and other means. Empirical changes in religions (especially in the West) were then forcing attention upon new movements, many small, some short-lived. The descent to the level of micro phenomena made the work of the older Chicago symbolic interactionists (G. H. Mead, E. Goffman) appear relevant (Neitz 1990). Discourse was then studied in its nascent states. Here, too, attention shifted from 'religions' as storehouses of symbols to uses of the symbolic capital and changes in it. 'Conversation analysis' shows symbolic interaction being started almost de novo (with the preexisting tools of a given language of course), discourse being seen then as an achievement. In talk, thought becomes action and talk is intrinsically social interaction (Boden 1990).

This perspective raised many new questions for historians of religion. Religions like cultures came to be seen as 'semantic processes' (Jensen 2004). Religious language used to be studied mostly under the heading of 'myth' and was considered mainly as socially unitive and conservative, more frequently seen at work in maintenance rather than resistance or innovation. (For the view that language does not suffice to make individuals appear reliable to each other and that it takes ritual to establish minimal social stability, see Rappaport 1999; see also Bird 1995.) In contrast, religious language is now commonly seen as a major resource against hegemonic ideologies. Languages do establish social boundaries. But languages never stop all traffic at the borders. Ideas are not subject to customs dues; this eighteenth century saying is truer than ever. Languages make contraband possible (Lincoln 1989). Hermes, considered to be the god of hermeneutics, was also the god of thieves.

The Recourse to Literary Language

This sense of the extreme fluidity that language can lend to meanings is no news to students of literature. Cervantes created in the early seventeenth century a hero who goes into the world mentally armed with a canon: the novels of chivalry. The woeful inadequacy of his epistemological equipment is quickly apparent: his delusions are so numerous that he passes for insane. The novel (the father of all novels) has a further achievement: readers move from judgment of Don Quixote's pitiful folly—which gets him into cruel troubles, to a non-judgmental attitude and even to a genuine admiration for the artistic valor of this 50-year old knight. Don Quixote reconstructs his shattered world with an enviable resiliency. And in time, as the story moves on, he has moments of insight, flashes of cognitive brilliance. Clearly he is not consistently mad. A lesson is inescapable: canons of reality are not to be entirely trusted; not only is what passes for

reality unreliable, but unreality too is fickle. Delusions (of some nature and to some degree never to be settled once and for all) are parts of the art of living. (In fact his 'delusions' are not those psychiatrists diagnose: the windmills are there: he only believes them to be giants; his folly may be nothing worse than unusually bold beliefs.) In 1705, the year *Don Quixote* was published, Shakespeare offered *King Lear*, where he made a convergent demonstration: experience can damage the mind.

The epistemological instability created by Cervantes, the distrust of ordinary language he fosters by inviting interest in his literary language, are demonstrably linked to Spain's religious history, i.e. to the conflicts between three religions brought about by Christian policies of persecution. Inquisition and censorship forced all religious consciences into previously uncharted waters. Subtle artistry in expression was the first fruit. While characters in the novel occasionally say that all Moors are false in their dealings with Christians, the author says he got the true story of the errant knight from one of them, Cide Hamete Benengeli. There are hints that the beautiful Dulcinea about whom the Don fantasizes is not born of Christian blood. Cervantes showed in other writings as well that secret religion, dissembling and ambiguous talk are the flip side of the forcing of consciences.

Lists and Canons

Establishing lists, the earliest form of categorization, started humans on a long course of intellectual activity. The world contains both semantic and non-semantic facts (Jensen 2004). Closing a list establishes a → canon, which is a frame for inquiry and a language to work with. Exegetical labor can proceed with something concrete that draws the line between what questions may be raised just now (and perhaps settled) and what may not. Limitation is the necessary springboard for the exercise of ingenuity (J. Z. Smith 1982). But in a world where métissage or hybridization keeps occurring at nearly all boundaries, lists are not as stable as they used to be. Available classifications still provide reliable epistemological instruments but, in fact, social and symbolic interaction keeps experimenting with new lists. The vaccinated post-modern sophisticate is significantly but not entirely different from the Etruscan reading sheep's livers. The celebration of language can serve to praise both God and humanity, the majesty of one and the frail ingenuity of the other.

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→ *Communication, Discourse, Literature, Meaning/Signification, Perception, Text/Textual Criticism, Tradition, Translation*

Michel Despland

Late Antiquity

Concept and Time Span

1. Until the mid-twentieth century, researchers understood late antiquity "as the long decay of ancient times, or as the commencement of the European-Byzantine Middle Ages."[1] Since then it has been regarded as an era 'of its own,' a genuine part of antiquity. Its characterization as a 'time of decay' arose from the evaluation of a humanistic, partly anti-Christian classicism—unless it was positively conceived in terms of the *décadence*-ideal of the *fin de siècle*.

To be sure, the boundaries of eras always have something of the arbitrary or optional about them, since they are set up in accordance with modern viewpoints. Still, there are altogether good grounds for a demarcation of late antiquity: the year 284 CE presents a place to make a clean division, with the accession of Diocletian as Roman Emperor (284–305). A new phase in the history of the Roman Empire was introduced in the area of politics, administration, and economics. It is also certainly reasonable to date the end of late antiquity in the late sixth century: it was under the Eastern Roman Emperor Justinian (527–565) that the last attempt was undertaken to bring the Roman Empire under one rule, in its old geographical magnitude. Justinian's "fall marks the end of the Roman history of the Mediterranean basin."[2] A more extensive approach was that first presented by Belgian historian Henri Pirenne (1862–1935), which ties the end of the era—and therewith of antiquity as such—to the arrival of → Islam, and the division of the Mediterranean world following the Arabian campaigns of the seventh and eighth centuries.

The 'Constantinian Turn'

2. For the history of religions, the 'Constantinian turn' is surely the most important event of late antiquity. This designation is used for the Roman state's conversion to the Christian religion, introduced by Emperor Constantine I (306–337, autocrat from 324). The date at which Constantine was converted to the Christian Religion remains a matter of dispute. It may be only a legend that he was converted by an apparition of the cross in the battle at the Milvian Bridge in 312 (→ Rome, map of vicinity), but at all events it is clear that he openly protected Christianity, or the Church, at least from shortly after 312. All of his measures, such as episcopal jurisdiction in civil matters, tax-exemptions for clerics, or the right of the Church to receive legacies, indeed advanced Christianity, but did not yet place it *over* traditional religions. Instead, despite any personal preference on his part for the new faith, and by contrast with his successors, legal equality for the Church and its functionaries vis-à-vis the pagan state cults seems more likely to have been Constantine's aim. What is certain is that, with these measures, the Emperor, who had himself baptized shortly before his death, set a development in motion that, in the year 391, climaxed in the proscription of all pagan cults by Emperor Theodosius I. Thus Christianity became the de facto state religion.

Ideology of the Sovereign

3. A typical phenomenon of the Roman state of late antiquity is an autocratic monarchy with a sacred exaltation of the Emperor. Admittedly, there had been a cult of the Emperor from the beginning of the Empire; but the office of Emperor had not been religiously legitimated, nor had the Emperor himself been surrounded with a sacred aura. This reserve changed under Diocletian (reigned 284–305). To insure his rule against possible usurpation by the military—a real threat, especially in the third century—he needed a basis of legitimization that, at least theoretically, was not the army. He and his co-emperor became *Jovii* or *Herculii*—descendants of Jupiter or Hercules. What was new in this concept was that no longer was membership in the physical family of the sovereign (*domus Augusti*) the criterion of succession, but rather membership in the divine house of sovereigns (*domus divina*) by adoption. To doubt the divine origin of the emperors, then, was tantamount to denying their legitimacy. Here indeed may have been one of the essential motives for Diocletian's persecution of the Christians.

Constantine I, under Christian omens, carried this concept further. Not only was the Emperor, as God's representative on earth, identified, de facto, with Christ by official theologian Eusebius of Caesarea (260–337/40), but the Emperor himself seems to have entertained this concept. That he should have had his sarcophagus set amidst the monuments of the Twelve Apostles in the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople lent fitting climax to his program across the board. If his Christian successors stopped short of this, still the person of the sovereign retained a religious component, and was enfolded in a sacred aura, as was clearly demonstrated in court ceremonial as in ornament or image (→ Epiphany). Everything about the Emperor was 'sacred' (*sacer*). This perception, which remained integral to state theology in Byzantium, was ultimately one of the roots of medieval divine right, as of the modern absolutism based thereon.

Christianization

4. The *Christianization* of the Roman Empire was not restricted to court society and a ruling elite, of course, but led to a fundamental religious reorientation. That Christianity was ultimately able to suppress the pagan cults

was less a matter of a (repeatedly supposed) crisis of ancient religion, nor indeed, with the state's demand, violent imposition of the Christian religion. There was also the facilitating element that the new faith was flexible in adopting and adjusting existing religious concepts, satisfying ritual needs in ways more or less accommodating of traditional usages. Thus, ancient → polytheism survived in the veneration of the saints. By contrast, Christian → monotheism was of greater value as a *political* concept, and a more suitable path to the religious legitimization of sovereignty than Diocletian's construct had been: after all, Eusebius himself would have the monarchy the earthly image of the rule of the one God. One God, one Emperor, one Empire! Theological conflicts, typical of Christianity in late antiquity, were a factor of disturbance in this context. As a consequence, one of the interests of the emperors of late antiquity lay in the unity of the Church. From Constantine onward, emperors interfered in confrontations *within* the Church, and sought—by force, if need be—to repress heresies. An essential means here consisted in the 'ecumenical councils,' assemblies of theologians and bishops which the Emperor supervised, and which, beginning with Constantine, were held (at least in claim and effect) all over the Empire—the first in 323 at Nicaea, in the environs of Constantinople—and had unity of worship and doctrine as their task. A more than incidental determinant of the theological direction that would prevail consisted in the preferences of the then reigning emperor. Until the demise of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, the dependency of the Church on the Byzantine Emperor endured, ultimately finding its prolongation in the role of the Orthodox Church in Tsarist Russia. In the West, on the other hand, the collapse of imperial power supplied the prerequisite for the emancipation of the Roman Church from political institutions. Finally, the Pope became his own Emperor (→ Papacy).

Feudalization

5. Beginning in the third and fourth centuries, the cities rapidly lost their role as autonomous, self-managing communal institutions. The state of late antiquity placed its confidence in hierarchically organized central bureaucracies, and thus gradually deprived the old local urban elites of their political and economic power. That power increasingly came into the hands of large landowners, whose *latifundia* were cultivated by dependent *coloni*—a system of transition to serfdom and feudalism. Ancient cults, then, which were always essentially local cults, in a particular municipality, slowly but surely lost their ideological and financial base. Further, the political and economic crisis of the Empire since the third century seemingly all but required supernatural things and persons for protection—"ranging from relics, exorcists, divine and semi-divine patrons, to dreams, wonderworkers, and magical practices."[3] In this fashion, religion acquired a more pronounced individual character than it had before. Personal salvation, and no longer that of the political community, shifted to the center of consciousness. Christianity, precisely, with its 'holy men' (Gk., sing. *theíos anēr*), the ascetics, wonder-working bishops and hermits, satisfied these needs: holy persons demonstrated their special intimacy with God by expelling demons, healing the sick, and performing miracles. Thus they served as intermediaries between individuals and God (in their lifetime as well as after their death, through their relics); this function gave them a power grounded in religion, granted, but which acquired an altogether political significance. Bishops—especially in the Western part of the Empire—knew how to make use of 'saints' in their jurisdiction, and the cult of their relics for their own purposes: these were

the "visible representatives of the invisible *patronus*."[4] Their political role as local authorities after the fall of central authority in the West owed not least to that, as well.

1. Brandt 1998, 17.
2. Demandt 1989, XVIII.
3. Martin, Jochen, Spätantike und Völkerwanderung, Munich 1995, 123.
4. Ibid., 124.

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→ *Antiquity, Christianity, European History of Religion, Mediterranean Region, Veneration of the Saints, Middle Ages*

Markus E. Fuchs

Law

Concept

1. 'Law,' as a continuous quantity, usually denotes anything that pertains to *state statutes* ('laws' in the discrete sense), is fixed in writing, and is applied by way of specialized state organs. State 'law,' then, is characterized by its expression in 'laws,' which latter unambiguously determine the regulation of factual circumstances and situations, and to the violation of which are attached predetermined punishments (sanctions)—these too, applied by the state. Thus, state law is 'posited' in positive, *objective*, law, and is invested with a note of coercion: persons are obliged to its observance, and its non-observance is punished.

Subjective law refers to persons' appeal to 'rights' accruing to them in virtue of their existence (human rights, basic rights, natural rights), or called for by them vis-à-vis third parties without state sanctioning (e.g., appeals to contracts and agreements).

Finally, there are unwritten, or 'customary' laws—generally recognized agreements, arrangements, settlements, among given agents, derived from tradition or traditional practice—derived from custom. These are not ordinarily sanctioned, and therefore, in case of conflict, have no official binding force. The importance of customary law, then, arises exclusively when there are no legal or contractual regulations. Today it involves, especially, popular law; but state, objective law, as well, knows applications of customary law (e.g. the reference to 'honest and credible' and 'commercial customs' in contractual law).

Development and Functions of Law

2. The core of any law is the binding regulation of relations of persons among one another, in relation to the state and its organs, and in relation to other social institutions. Law, then, is a special form of social norms that determines the life of human beings. It is distinct from other social norms (moral norms, ethics, values) by reason of its sanctioning, and by way of the fact that law tends to detach from ethics and morals, claims its validity independently of tradition or concrete life-situations, and therefore comes forward as an abstract norm. However, in the spectrum of particular norms of law, again, a sense or meaning in the system of law is discernible that 'refers' to the greater whole (state, society).

In a Euro-centric perspective that leaves traditional and/or analphabetic cultures out of account, the development of law occurs as a progressive abstracting and secularization of social norms, in the presence of a simultaneous extension of the legalization of social relationships. This development finds its highest expression in the *General Declaration on → Human Rights,* which transforms subjective law or right into objective law, sees, or seeks to see, its validity extended upon all persons of the earth, and has its provenance exclusively in the intrinsic value of all human beings—independently of an appeal to social or religious bases. The development of law takes its point of departure in the codification of social norms in early societies.

A first written institution or fixing of law is found in the ancient Babylonian *Code of Hammurabi*, from the seventeenth century BCE. Even here, basic characteristics of law become clear: it is valid for all subjects of the Mesopotamian Empire, it has the function of regulating the social convocation of these subjects, and it determines the sanctions to be invoked in case of noncompliance with the regulations.

The next great collection of laws is represented by the *Torah* of → Judaism, which, according to tradition, was revealed by God to Moses in approximately the thirteenth century BCE. Here the pacifying function of law appears in all lucidity: the observance of the Torah would make it possible for the people of Israel to have a good life, in safety and prosperity.

The pacifying function of law is also clear in early determinations of ancient Hellenic culture. The most significant and important expression of law, of course, is that of the Roman Empire. Roman law imposed a completely novel systematization of norms, and this in a unitary structure of laws. The *Codex Justinianus* (Lat., "Code of Justinian," 529 CE) collected the hitherto existing imperial laws, and then gathered together the later expansions of the most important Roman juridical literature. The *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Lat., "Body of Civil Law") that thus appeared was directed to the formation of the whole of social life.

The Christian Church adopted the Roman system of law. By way of the link between the Roman Catholic Church and the Frankish Kingdom, beginning in the seventh century the fundamental thinking of Roman law was transported to Central Europe, and with the Middle Ages was tied to the Teutonic tradition, emphasizing freedom and an autonomous legal schematization. The gradual codification of regional or urban customary law followed (e.g. Saxon Speculum, 1220/35; Swabian Speculum, 1274/75), until the princes gradually acquired the power to posit obligatory law for all subjects, and to warrant or annul determinate rights.

In the wake of the Enlightenment and humanism, and in reaction to the arbitrariness of absolute rulers, the sixteenth century saw the beginning of an

emphasis on the notion of 'natural law,' which is of Greek origin (Aristotle), and which gained entry into the Roman Catholic Church by way of Scholasticism (Thomas Aquinas), where it acquired Christian support. Natural law inquires into the ordering, values, and meaning that can be expressed in, or can come into conflict with, those of positive law. Such order and values can be recognized and pursued by contemplation of nature, or, for example with Thomas Aquinas, by insight into the divine order of creation. Natural law, then, is a 'prepositive,' a priori rule—antecedent in nature to positive law. An appeal to natural law became a weapon against the arbitrary and the unjust, inasmuch as it recalled the 'religious' character of any human act, in the framework of an order characterized by superior values. In humanism, the theological content of natural law was stripped away, and there was a development of the concept of inalienable rights investing the human being simply as such, so that the idea of natural law could even be turned against religion.

Thus, the individual was no longer merely the object of law, or dependent on a guarantee of rights on the part of superior authorities, but a repository of rights in an individual capacity, and thereby, indeed, authorized to posit 'state' law.

The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century movements for middle-class emancipation took up this notion, and countered the monarchs and the church with the 'people'—in the form of the male members of the several social classes—as supreme sovereign, to whom the authority accrued both to posit law, and to transfer rights to state power. Law was transformed from an influence on the part of 'authority' on the life of human beings—whether by appeal to social status or to divine authority—to an instrument of self-determination and freedom.

But it lay with the social movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to extend the formula of liberty, equality, and fraternity, proclaimed in the French Revolution, to all persons irrespective of their social status or gender, and to confer on the people, by way of the democratic instruments of the constitutional state, a share in the shaping of social relations through law and in the exercise of the rule of the state. Only then was there a *juridical state*, with its laws posited by, and valid for, all persons. With the victory of the social reform powers of the labor movement, the notion definitively prevailed of translating, through right and law, the change in society recognized as necessary, in a legally regulated procedure of the formation of the political will. Beginning with the League of Nations (1919), and continuing with the founding of the United Nations (1945), an attempt has been made to make the peace-keeping function of law, and the shaping of social relations by juridical norms, effective on the inter-state level as well, and to replace customary law, usually still valid here, with norms that are juridically formed, binding, and sanctioned.

Law in the Religions

3. Although historically the law of organized common entities (states) and of religious communities has often coincided or extensively overlapped, each religion has nonetheless developed its own law, a law referring to its own community. In varying degrees, social norms and the content of religious tradition are comprised in juridical form and developed in a system of law, in connection with the use of scripture, the size of the religion in question, its extent, and its interior differentiation.

Tribal Religions

In *tribal religions*, social norms and law usually coincide. The absence of a written tradition entails the unavailability of a juridical system codified in writing. Nevertheless, the status of law accrues to norms of oral tradition, as also to behavioral indications deriving from the world of religious conceptualization; after all, there is a common, generally recognized store of convictions and laws constituting and structuring the social order and outfitted with sanctions. It is the task of certain functionaries within the tribal organization or ethnic group (e.g., elders, priests) to watch over the observance of the rules, to certify the fact of transgressions, and to apply the sanctions.

Hinduism

In *Hinduism*, with the appearance of the Dharmashastra and Arthashastra literature in the second century BCE, a fertile basis appeared for regulating the implementation of religious usages, and establishing norms for social relations—for example, in the caste system—as well as for determining the rights and duties of rulers, and stipulating conditions for economic life. In terms of its position, this Hindu legal literature lies on a borderline between texts of revelation, like the Veda, and scholarly literature, since an appeal is made to myths, or to a knowledge of the *dharma* (order), for the legitimization of the norms.

Buddhism

In *Buddhism*, by contrast, it is mainly self-'obligation' that establishes social norms. Moral rules like the Five Obligations (*Pancasila*) are only means along the way, means of assistance in abandoning the cycle of rebirths and entering nirvana. Thus, they do not represent juridical norms for an outward comportment, but must be individually assimilated and followed. Likewise the instance of the sanction is missing: individual transgression generates individual 'bad karma,' thereby diminishing the possibility of an 'extinction' of individuation. In Buddhist monasticism, however, life is influenced by a multiplicity of behavioral rules, whose validity is limited to determinations within the social group constituted by the monks.

Judaism

Judaism has transmitted numerous norms in the Torah itself, and elaborated them further in the Talmud. The prescriptions of the Torah—among others, the Ten Commandments—have divine legitimacy, and stand at the beginning of historical Judaism. The rules of the Talmud draw their authority from tradition, and can be read as a complementation and interpretation of the Torah.

Christianity

The sacred texts of Christianity do contain numerous conceptions for right behavior, but no legal norms in the strict sense. Only the appearance of the Ecumenical Councils, beginning in the fourth century and adopting the Roman legal tradition, have led to the appearance of ecclesiastical law. While the Eastern Orthodox tradition applies church law more powerfully in a perspective of the 'cure of souls,' in the Catholic Church the notion has prevailed that the exact observance of ecclesiastical norms is needful for salvation. On the Roman exemplar, the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (Lat., "Body of Canon Law") was issued under Pope Gregory VIII in the sixteenth century, as a systematized collection of the laws of the Church. The version valid for today appeared in 1917–1918, and was revised in 1983 under Pope John Paul

II. Just as the law of the Catholic Church appeals to the Church's comprehensive claim to stand as mediator of salvation, so the Pope as representative of Christ is the authorized instance for the promulgation of objective ecclesiastical law. The 'legalification' of the faith, with its accompanying tendency to legalism itself, was addressed by the → *Reformation.* At the midpoint of Reform theology stood the origin of the justice of the human being before God exclusively in faith and the grace of God; accordingly, the teachings of the natural law were rejected even when they had been formed by Christianity. Law in the Protestant Churches, then, generally regulates formal relations among church, clergy, and faithful, even more strictly than they are regulated among Catholics. The Evangelical Free Churches attempt to develop concrete social norms from the biblical texts, so that life in the Free Churches frequently appears as a system of norms strictly to be observed. Particular rules are seldom codified, however, but rest on tradition, transmittal, and the application of the biblical texts to concrete everyday situations.

Islam

The highest degree of legalization in *Islam* is in the sacred texts themselves, although the texts have not been composed as a book of laws. Islamic law (*Sharia*) is founded in the Qur'an and tradition alike. Here, besides the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad, is also the tradition of the previous acknowledgment of the law. In Sunnite Islam, four legal schools have formed, whose theology and jurisprudence enjoys an authoritative character for the faithful. In Shiite Islam, the higher imams take up the task of determination of the law. According to the general claim of Islam, the Sharia comprises all areas of human life, so that a division between society (politics, economics) and religion in the traditional sense does not exist. It is the task of the respective community leader (in the Sunni, the Caliph; in the Shia, the Imam), together with a Judge (Qadi) to supervise the observance of the Sharia and to apply Islamic law.

New Religions

The so-called → *new religions* have more often not developed their own differentiated legal systems. The essential reason for this lies in the prominent position of their (usually charismatic) founder, which enables him to exercise a simple and direct influence on the faithful, and, ordinarily, to resolve conflicts case by case. Life in the new religions is usually one of personal dedication, and is more often marked by persons' individual and personal appropriation of norms than by a formal observance of general prescriptions. Only with the development of organizational structures, and the growth of the community, as well as with the diminishing effectiveness of a religious leadership originally built on charisma, does the need arise to develop norms binding on all, create instances to oversee their implementation, and thereby posit a law proper to the new religion in question.

Interpretation and Alteration of Law

4. This brief survey of law in the religions points up a problem. A unitary legal system, free of all contradiction, unambiguously defining all situations and subsuming these into its norms, is an ideal impossible to achieve in reality. Rather, legal norms are often formulated broadly, so that, for example, a generally held prescription can be applied to various cases. Technological and societal developments create new situations that, while not occurring in the wording of a law, are nevertheless included in its meaning. Finally, norms of one legal document can collide with those of another.

In principle, it is true, the possibility obtains of adapting concrete laws to new situations. But an all too frequent change in law creates legal uncertainty, and undermines the force of the validity of legal norms. This problem pertains especially to authoritative juridical documents, such as contracts and religious texts. If constitutions change, the above-cited possibility of adapting concrete laws is no longer open in the case of religious texts that have been revealed, any more than in the case of those whose operable validity derives from a historically lengthy tradition.

If authoritative juridical documents cannot be, or ought not to be, altered, then a new particular case not comprised by the norm can be decided only by way of interpretation of that juridical norm. The nature of the relevant criteria can vary. In Islamic law, for example, several factors exercise an influence: the tradition of previous juridical perceptions, the status of analogy—that is, the application of already defined solutions of earlier, similar cases—and even pragmatic viewpoints such as the interests of believers (the endorsement of a 'human' interpretation, and the tendency to expound the Sharia in the sense of 'making things less onerous' for believers). A like *casuistry* is also found in other religions inclining to leniency, as, for example, Judaism; but it occurs in all juridical systems. English 'common law' is particularly marked by it: there, legal judgments are supported by a limited number of laws, but at the same time by comparable judicial judgments that can be applied to current cases or cited as 'precedents.' In Continental systems, which are based on Roman law, a casuistic application of law is found especially in contractual law. When an application of law thus arisen is consolidated, new law is created de facto, or else prevailing law that has been fixed in writing is changed. Here it is characteristic of secular or religious law that only especially legitimized institutions (contractual courts, schools of law, highest ecclesiastical juridical instances) can form and alter positive law by this particular route.

Legality and Legitimacy

5. Experiences in Fascist Germany especially, where a state entity of injustice that rested on laws was established along a route itself based on laws, have evinced the potential contradiction between the legality of law and the legitimacy of its application. To put it another way: law and justice can part from each other.

The positing and application of law are an expression of relations of rule. In the ideal, typical model, the legislating sovereign is subject to no limitations, independently of whether this sovereign is an absolute prince, a democratically elected parliament, or a religious leader. But if law is to develop validity—find acknowledgment—then a reference must occur to superior values or conceptualizations of belief. The latter can consist in constitutions, or codified human rights, as positive law, but it can also consist in ideas ranging from natural law as pre-positive law, to common convictions of the sense of life, to truths of faith. Just as the democratic legislator is bound to the constitution, nor may the application of laws contravene human rights, so neither must religious law contradict foundations of belief held by all followers of a religion. Thus, the legitimacy of the legislation and of its application is ultimately evinced in their conformity with commonly held superior convictions. Justice is established when law takes account of these convictions.

Law and Religion in Pluralistic Societies

6. As long as there was a close connection between state and religion in the most diverse societies, no real contradiction existed between religious law and state law. Rather, religious law formed broad parts of state law. In Central Europe, ecclesiastical marriage law, for example, was at the same time state law. In democratic Israel, this area is subject, to this day, to the respective instances of the religions represented there. The separation of church and state, that is, of organized common entities and religion, is rather a modern, Western development of the past two hundred years. Despite all conflicts, this jurisprudence could be allowed the churches partly because the 'secular' law of modern Western states is broadly religious, that is, is 'scored' by Christianity. The Christian religion was able to assert its rule as a vessel of culture even without direct connection to the state.

Islamic Societies

In *Islamic societies*, on the other hand, a reverse process is currently to be observed. The Muslim states, including the Ottoman Empire, had always been characterized by the interweaving of the state and Islam, and the discharge of Islam from state structures (except in Turkey) occurred under the pressure of the European colonial powers. But, in parallel fashion with a growing Islamic self-awareness, after the ending of colonial dependency, a renewed empowerment of the state through religion is occurring. This process is first of all to be appraised as an expression of the prevailing culture as it regains its sovereignty. Here, all Islamic countries have constitutions, or similar documents of law constituting the state system, which determine Islam as the state religion only in a few instances; instead, frequently—with reference to sura 2:256 ("Be there no compulsion in belief")—they pledge freedom of religion. At the same time, in the Islamic state juridical system, great importance attaches to symbolic acts (e.g., the prescription that the highest government official must be of the Islamic faith), pre-positive values that determine the constitution or similar document (e.g., an Islamic understanding of family), or the concept of 'consultation' (*shura*) on the legislation through Islam, either in institutionalized form, or as a principle permeating the discrete laws. Even in today's Islamic juridical systems, there are approaches that at least limit the validity of the Sharia as they do that of all prevailing state law; thus, diverse conceptions frequently prevail there, especially in Islamic countries, as to how the Sharia is to be applied in concrete cases.

Eastern Europe

A similar development is to be observed in the former socialist states of *Eastern Europe.* Here again, traditional—Christian—churches seek empowerment under the auspices of the state, and to reclaim an erstwhile precedence over state law.

Western Europe and America

In the case of *Western Europe and America*, one sees that the constitutionally protected freedom of religion and separation of church and state has not led to the equality of the Christian religious communities with other associations on the level of law. The Christian communities do hold numerous privileges, and/or are in a position to assert or demand a privileged position, although the juridical structure of the position of the religions is regulated from state to state with the highest degree of variation. In the United States, the evangelical movement has tried to having creationism taught instead of evolution. Religious communities have the right to legislate for their organizations (e.g., with respect to law for the structuring and implementation of religious services), and to establish a judicial accountability of their own,

independently of state law, and this not only in Germany, where the special position of the religious communities—read, the churches—is secured by the Constitution. Even in the case where, under the principle of subsidiarity, church organizations perform state tasks, their own personnel are in place (e.g., in kindergartens, hospitals), and are supported financially by the state, and these institutions have the right to restrict employment to members of their own community ('tendential management'). When juridical quantities are to be counterbalanced, religious claims are usually assigned priority. By subsuming bell-ringing under the principle of religious freedom, as well as through the acknowledgment of the cultural position of the Christian religion, the law of noise or other pollution finds no application. Members who practice spiritual professions are exempt from duties incumbent on ordinary citizens (e.g., the obligation of giving legal testimony, exemption from military service).

As long as it is supported by a social consensus, this privileged position is conflict-free. However, when other religions appear on the public scene, the consensus becomes questionable. The position of the churches in the state is fixed by legal norms referring not only to the churches, but to religious societies across the board. Thus, the right to preach in public places, without attention to the commercial right of way and obstruction of traffic, is obviously valid for all religious communities and not only for the churches, just as the slaughter of cattle according to Jewish ritual is allowed, for Jews, even though it contravenes animal protection laws. But since law applying to the religions is general law, newly appearing communities, such as Islam in Germany, or new religions, likewise seek to lay claim to these privileged juridical positions. Recent examples for Germany are attempts on the part of Buddhist groups, as well as of new religions or particular Christian communities, to receive the status of a corporation of public right, or the confrontations over Islamic religious instruction in public schools, or the demand on the part of the members of a mosque for a public muezzin call, or conflicts over the right to a certain height of minarets on mosques, or to permission for the construction of Buddhist and Hindu temples.

These recent conflicts, of which there are similar examples in other countries, show that the juridical shaping of relations between religious communities and state, as well as of the position of the religious communities in society, either is not practically applicable in the situation of a multicultural and multi-religious society, or else admits of a situation for which no societal consensus as yet exists. Conflicts arise over law without law being able satisfactorily to perform its functions of pacification or the shaping of social relations. For instance, when advocates of the muezzin call appeal to positive constitutional law (principle of equality and freedom of religious practice), opponents argue with pre-positive principles of Christian culture in Western Europe. The foundational instances adduced by the parties to the conflict for their interpretation of the law are not identical. A demand for equality of rights is opposed by defense from foreign beliefs. The legality of the right to the muezzin call clashes with its legitimacy to the mind of the majority of society, because the necessary acceptance is lacking in society for the consequences emerging from this application of the law. Ultimately, new conflicts in a pluralistic situation can almost never be solved by law, and therefore break out again elsewhere. This repeated dispute, in turn, would threaten the texture of society, which rests, not least of all, on the principle of a universal extension of the validity of law.

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→ *Capital Punishment/Execution, Church, Constitution, Fatwa, Freedom of Religion, Human Rights, Inquisition, Penance/Penitent, Tolerance*

Steffen Rink

Liberation Theology

Socio-Historical Connection

1. Liberation theology, or 'the theology of liberation,' is the first comprehensive theological movement within the Christian churches that has reacted to the social relations of the so-called Third World and sought to alter them with the help of the Christian faith—even in revolutionary activity. It stands in close connection with the social and historical development of Latin America (→ South America; Central America).

Its appearance in the mid-1960s was no coincidence. This decade saw international capital begin to gain an ever more solid foothold in Latin America. A process of economic monopolization emerged (mines, plantations), with an enormous concentration of wealth in the hands of capitalists and large landowners. Neo-Fascist regimes sprang up everywhere, under Castelo Branco in Brazil (1964), Hugo Banzer in Bolivia (1971), and Augusto Pinochet in Chile (1973). Their policies, directed toward the further growth of the proprietary privileges of the ruling classes, and of the international, preponderantly North American, companies connected with them, led Latin America into more and more politico-social polarization and radicalization. Now proletariatized industrial workers, landless peasants, students, and various groups on the left arose in protest. Beginning in the late 1950s, guerrilla movements sprang up in Cuba, Colombia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Chile. Lengthy civil wars were often kindled, whose helpless victims were generally the civilian population. Dictatorial regimes countered opposition groups, of whom more and more members were committed Christians, by violent repression.

Latin American Liberation Theologians

Leonardo Boff—Born in 1938 in Concórdia, Brazil, he studied theology in Brazil and Germany. Boff has contributed as much to the development and deepening of the theology of liberation as to reflection on the Christian faith in general. He was the first Latin American theologian to develop a Christology from a viewpoint of social criticism. In 1985, the Vatican imposed a one-year injunction of silence on him. In 1992 he surrendered his priestly status.

Hélder Câmara—Born in 1909 in Fortaleza, Brazil. 1964–1985: Archbishop of Recife and Olinda, in the Brazilian Northeast. Because of his political commitment, Câmara was persecuted by the military regime: "If I give a poor person a piece of bread, I'm regarded as a saint. But if I show the poor and impoverished people why they have no bread, I'm treated like a Communist."

Ernesto Cardenal—Born in 1925. Sacerdotal ordination, 1965. Priestly status suspended, 1985. 1963: Founding of the "basic community" of Solentiname. 1979–1990: Minister of Culture under the Sandinista revolutionary regime in Nicaragua.

Enrique Dussel—born in 1934 in Mendoza, Argentina. Studied theology and philosophy in Madrid and Paris. Currently in Mexico City: Professor of Ethics, History of Theology, and, intended as a new interpretation from the viewpoint of the poor, Latin American Church History. For Dussel, the poor return a verdict on history: they are the criterion of objectivity.

Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Father of Liberation Theology"—Born 1928 in Lima, Peru. Studied philosophy and psychology in Louvain (Belgium), theology in Lyon (France). Currently Professor of Theology and Social Sciences at the Catholic University in Lima. Taking his point of departure in a perceived insufficiency of a purely speculative theology, he developed his reflections on the method and function of theology in a situation of rule and dependency. Gutiérrez claims that theology is always pastoral theology, and therefore practical theology. By "liberation," he understands a complex process: (1) liberation from a situation of injustice and exploitation; (2) elimination of all that prevents the human being from reaching full development; and (3) liberation or deliverance from sin, from persons' sundered relationship with one another and with God.

Jon Sobrino—Born in 1938 in the Basque country of Spain, but Salvadoran citizen. Diploma in Engineering. Licentiate of Philosophy and Doctor of Theology (Frankfurt). Currently Professor of Theology at José Simeon de Canas Central American University, San Salvador. Next to Boff, has contributed most to Christology in Liberation Theology.

Camilo Torres, 1929–1966 (executed by firing squad). 1954–1965, Catholic priest. Mid-1960s, joined Guerrilla movement in Colombia.

Theology of Liberation in the Catholic Church

2. Owing to the influence of the Second Vatican council (1962–1965), convoked by Pope John XXIII, the Church underwent a process of renewal that has led to a new pastoral practice. At the same time, a transformation in certain church groups in Latin America occurred, as these moved to new social engagement. This meant a breach with the traditional role of the Latin American church as the defender of social stability. The members of these groups belonged primarily to the *Catholic Action* movement (in Port., *Açao Católica*). The persons involved were primarily priests and bishops, students and young workers, who fought for social change. Catholic Action was one of the most important roots of the theology of liberation at the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s in Brazil. Liberation theology's triple methodological step—"see, judge, act"—was undoubtedly the most important element taken over from Catholic Action.

The two General Assemblies of the Latin American bishops at Medellín, Colombia, from August 24 to September 6, 1968, and at Puebla, Mexico, from January 28 to February 13, 1979, were decisive for the temporary success of liberation theology in the 1950s and 1960s. The new self-concept of the Latin American church as a 'church from below' here took hold at the pinnacle of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. With the accession of John Paul II, in 1978, a systematic campaign was undertaken by the Vatican against the representatives of the theology of liberation. In particular, Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff was the object of sanctions, as, in the opinion of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, he had adopted the Marxist theory of class struggle.

Practice

3. The theology of liberation can only be understood in association with the politicization of the popular movements and the church of Latin America. It is a theology of critical reflection on historical practice: from a point of departure in the factual social relations of power, Christians 'ought to take sides' with the disadvantaged, the exploited, and the persecuted. The Latin American Church has begun an epoch-making renewal in this direction. In many countries of Latin America, representatives of the theology of liberation have promoted the formation of small communities in which the individual is respected, and where problems that arise can be dealt with in democratic fashion by the groups themselves. These "basic communities" (in Span., *Comunidades de base*) have arisen all over Latin America.

Owing to the influence of liberation theology, the Catholic Church has also acknowledged various elements of African and Indian culture still very much alive in South America.

4. Since the demise of the military dictatorships, liberation theology remains as alive as ever. True, neo-liberalist regimes have improved the economic condition of many countries. And yet, poverty, 'structural injustice,' and exploitation are still often the order of the day, and with these, grounds for the role of (the Christian) religion in social protest, as well.

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→ *Capitalism, Catholicism, Central America, Ethics/Morals, South America, Theology*

Claudio Mattes

Life Cycle

1. The concept of the life cycle refers to a socially regulated succession of life phases, that are divided from one another and articulated by 'typical' life events. 'Cyclical' therefore refers not to repetitions of phases or events in the life course of the individual, but to the collectively recurring succession of life phases and events. Which life events are typically regarded as being those of the life cycle varies from one society to another. An obviously universal character as life-cycle happenings attaches to → marriage, or to the → birth of children. The death of one's parents as well, or of one's marriage partner, might be listed among them. In modern industrial societies, characteristic transitions between segments would be, for example, the beginning of one's education, or of one's professional employment, graduation from school and the beginning of one's professional activity, and the transition to retirement. Where they coincided, the conclusion of a formal education and the beginning of professional employment usually marked the transition to adulthood, while entry into retirement is regularly regarded as initiating the phase of old age.

Life events seen as key in a society, and the transitions between life segments marked by these events, are socially institutionalized, and, as a rule, are accompanied by → rituals, which in many respects recall the → rites of passage celebrated in tribal societies. With the ritualization of transitions in lifestyle, an important role accrues to the religions. At times, however, rites of passage are preserved in a religious context whose original existential rooting has long since been lost. An example of this would be confirmation in Christian churches. In tribal societies, besides the ritual accompaniment of marriage, birth, and death, there are rites of initiation, during adolescence, that, as van Gennep has put it, have the function of discharging initiands from the asexual world and grouping them by gender (→ Sexuality).[1]

2. In most modern Western societies, the ritual accompaniment of the passages of the life cycle is a principal area of concern for the Christian churches. But competition is being increasingly offered by secular providers. In the mid-1990s, the Berlin Community of Jesus Christ, Inc., also known under the name of the Boston Church of Christ, aroused attention by offering young couples practicing neither Protestantism nor Catholicism the option of celebrating their wedding in one of the church buildings used by the group and antecedently de-consecrated by the Evangelical Church. The Evangelical Church in Berlin criticized this offer with unwonted harshness, as a church wedding seemed to require the actual membership of at least one of the partners. With striking transparency, this conflict points up the growth of the struggle maintained by groups of divergent worldviews over the form of the transitions of the life cycle—a form that, as late as

the 1980s, was still an extensive monopoly of the Evangelical and Catholic Churches. Especially in large cities, secular providers and religious minorities now compete with both of these large Christian churches. Of course, this example evinces the continuing attractiveness of rites of the life cycle among the general population.

Life Cycle, Family Cycle, Employment Cycle

3. Especially at the transitions of the life cycle, there is obviously a need for symbol and reflection. At the same time, societies ensure the social attachment of the couple or family—precisely through the ritualization of transitions of the family cycle, especially in the rituals of marriage and → baptism. Most of the great religious communities have created rituals for the key transitions of the life cycle (birth, adolescence, marriage, death). These rituals bear a strong orientation to the family cycle, as well as to biological and sexual development. Scarcely, however, is there an orientation to the transitions of the life cycle like that gone through by most persons today—and, to a high degree, standardized (transitions of formation and employment, such as the beginning of schooling or retirement). A historical juncture with the end of schooling and transition to adulthood is indicated by the celebration of confirmation, going back to the Reformation, and remaining a firm piece of piety in the Evangelical churches since the seventeenth century. Catholics have their confirmation, with its origins in ancient times; Jews have the bar mitzvah celebration (bat mitzvah for girls[2]), and there is the Socialist youth dedication. To be sure, with today's expansion of the years of youth into a span of 'teen age,' these celebrations are scarcely key any longer, and have lost their one-time rootedness in the life cycle. Surveys of participants of these festivals betray an uncertainty with regard to their function in the life cycle: children experience them as marking not a transition to adulthood, but to youth. Their experience is mainly that of coming before parents and the larger society precisely as youth, and of gaining acknowledgement in the eyes of the adult generation.

Great importance, however, continues to attach to the accompaniment, in religious ritual, of birth, marriage, and death. In Germany, the essential suppliers in this field are the Evangelical and Catholic churches. Especially in the 1950s and 1960s, the entire population was de facto integrated into the church rites at these transitions, and even in the 1980s, the ritual monopoly of the Christian churches was by and large retained. Granted, certain tendencies to dissolution were reinforced, especially in the 1990s in large cities. Thus, in 1994, only half of those couples of whom at least one partner belonged to a Christian church were still married in church. Baptism was less affected: nine out of ten couples of whom at least one partner was Evangelical or Catholic had their children baptized, although a certain tendency to have the baptism postponed is observable.[3]

In Eastern Germany, in the wake of state repression of the Christian churches, a drastic diminution occurred in the number of baptisms, confirmations, and church weddings. As a result of the massive anti-church policy of the Socialist government, along with strong propaganda in favor of secular youth dedication, the celebration of confirmation was successfully repressed and replaced. After the unification of the two German states, interest in Christian ritual administration did increase to some extent, but youth dedication as a secular rite of passage has continued as a strong competitor.

Motives and Needs of Believers

Generally speaking, when church members are asked what personal profit they draw from their church membership, they assign great importance to the rites of passage. In 1995, 57% of Catholic and 58% of Evangelical church members asserted that it was of key meaning to them "that important events in life can be celebrated in church ritual, e.g., marriage, baptism."[4] A ritual accompaniment of life is today the essential basis of church membership on the part of many believers.

New Family Orientation

Correspondingly, a greater 'family insertion' of church rites is an observable phenomenon.[5] Especially baptism, but also confirmation, is increasingly celebrated primarily as a family celebration. In a representative survey of religious attitudes in Switzerland,[6] in which various types of church attachment were investigated, most often, corresponding to the type of motivation on the part of the 'clientele,' about one-third of the latter represented themselves as members for whom a church celebration of rites of transition is important. Their attachment to the church is overwhelmingly characterized by a relationship of observance and nonobservance. Here, the particular form taken by church observance of the transitions of the life cycle is the most important contribution expected from the Church. From this motivation, specific problems result for the churches, inasmuch as theological questions, and reference to → transcendence, in this form of church attachment are of altogether secondary importance. At the same time, however, a sensitivity of the churches renders this development plausible, when groups representing other worldviews offer ritual observance of the life cycle, thereby opening up the opportunity of escaping the heretofore generally valid premise of church membership.

Allegorizations and Models

4. a) As precursor of the concept of the life cycle, diverse manners of dividing a human life into periods can be observed, and this since ancient times. Among the oldest is a division of life into four 'ages,' in correspondence with the four seasons of the year: (e.g., child, youth, adult, elderly). Another is one of seven ages, corresponding to the seven planets or days of the week. In the Middle Ages, 'wheels of fortune' suggested wheels of life: cyclical orderings of a person's life phases, with Christ, for instance, or else death, in the middle. Wheels of life were often characterized by a moralization of life, in which, along with its phases, models of a successful—or unsuccessful—life could be represented. This moralization often took advantage of religious admonitions that underscored a distinction of the right and the wrong transit of the stages of life, and warned of the transience of life itself. In the sixteenth century, the first images of *steps* of age appear, usually showing the life of a person in ten steps, as an ascent from the cradle to the pinnacle of life, posited at the age of fifty years, and finally as a descent to the grave. Especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these presentations appeared on picture sheets, and were broadly popularized. In the same centuries, a presentation of the various 'ages of life' was connected with typical life events, with an orientation of these ages for women (to the family cycle) and men (to the life of employment besides). The construction of the steps, more or less simplified, follows a schema by ten-year intervals, with rhymed designations.[7]

These presentations are highly typified and idealized, supported by the vehicle of a linear, step-by-step life course. What is traced here are often

not only ideal images of a middle-class life (or of its extreme antithesis, an existence that has met with catastrophe), but also the gradual progress of one's life to old age as an idealization, standing in contradiction with the reality of life in our present era. Especially when the stages of life were first introduced into the cultural consciousness, the step-by-step progress of life to the ninetieth or one-hundredth year of one's age was the absolute exception: more likely, death would intervene at an earlier age.

The Twentieth Century

b) Only in the twentieth century has mortality been postponed, in consequence of medical therapy and improved nutrition. Now the models of life stages by age could actually become a reasonable model for a life and family cycle.[8] With this general postponement of death to old age, and with the extensive temporal standardization of life events—such as entry into school, beginning of employment, marriage, birth of one's first child, and so on—the basis for the modern model of a life cycle appears that can be regarded as a general pattern, and that need not have (as with the stages of life outlined at the beginning of modern times) a primarily moralizing character. Of course, these steps produce necessary conceptualizations of a chronologically ordered 'normal life course.' Inasmuch as a long life has become the normal expectation, the early occurrence of a death, for instance, works precisely all the more unsettling an effect in us.

Present: De-standardization of the Life Cycle

c) Since the 1960s, in the United States and in many European countries, a certain 'de-standardization' of the life cycle is to be observed. For one thing, a more lengthy education frequently drafts a different map of the course of life: many postpone committing themselves to full-time employment, and in that case, usually to having a family as well. The transition to the married state is still usually accompanied by falling in love. Divorce, often with remarriage, is more and more likely today, especially with the younger generation (→ Marriage/Divorce). To boot, alternatives to marriage are more and more regarded as legitimate, such as cohabitation without marriage, or even life as a 'single,' both usually temporally limited, but in many cases permanent. Cohabitation of homosexual couples has become a publicly observed phenomenon. But as life trajectories multiply, and produce new life transitions, there also arises a need for new forms of ritualization. As an example of the development of new rituals, one may cite the blessing of homosexual couples, modeled on marriage ceremonies and practiced by many church officials, even though they are not recognized as official ritual (→ Homosexuality/Homoeroticism).

Rites of the Life Cycle in Comparative Religions

5. Rites at the transitions of the life cycle are found in most religions. They are not always ritually framed for the same events, however. Most Christian religious communities, as well as Judaism, celebrate rituals a short time after birth: baptism in Christianity, → circumcision of male children in Judaism. In the Islamic context, although it is not mentioned in the Qur'an, circumcision is traditionally practiced with older children; here, the moment is frequently postponed, not least of all because it is regularly accompanied by a large celebration, entailing costs for the family. The ceremony symbolically marks the child's transition from the immediate society of the mother to that of the father.

Rites during adolescence are celebrated in Christian churches as confirmation, and in Judaism as the bar mitzvah or bat mitzvah. In industrial countries, rituals at this stage of life are very often omitted.

In almost all world religions, there are more or less elaborate and determined rituals for the celebration of marriage and funerals. While, in Buddhism, marriage is regarded as a secular event (although often accompanied by a blessing), in Catholicism it is accorded the status of a sacrament.

Newly Invented Rituals

But rituals of the life cycle are not simply universally present and unchangeable. New developments can occasion the invention of new rituals. One example is the Buddhist *misuko kuyo* ritual in Japan, observed in memory of aborted fetuses or stillborn or short-lived infants. In its current form, it arose in the mid-1960s,[9] and has since then been frequently employed by women who have secured an → abortion (with plate). This example shows how, under certain conditions, new forms of ritualization can be developed that implicitly indicate altered transitions in the life cycle.

6. The concept of the life cycle indicates universal sequences in the human being's natural aging and development process. It also indicates how this process is divided in particular social and cultural connections, is translated into institutionalized rules and procedures of transition, and is accompanied by ritual. On the other hand, the life cycle comprises a series of historically specific, socially standardized transitions closely bound up with institutions of work and formation, and only secondarily transmitted with the natural aging process. However, these transitions are doubtless more decisive today for what marks age or aging in our society than are the transitions to puberty, the married state, or parenthood. To the extent that the orientation of the great world religions is primarily to the classic passages of birth, marriage, and death, so that what is expected by the members of these religious organizations is precisely the ritualization of these passages, there is a tendency to neglect them on the part of persons whose life no longer runs along the tracks of a traditional life cycle: they do not marry, or they have no children, they divorce, or live unmarried for a long time. With the new, strong family emphasis in ritual, then, the orientation of religious communities to a traditional life and family cycle is growing stronger precisely at a time at which this cycle is caught up in the most change. Thus, from the side of the great religious communities, little ritual opportunity is meaningfully available to persons with 'atypical' life courses, and, accordingly, having other interests with respect to interpretation and symbolization. But precisely these groups have a special need of biographical reflection, since they frequently cannot 'find themselves' in the chronology of the traditional life cycle, and therefore find it difficult to relate to the symbolical life traditionally surrounding this cycle. Granted, recent times have seen more opportunities for ritual celebration along the course of these less usual patterns of life transition, both within and without the great religious communities. Feminist theological groups, for instance, often conduct experiments geared to the accompaniment of life transitions in ritual terms that until now have been excluded from the canon of rituals. But it is precisely the new religious, 'New Age,' or therapeutic groups, that frequently make their offers on these counts, and shift a concern with one's own biography into the center of religious consideration. In this connection, one is struck

by the accentuation in feminist groups on gender-specific transitions in the life cycle, such as a ritual accompaniment of the onset of menopause.

1. See Van Gennep 1961.
2. The Bat Mitzvah celebration for girls appeared only in the nineteenth century, at the hands of Reform Judaism, and points both to mutual influences among the various religions, and to alterations in the area of gender relationships.
3. Ebertz 1998, 65.
4. Emnid: Was glauben die Deutschen? Vol. of tables, Bielefeld 1997, 73.
5. Ebertz 1998, 85.
6. Dubach, Alfred, "Bindungsfähigkeit der Kirchen," in Dubach, Alfred/Campiche, Roland J. (eds.), Jeder ein Sonderfall? Religion in der Schweiz, Zurich 1993, 133-172.
7. Die Lebenstreppe. Bilder der menschlichen Lebensalter (Schriften des Rheinischen Museumsamtes Nr. 23), Cologne n.d., 141.
8. Cf. Kohli 1985.
9. Smith, Bardwell, "Buddhism and Abortion in Contemporary Japan: Mizuko Kuyo and the Confrontation with Death," in Cabezón, José Ignazio (ed.), Buddhism, Sexuality and Gender, New York 1992, 65-89.

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→ *Birth, Death and Dying, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Homosexuality/Homoeroticism, Initiation, Marriage/Divorce, Rites of Passage, Ritual, Sexuality*

Monika Wohlrab-Sahr

Light / Enlightenment

Physical Light and Luminous Bodies (Sun, Moon, Stars)

1. Light—the basic condition of organic life on earth: without light, there can be no photosynthesis, no food chain supplying the needs of the human being. The sun is the source of light par excellence, a mighty nuclear fusion reactor, transforming hydrogen to helium and streaming its energy on earth and moon. Light, as today's physics understands it, is electromagnetic radiation. But for denizens of earth, light is mainly an overwhelming experience—whether sunlight, fire, or lamp bulb. Light imparts warmth; light alone makes it possible to exercise the sense of sight, brings colors to their brilliance. Deprivation of light can lead to a deterioration of one's sensitivity

and feelings to the point of depression (serotonin deficiency). It is not to be wondered at, then, that, as concrete phenomenon as well as metaphor, or as model and medium of knowledge, in many religions light is a key 'medium of presentation' (D. Bremer), in worship, doctrine, and mythology.

Here, a quadruple distinction is to be made:

(1) Sensory *light stimulation*, received from without by the eyes as organs of perception and represented physiologically in the central nervous system, can be introduced as stimulation in worship ('bright-dark-reflexes,' often staged in sacred drama; → Mysteries; Sacred Drama).

(2) Psychophysical *light phenomena* are produced by the body itself (e.g. endorphin secretion) in certain states of consciousness, during ecstatic religious techniques (→ Meditation; Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens), or in extreme corporeal states such as near-death experiences, and, to some extent, projected into the external world.

(3) *Light symbolics* describe God, the absolute, or spiritual beings, mythically (as aural or diaphanous 'beings of light,' with aura or halo, or as an 'astral body') or metaphorically, by means of the elementary interpretational pattern of 'light,' where, by way of theological models, special qualities of physical light are characterized, such as purity, swiftness, invisibility or inconceivability, or 'abstractness.'

(4) *Metaphysics of light*, speculatively sketch light—on a Platonic model—as the cause and medium of knowledge ('theory of illumination': Augustine, R. Grosseteste).

Light and Fire in Ritual

2. Light can be artificially, culturally generated: by fire. This discovery is one of humanity's greatest. Indeed, as the myth of Prometheus testifies, it ranks as the basic condition of human culture. The invention of lights, torches, oil lamps, and candles broadened ritual opportunities, and, down to the present day, has standardized them. In the Abrahamic religions—unlike the Brahmanic Vedic cults—open fire plays no cultic role. But candles, lamps, and, today—beginning in the twentieth century—electric light are part of the basic paraphernalia of worship in these religions. Here, sacred drama obviously stages presentations, effects, and symbols of light that are simple to perceive and appreciate, as follows:

(1) *Contrariety and alternation of dark and bright* obtains when, in the Catholic liturgy, Easter candles are lighted as a symbol of the Resurrection; or when, in ancient Greek Eleusis, the 'view' (in Gk., *epópteia*) of the cultic event was presented with bright/dark effects (→ Mysteries); or when—especially in the Eastern churches—baptism is understood as a 'flaring' or 'kindling' of the 'light of faith' (in Gk., *photismós*).

(2) *Presentation of duration*, even of eternity, occurs when an 'eternal light' burns to indicate the permanent presence of a god (Lev 24:1-4; in Catholic churches even today; cf. the eternal hearth of Vesta in ancient Rome).

(3) *Festivity and gladness* are shown in the 'life element of light,' as in the fires of Easter and the solstice.

(4) *Purifying*, hygienically disinfecting *quality* of fire, is used in magic rituals as in the Catholic 'Saint Blaise blessing' (February 3, Feast of Saint Blaise; two burning candles are laid crosswise against the throat as a protection against diseases of the throat; → Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming); then, preferably, the purified don white garments and walk about or leave the sacred area (as in Zoroastrianism).

(5) The opportunity of *directing light and refraction of colors* through architectural provisions, may produce virtuosic effects of illumination: as sunlight falling through Gothic stained glass, especially the 'rose window'; or ingenious architectural arrangements that employ astronomic calculations in order to direct a ray of the sun into the center of a sacred edifice at a particular point in time (→ Orientation); or even the 'light dome'—making use of anti-aircraft-guns' searchlights—over the Nuremberg celebrations of the Third Reich.

(6) Finally, powerful *rows of light* are created when thousands of torches, lights, or other lighted or burning objects are held aloft by a mass of persons, in the Lourdes light-procession, in admiration of and homage to pop stars (→ Idol; Hero/Heroism; Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult), or in demonstrations by the peace movement.

Light and Dark in Mythology and Ethics

3. Lights are also the preferred paraphernalia for the accompaniment of gods and spirits: they appear in light (Dionysus in Euripides's "The Bacchae," vv. 1017, 1082–1083), or in a pillar of fire (YHWH; Exod 13:21-22; cf. Exod 3:2-6) (→ Epiphany), are equated with the elementary light-sources of the sun (ancient Greek Helios, Egyptian Re) and lightning (ancient Indian Agni). Their dwelling places are light, or filled with light: "Ye are transformed to light above, ye hallowed genii," we read of the denizens of Olympus in Hölderlin's classic mythology.[1] The Second Person of the Trinitarian God is "Light from Light" in the Nicaeo-Constantinopolitan (→ Profession of Faith), and the Son appears with a halo, as do Greek Helios and Roman Sol-Apollo, an accoutrement of angels and saints as well since the sixth century, with their celestial nimbus of light. Today's 'aura' or 'halo photography' claims to have shown spiritual energies with technical apparatus. → Angels too, and other spiritual or composite beings often appear in and by means of light, fire, or white as the color of light. Generalized as 'beings of light,' they populate modern → esotericism, which seeks to learn from them, and to ascend to them through 'light work.'

As day follows the night, so also many mythologies set 'dark' gods over against the 'bright' divinities of light: gods of the lower world, of death, of the anti-divine worlds. According to a polarized—and popular—black-and-white schema, the world, indeed the entire cosmos, is divided into two opposing realms, with likewise contrary mythic personnel. This sort of → dualism when it comes to world images is especially well known from ancient Persia, where Zoroastrian Zurvanism set the light divinity *Ohrmazd* over against dark *Ahriman* (→ Zoroastrianism). The same dualism found its expression, more or less officially, into many religions: in Christian popular theology, God is opposed to the 'Adversary,' Satan (→ Devil). And so, figures and messengers of light that traverse 'earth' to gather up the 'parts' of light that have fallen into 'matter,' and to lead them back once more to the light, impregnate many doctrines of redemption, especially those of the tradition of → Gnosticism. Of course, since the invention of gas lighting and electricity in the nineteenth century, the artificial illumination by street lights and neon signs in center city and residential areas have forced night, darkness, and shadow to forfeit much of their hostile power.

It is only a short step from a cosmological opposition between 'bright' and 'dark' to the *ethical dualism* of 'good' and 'evil.' Members of the primitive Christian communities saw themselves as the good 'children of light' (Eph 5:8, 1 Thess 5:5), lifted and raised out of a dark, corrupted environment. So

do today's rigoristic fundamentalist groups that militate against the 'Kingdom of Darkness' (in Moscow, Baghdad, or Washington, and so on), or, in fantasy, in the racist paraphrases of J. R. R. Tolkien's fantasy epic *Lord of the Rings* (3 vols., 1954–1955), where aristocratic white 'light elves' fight with evil, black 'Orcs.'

Enlightenment: Light as Inner Experience

Maharishi Mashesh Yogi happily proclaimed the beginning of the 'Age of Enlightenment' on January 12, 1975, among the followers of Transcendental Meditation (TM). Exactly one year later, at the same location, at Lake Lucerne, with an alphorn, the accompanying 'World Government' was proclaimed. The purpose of the latter was no less than to "develop the full potential of the

4. Is it astonishing that, in European cultural history, light is the model of one of the most important of spiritual experiences, that of knowledge, or 'new thought'? Here, the 'lightning-like' illumination of knowledge (Plato), whereby all becomes 'clear and distinct' (Descartes), is the utopian goal of intellectual work and mystical striving alike. The 'illuminatio' forms a suggestive intellectual myth which is the heir of an ancient and widespread tradition—in the philosophical metaphysics of light since Plato, in the theological theory of illumination, and in Christian and Islamic mysticism. Common to all of these conceptualizations and theories is a model whose orientation is at once to the sun and to the human perception of light. To know, then, is an event of outpouring and reception of light, respectively, between one source of light—the divine itself conceived as sunlike (*lumen supranaturale* = 'light of revelation'), and an inward light of the human being, 'natural light' (*lumen naturale*), or 'beams' of reason and understanding, that can see truth with the 'eyes of the mind' or 'soul.' The underlying notion here is that the eye itself is 'sunlike' (Ger., *sonnenhaft*, Goethe), and therefore a source of light. Two basic variants, both rooted in Platonism, can be distinguished:

(1) The cognitivist theory of illumination, restricted to the process of knowledge (basic metaphor: the 'intelligible light' of Plato and Bonaven-



ture), which finds its profane locus in world history in the 'Enlightenment';

(2) The mystical theory of illumination, that understands the event of knowledge as an 'ecstatic unification' (F. Wagner) of the 'inward light' of the soul with the light of the transcendent 'All-One' (Plotinus's metaphysics of light; Augustine);

The latter tradition ultimately fits enlightenment into a triple process: 'purification, enlightenment, and unification' (*purgatio*, *illuminatio*, *perfectio*, Dionysius the Areopagite). As imbedded in a *via ethica* under the latter formality, *illuminatio* is not the prerequisite for, but—especially in → Pietism—the result of a particular attitude of piety, bound up with demonstrative acts like conversion, → penance, and → rebirth. Enlightenment, then, can today be equated with conversion and call. This tradition is nourished by an unremitting current of mystical imagination, with its phenomena of light, visions of light, beings of light, and 'journeys into the light.' Here also we find techniques of concentration like those of Zen Buddhism (*satori*), or of transrational knowledge practiced as the paradoxical, spontaneous 'bolt from the blue' of an 'empty,' contentless condition of enlightenment.

5. The *via illuminativa* (Bonaventure) of 'enlightenment' has become suspect in today's (Protestant) theology. In the wake of the Enlightenment, the *siècle des lumières* (Fr., 'century of lights'), it describes enlightenment as a subjective theory of 'in-lightenment' (Ger., *einleuchten*, "standing to reason," cf. F. Wagner), that is, simply of comprehension. The danger of an intervention from the 'beyond' is thereby rationalistically excluded. By contrast, outside traditional theology and church, the concept is presently enjoying a surprising and unexpected surge. With all of the → charismatic movements, the waves of Buddhism, and a tenacious interest in → esotericism, scarcely any new religious movement, any weekend seminar, any illustrated periodical fails to extol the 'way to enlightenment.' After all, in the twentieth century, there are also personal life-defining experiences of enlightenment such as that of English spiritual healer Tom Johanson (b. 1919), who avers that, at noon on 5 September 1959, two days after a heavy stroke of fate: "Slowly, all around me changed to a golden flash, and I was myself the giant, lightsome sun. . . . Right after that—or was it right then?—there arose in me a feeling of infinite rejoicing, an indescribable, measureless gladness, followed by an enlightenment that I can only describe as the glory of Christ. This since then has been an inseparable part of my consciousness, and has given my life constant direction and inspiration."[2]

human race, and thereby to introduce the Age of Enlightenment and lend it a lasting span." The World Government, whose sole area of activity is to be (world) consciousness, which it intends to administer, has ten ministries, according to internal planning, among them not only the 'Ministry of Education, Training, and Enlightenment,' but also the 'Ministry of All Possibilities—Research and Development' and the 'Ministry of Health and Immortality.' (Benita von Behr)

1. Hölderlin, Friedrich, "Hyperion's 'Schicksallied,'" in: Idem, Hyperion oder der Eremit in Griechenland, 1799, vol. 2, book 2, 6th letter, "Hyperion zu Bellarmin."
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→ *Dualism, Electricity, Enlightenment (Age of), Epiphany, Esotericism, Gnosticism, Mysticism, New Age, Perception, Vision/Auditory Experience*

Hubert Mohr

Literature

Literature as the Medium of Revelation, Revelation as Form of Literature

Literature, understood in its literal meaning as written text, has always had a central function for religion in the process of revelation and → tradition. At the same time, literature has essentially been motivated and constituted by this function as well. All of the more extensive religious traditions, especially the 'revelatory religions' or the 'religions of the book' (Judaism, Christianity, Islam), are build upon processes of literary textualization. By means of these processes, literature and textuality get a historical-philological and at the same time a theological meaning for religion. In the historical-philological sense, the literary textuality constitutes religion and enables canonization (→ Canon), spreading, transmission, and transformation. In a theological sense, the scripture is considered as holy text, written in a holy language, handed down by God or a prophet, interpreted by clerics.

Consequently, religious understanding of symbolic representation may construct a distinction between a cultic and a profane figuration of text. The Egyptians, for instance, separated scripture for sacred and profane places: hieroglyphic scripture on the one hand, hieratic and demotic scripture on the other hand. As literary power became more and more an initial item of the holy, from the Pali-Canon to the Torah, this distinction was dropped, and literature as a whole complex was accepted to be the preferable medium of religious thought. Without making expansive use of literature and its mobility in space and time, revelation could never have left the sacred places, transmitted among the masses and throughout generations. Neither traditions of faith nor political entities like states would have been successfully established and kept. As a cultural phenomenon, religion thrived on the grounds of text, and thereby also adjusted itself to textual structures.

In a complementary process, literature never did content itself with being only a servant of religion, a carrier of thought, or a simple vessel for teachings. Literature always had its own (linguistic, aesthetic, rhetorical) rules and techniques, its own (cultural, political) interests and aims, and therefore also tried to utilize the sacred for its own purposes. Texts like the Tanakh (the Hebrew → Bible), the New Testament and the → Qur'an were literary strategies to carry through a certain 'theopolicy.' The Qur'an, for example, can therefore be interpreted as the establishment of a literary kingdom that equated Arab culture to that of Christians and Jews by employing religious patterns and arranging them with literary technique.

Anti-Idol and Holy Text

We can also understand the function of literary textuality in religious contexts with reference to the fundamental opposition of image and text. Whereas the image is to be seized in terms of worshipping, i.e. of being an idol and a magical device (→ Image/Iconoclasm), the initial religious

function of literature is political and historical: it constitutes a community. Moreover, the text appears as an objectification of the holy that does not draw any attention to itself; it may even form a barrier against idolatry (e.g. by constructing a difference between the Egyptian and the Israelite religion in the Torah). The difference between image and text implies therefore the fundamental opposition of nature and history, of polytheism and monotheism, of magic and law. The two-dimensional letter functions as an anti-type to the three-dimensional image that God forbade humans to produce. This relationship explains the outstanding function of literature in monotheistic religions.

However, the question of the image rises also within the text on a figurative level. At first sight, religion considers literature to be an unsuspicious medium without any claims for its own, no matter how much loaded with literary images—with rhetorical and poetical tropes—a text might be. Even highly aesthetic texts as the "Song of Songs" are not considered idolatrous at all. Nevertheless, holiness cannot be separated from its figurative manifestation, mere literature gets transformed and charged under the spell of religion into 'holy texts'—texts that cannot be likened to other texts, since they are supposed to be 'inspired.' The Bible, for example, is not considered to be a conventional, profane book, but a holy text, in which divine revelation on the one hand and literary materiality and figurality on the other are interwoven. Hence, the holy text is not to be translated or changed. In Judaism, particularly in kabbalistic tradition (→ Kabbalah), the literal constitution of the Torah is directly linked to the book of the world written by God; the Torah is understood as the pattern of creation, and the letters of the (Hebrew) alphabet have a magical and theurgical power. Any translation of a holy text has therefore to legitimate itself, as for example Martin Luther did in a new iconoclasm by rejecting the magical literality of the text and holding against it the *sensus*, the 'spirit.'

Text and Commentary

The function of literature and textuality for religion lies not only in the metaphysical concept of the holy text, but also in its realization and actualization in space and time. The scriptural religions therefore differentiate between revelation as textual possibility and commentary as textual realization. In Jewish tradition this distinction led to the differentiation between the 'written Torah' (*torah she-bik'tav*) and the 'oral Torah' (*torah she-be-al-peh*). The latter means the process of literary transmission in space and time, which materializes in textual types as *Midrash* and *Talmud*. Literary preoccupation—reading and writing, commenting and narrating, interpreting and explaining the Bible and the Suras—turns out to be the crucial performance of religion. The textual and semiotic practice of literature shows the presence of the divine in a potentially never-ending process of reading, explaining, and narrating.

This continuous writing and hermeneutic activity of literary transmission also has a political dimension: it founds communities and secures their existence throughout forthcoming generations. The word of God, which is processed in the literal movement of the commentary, turns it into a complex communicative structure. In this sense, religion as a phenomenon of communities is essentially an effect of the literary manifestation of revelation in the process of reading and commenting. In this communicative process, techniques of reading are established, books canonized, exegetic schools built up, etc. By way of example, Judaism might then be regarded as a community

legitimated and performed in a literary process, involving reader and writer in an endlessly progressing act of revelation that passes through every line, from interpreter to interpreter, from generation to generation. So the story telling—the *haggadah*—performs religion within a social space and time. In a similar way, Christianity can then be seen as an alternative reading community of the biblical text, as new tradition of commenting.

By developing literary strategies the commentary turns out to be aware also of the aesthetic qualities of the holy text. The commentary looks closely at the semiotic and symbolic structure of the holy text, considering the different layers of meaning not only in every portion and sentence, but also in every single word and letter, even in the white space between the words, in the hidden space behind the word. God, in this understanding, can be sought not only within a symbol (e.g. in the name), but also in the space between the symbols. Returning to the same book time after time can be understood also as an attempt to get—through the letters—to the sphere 'beyond' scripture. This emphatic linguistic consciousness is characteristic especially of mystical theologies (as → Kabbalah, → Sufism, Christian → mysticism, → Buddhism); it brings the mystical commentary close to the aesthetic practices of literature. In all kinds of mysticism, the religious experience is definitely bound to literary concepts, to a certain type of narrative, to specific poetics and rhetorics. Structure, rhythm, and word order do not only correspond to the content of speech, but also enable the reader to refrain from the written word at all and to transcend himself beyond the text in mystical and ecstatic experiences. (Cf. the linguistic practices in Kabbalah or the linguistic meditation in the speeches of Buddha or in the Vedic scriptures.)

Literature and Secularization

As most modern civilizations became 'literate' in close relation to religion, literature grants a considerable part of its modern existence to religion. Since the dawning of the modern age in the eighteenth century, especially in Western contexts, religion finds itself confronted with changed conditions and under a vital threat by the struggle for human autonomy. This situation had its impact on the relation between religion and literature as well.

First, as a result of → secularization, the status of 'holy texts' was called into question, ultimately even denied. Texts like the Bible or the Qur'an have more and more been conceived in a historical-critical perspective, i.e. as texts that were conceptualized, arranged, and written by men—instead of being a convolute of prophetic inspiration; Spinoza was one of the first to make this claim for the Torah, in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670). Abraham Geiger argued similarly in 1833 for the Qur'an. This secular view of the Bible as historical text written by men also opened the door for a new understanding of the Bible as literary text. In Germany, for example, Johann Gottfried Herder was addressing the Bible as "Hebrew Poetry" (*Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie*, 1782/83). And for Geiger, Muhammad was a 'poet.'

Consequently, the discursive borders between theological (sacred) and belletristic (profane) literature, which have been valid for centuries, were erased in the → Enlightenment. This process led to an expansion of discourse. Not only were holy texts more and more read as poetic texts, they also were challenged and competed with by literature. Even in spaces where religious texts kept their absolute primacy, in schools for example, holy discourse became more and more infiltrated by literature, which was not derived

from sacred spaces. What actually was meant to be an expansion of religious influence into the world of the profane, has finally located religion within an endless net of literary references, paradoxically undermining its ambitions to dominate cultural life. This development, at the end of which religion had turned into a page of the encyclopedia of the written, is a phenomenon of modernity in Christianity as well as in Judaism. It is the detection of a second book, with which the Jewish Enlightenment, the Haskalah, confronts traditional, orthodox Jewry. Next to the Law of God (*Torat ha-Shem*) the Law of Man (*Torat ha-adam*) has come up. In order to adjust both texts to each other, their structures have to be leveled, compared, and linked. Subsequently, the holy text gets more and more transformed into a cultural system of symbols that can be segmented, broken down, re-shaped, and easily connected to the texts of the 'gentile.'

This process of secularization not only questions the status of the holy text, but also—in complementary fashion—strengthens the status of literature. Up to the Enlightenment or at least to the Renaissance, literature used to be subordinated under theological matters and definitions. Literary narrations had to serve theological aims and ought to be written in a biblical style quoting biblical knowledge, and poetry had to follow the pious pattern of the psalms. Whereas at that time, literature was a field within religion, the revolutionary turn that came along with Enlightenment finally left religion as a special field *within* literature. The autonomy of the human being brought along the renaissance of literature as a vast layer of varying, controversial, and comparative discourses—religion still being one of them but having been robbed of all its privileges of holiness. As long as poetry stood under the dictate of religious conformity, the only poetic treatment for religious topics was an allegorical one, the figuration of abstract entities, as still is the case in baroque drama, especially the Jesuit's plays. With the shattering of the allegorical concept during the seventeenth century, new ways of transforming religious content into an autonomous literary discourse were explored. Now, poetic literature was entitled to re-write the holy text (see, for example, Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Klopstock's *Messias*, 1748–1773). As a further consequence, narrative elements of all religions, from the Upanishads to the life of Buddha, to stories or figures of the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Thomas Mann's *Joseph*-novels, 1933–1943, and Joseph Roth's *Hiob*, 1930) and the New Testament frequently entered modern literature. The former holy texts turn into a cultural thesaurus of intertextual references. This 'profanization' of religious topics in 'profane' literature has also been criticized by orthodox institutions, lately still in the case of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* (1988; → Fatwa). However, the status of those texts remains ambiguous: they might be read as documents of an accomplished secularization, which dissolved and drowned all the metaphysical character of holy texts within the realm of aesthetics; but they might also be perceived as an attempt to save religious heritage under the new regime of discourse.

Finally, the process of secularization absorbed not only motifs and topics of religious narratives. Religious techniques of writing, following religious concepts of → language, were transferred into poetical and aesthetical devices. The mystical technique of letter combination, which plays a crucial role in kabbalistic meditation, for example, turns out to be a poetical technique of writing from the seventeenth century Mannerism (Gracian in Spanish, Harsdörffer in German literature) up to avant-garde

literary experiments in the context of Surrealism and the 'Oulipo' (Raymond Queneau, Georges Perec).

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→ *Bible, Canon, Discourse, Kabbalah, Language, Oral Tradition, Qur'an, Revelation, Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Text/Textual Criticism,Tradition, Writing*

Andreas B. Kilcher and Philipp Theisohn

Liturgy / Dramaturgy

1. The term 'liturgy' derives from the Greek *leitourgia,* which denotes the execution of an act by or for the people—a "public service." The technical concept was coined in a context of sacred devotion, with the specific meaning of a ritual, publicly performed, service to a deity. In the Church, it is generally understood that the *Eucharist* (→ Lord's Supper/Eucharist) will be at the center of a liturgy. The world over, liturgical celebrations are closely linked to temporal cycles and calendars, and, in their constant recurrence, receive their own respective, ritual timelessness, their character as phenomena independent of the 'everyday.'

'Dramaturgy' is the doctrine and knowledge of the substance, effect, and prescribed form of drama (Gk., "action," "act"). In drama/dance/theater, music, song, movement, a platform, a presenter, and an audience all work in concert. Their origin, as attested in cave paintings, can be traced to the Old Stone Age. An extraction from contexts of ritual and worship is usually supposed (V. Turner), although, today, the transference can work in the other direction, from art to worship (→ Drama [Sacred]).

Liturgical Forms and Examples

2. How close is the conjunction between divine service and dramatic presentation today? To what extent is divine service a theatrical, dramaturgically 'thought out' presentation and execution?

Christianity

a) The proclamation of the word of God, the act of reading from sacred scriptures, has an eminent place in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. In order to emphasize the holiness and power of these words, a ritually dramatic environment has always been procured. The construction of the Catholic

mass, with its precisely prescribed devotional and ritual flow of actions, leads to a presentation of the religious that stands out from the everyday: priests wear imposing 'vestments,' are surrounded by equally solemnly clad → 'altar servers' ('ministers'), perform prescribed actions on an 'altar platform,' and implement a specific set of gestures. At their signals, instrumental or vocal music sounds forth, and, with formulae and → singing that have been committed to memory, this personnel draws the 'audience,' the 'community of onlookers,' directly into the action at special moments. Calls, words and sounds of praise, impetratory utterances, the prayers of the celebrant—alone or with the community—the → sermon, the Lord's Supper ('Communion'), and finally, a blessing and further components of the Christian divine services, which (differently, according to confession and denomination) each possess their place within a complex ritual event. For complicated courses of action (e.g., at 'high feasts,' like Easter or Christmas), the Catholic Church even introduces a special 'master of ceremony,' as sacred dramaturge.

From Liturgy to Sacred Drama—India

b) Another example, from another culture: In the Christian religion, of course, the dramaturgic presentation, however impressively and finely polished, has always been relegated to second place in the divine service (being excluded as its center). In India, we see an altogether different picture. Although, as elsewhere, we find specially long liturgies here as well—as, for example, the event of the erection of a Vedic fire altar, which extends over many days.[1] In addition, however, there are eminently imposing and cyclically appearing imitations of mythological stories, that likewise serve the veneration of the gods. Dance and theater are a solid component in reverence of divinities, as the classical manual *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Ghosh 1951–1961) evinces. Not only is the art of the stage of divine origin, its execution is expected by the gods as 'visible sacrifice.'

Dance

Sacred dance is a further liturgical element characterizing the Indian sphere. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, temples housed resident dancers, the *devadāsi*. Their dance was completely reserved for the deity, as well as being a solid component of the daily liturgy. Today these dance forms are only to be seen on secular stages, and are widely known as *bharata natyam, odissi,* and *kuchipudi.* Although the temple was abandoned, many dancers continue to exercise their skill in a kind of divine service. Even Christianity has slowly begun to discover this art of proclamation. Thus, in recent years, alternative forms of Christian divine service are multiplying, inspired by the quest for feminist spirituality, or by the adoption of non-European liturgical forms that incorporate circle dancing and the like.

Rites of Threshold/ Passage

c) Last, so-called *threshold rituals*, *or rites of passage*, are to be addressed (→ Life Cycle). In Western culture today one still finds, for example, first communion or confirmation, that make a young person a full-fledged member of the Christian community. The strictly prescribed courses of action here, the extraordinary 'costuming,' the carefully rehearsed 'acting' on the part of the dedicands, on a stage-like space divided from the observing community of the faithful, give the impression of a ritual presentation. The same holds true for the new, non-confessional celebration of the youth dedication.

3. At all times and places, service celebrated for the deities is accompanied by impressive ceremonies, involving the element of the supernatural,

and containing obligatory elements of the theatrical. Not even Christian churches are an exception, as we have seen. Just as eagerly, → political religions refer to the liturgical repertory at hand. Here we may even list instances of the direct adoption of elements of religious worship, such as the entry of the ruler ('leader,' and so on; → Epiphany), songs, formulae of prayer and summoning (→ Civil Religion).

1. Staal 1983; R. Gardner has made the accompanying film, "Altar of Fire."

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Heike Moser

Local Devotion

1. By "local devotion" is meant the veneration of one or more higher powers in a particular → place, usually practiced by persons of a restricted group. These powers are effective only in limited ways, and they make no claim to generality. It may be a matter of numinous objects, protectors of a home, patrons of the → family, mythic tribal → ancestors, a matter of → heroes of various extraction, or, indeed, of gods, to whom an area, a grove, a precisely defined space, is assigned. It is their possession, or dedicated to them. Although not per se something completely different, visits to the holy places of the scriptural religions are not generally reckoned as local devotion—prayer at the Western Wall of the temple in Jerusalem, assistance at a pontifical Mass in Saint Peter's Basilica, or the pilgrimage to → Mecca. Veneration of the universal God of these religions is in principle possible always and everywhere. Here, then, it is a matter of, for example, a → pilgrimage, or of a (usually) once-in-a-lifetime visit to a place of religious importance, and is usually regarded as a matter of religious merit.

Arbitrary Distinctions

2. The boundaries between local and universal division are arbitrarily drawn. They can arise from an intra-religious criticism directed against traditional forms of devotion, as, for example, in the Hebrew Bible, the reform of King Josiah (1 Kings 22-23, 2 Chron 34-35), or Luther's criticism of outward forms of piety. These are treated as idolatry. In the West, since the eighteenth century, local devotion is accounted a matter of superstition, not of 'reasonable religion';

since the nineteenth century, it is ascribed to 'folk piety', and occasionally even idealized as primitive. The academic study of religion itself has long regarded it as a component of older, exotic, that is, primitive, forms of religion. Local devotions, then, were reckoned as forerunners of the great and general devotions, and belong rather to → magic than to religion, rather to → polytheism than to monotheism. Nothing is thereby gained for an understanding of the individual devotion. Further, even in the formation of theory, a preference for the abstract and inward form of divine reverence denies the circumstance that local attachment and the variety of a devotion is precisely one of the individual devotion's most important tasks. Expressed in this task is the religious habitation of a group, and the shaping of its living world. It betrays "whether and how scriptural religions become effective in practical life, and are bound up with acts (ordinary and extraordinary)."[1] This test is even more true of tribal and ancient religions. In order to understand the local devotion, an approach and presentation with an orientation to phenomena is preferable.

Antiquity

3. a) The religions of the *ancient civilizations*, in West and East, as in India today (→ Hinduism; Indian Subcontinent), are characterized by a strong particularism, so that, among other things, a distinction is made among family, local, and national devotions; however, fleeting passages, especially between the first two concepts, are at hand. The Patriarchs of the Hebrew Bible venerate 'numina,' and other special beings, the "God of the Fathers"—a designation problematic in itself, as it implies biblical monotheism even in the earliest times—respectively in particular places marked by holy trees or sacred stones. At best, ancient local devotion in *Greece* can be explained, and research into it is in many respects paradigmatic for religious studies. The distinct city-states each have their god, who is frequently *Zeus Polieus* ("Zeus of the City"), and to whom a certain devotion is due. In Athens, for example, the sacrifice of a bull by the Buphonians was performed as a "comedy of innocence" (K. Meuli). Very importantly, the surnames (→ Name[s]) express the particularism, surely, but also the multiplicity, of the gods. "In devotion, it is the duty of the one praying to encircle the god with the surname, as it were, and to find the right, fitting name," since "each god [is] surrounded by a host of surnames, presenting a complex picture of his [or her] effect."[2] The surnames are a component of mythology (K. Kerényi), and recount an episode from the history of the god, upon which a determinate devotion will rest. The choice of surnames also betrays local differences. In Asia Minor, for example, Apollo was called *Smintheus,* the "mouse" god. His veneration there was determined by a particular aspect, that of the god as the one whose bow sends pestilential arrows. On the level of local devotion, one is compelled to no scholarly synthesis: the god is venerated according to the usages of place (cf. F. Graf).

Spirits, Heroes, and Saints

b) In many religions, there are special places of great effect and power, furnished with a 'god of the place' (*genius loci*). These may be combined into an entire 'sacred → landscape' (H. Cancic). At these places, seasonal festivities take place because it is assumed that something decisive occurred there in primitive or earlier times. When they have → graves as their midpoint, for instance those of the fathers and mothers of Israel, or of the Greek heroes, then they must be regularly visited: their inhabitants are ambivalent vis-à-vis human beings, and when their veneration is omitted they are displeased. The

dead can then actually emerge from the earth, a threat that is countered by a devotion at the grave—often, such a devotion is fashioned after the devotion to the gods (meals, → Cemetery), but also after social rites (complaints). In addition, many heroes can be venerated trans-regionally, as they have graves in several places (A. Nock). We also encounter many of these conceptualizations and rituals in the → veneration of the saints in the scriptural religions. → Martyrs often stand at the focus, as happens in Christianity. But generally speaking, devotion to the saints is veneration of the powerfully effective dead, a veneration of the dead cultivated with special honor. As such, it is connected with the grave of the respective saint, a limitation that can be evaded by the veneration of images or relics. Buddhism, as well, is familiar with it, of course in such a way that the representations of the founder are met only with relations of reverence.

Modern Times

c) Although veneration of saints, important religious leaders, and their respective places (graves, in particular) are still current in a variety of religious traditions today, new forms of local cult entered the stage. Throughout the religious and cultural history of modernity, one frequently encounters a → veneration of persons characterized by an unrestrained idealization. In principle, the → idol is often simply lionized, at a variety of 'neutral' places of special convenience (concert halls, motion picture theaters, football stadiums), and is acclaimed only at his or her appearance on the scene. It is disputed whether this might be accounted a continuation of the modern project (i.e., more authenticity), or rather its end (i.e., waning autonomy).

1. Kippenberg, in: Kippenberg/Luchesi 1995, 13f.
2. Burkert 1977, 285.

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→ *Grave/Tomb, Hero/Heroism, Landscape, Martyr, Place (Sacred), Veneration of Persons/ Personality Cult, Veneration of the Saints*

Martin Treml

Lord's Supper / Eucharist

Lord's Supper

1. *Concepts: Lord's Supper* is Paul's term for the sacred meal regularly celebrated in the first Christian communities. The word *Eucharist* (Thanksgiving), which was in use as early as the beginning of the second century, is the one most often applied in the Catholic Church today. In addition, from the sixth century onward the term *Mass* was formed for divine service with the celebration of the Eucharist. The community aspect comes to the fore in the concept of *Communion.* In Protestantism, the term *Abendmahl* (Evening



Leonardo's monumental fresco, *Ultima Cena* (Lat., "Last Supper"; 1495–1497), painted for the Milanese church of Saint Mary of Graces, has become one of the central icons of the modern Christian treasury of art. Reproduced by the millions, it once stamped the style of piety of generations, and today stands high in touristic favor. In the nineteenth century, the idealization of this image assumed the 'character of religious revelation' (Richard Hüttel): it became the inner concept of conservative aesthetics, which regarded itself as obligated to cultivate the values of a 'Christian West,' and here found the perfect 'meditation image' for family and home. In numberless variations and media, not only traditional religious art, but even the artistic avant-garde (Andy Warhol, "The Last Supper," 1987), promoted the painting to the status of a special kind of legacy of world culture. Although, according to Warhol, "many Last Suppers are better than one," the question must be asked whether, beyond kitsch, art, and commerce, a remnant of piety in confrontation with this image is still in any way conceivable nowadays. (Hubert Mohr)

Meal) has acquired currency since Luther. In the ecumenical discourse of recent decades, agreement has been struck on the New Testament expression *Lord's Supper.*

New Testament

2. In primitive Christianity, the Lord's Supper was set in the context of an ordinary meal taken in common. In Corinth, unequal distribution of the victuals brought to the meal led to serious community conflict. Frequently, wealthy Christians had consumed the provisions they had brought, while poorer members of the community who arrived later had to go hungry. Paul criticized this comportment as inappropriate for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The criticism leveled by him against reprehensible social behavior—that one ought not to celebrate that Supper 'unworthily' in this sense—was later employed in a spiritualized meaning. In his letter to the community in Corinth, Paul establishes it that Jesus himself has 'instituted' the meal (1 Cor 11:23-25). Paul alters a formula that he himself has adopted, and that has been generally used in a slightly modified form in the celebration of the Lord's Supper to this day. "The Lord Jesus, on the night when he



Beggars crowd into a Spanish palace and stage an orgy. The blasphemous climax is reached when the movement of the participants freezes, and the image that then appears resembles Leonardo's "Last Supper." As if in mockery, another middle-class showpiece, Händel's "Halleluja," from his oratorio, "Messiah," simultaneously peals on the soundtrack. Thus, catastrophically, ends the attempt of novice Viridiana, in Luis Buñuel's film of the same name, to practice Christian love of neighbor and care for the poor. Buñuel employs the image of the Lord's Supper to express his trenchant criticism of a Christian social concern that, instead of addressing the causes—exploitation, poverty, feudalistic structures—attempts to cure the symptoms. The provocation succeeded: the film received the 1961 Golden Palm award at the Cannes Film Festival. But, under pressure from the Vatican, it was forthwith proscribed in Franco Spain. Only in 1977, under democratic conditions, could it at last be shown in that country. (Hubert Mohr)

was betrayed, took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said. 'This is my body that is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.' In the same way he took the cup also, after supper, saying, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.'" Reconstructing from Paul's Greek the Hebrew-Aramaic that Jesus spoke, we should read: "This is myself in the full reality of my life." Similar formulas are to be found in the first three Gospels. The Gospel of Matthew, after the words over the cup, supplies the purpose, "for forgiveness of sins." Only Luke and Paul use the injunction to repeat the celebration of this supper: "Do this in remembrance of me." In the Gospel of John (ch. 13), in the corresponding place, a meal is mentioned, but it is linked with the ritual of the washing of the feet.

In the background of the tradition of the Lord's Supper are the meal scenes depicted in the Gospels. Jesus dines 'with publicans and sinners,' works miracles of food and one of wine, relates parables of eschatological feasts, and as the Risen One gives his disciples and followers food to eat. In central position for the development of the ritual of the Lord's Supper, however, is Jesus's farewell supper before his arrest and sentencing. Jesus is celebrating the Jewish Passover in Jerusalem with his disciples. He has probably interpreted parts of the Passover rite in terms of his own coming death.

3. a) *Connections:* From the viewpoint of *history of religion*, the emergence of the Lord's Supper as a ritual can be understood as a process of



Even the modeling firm of Otto Kern used Leonardo's subject. In a 1994 campaign, with erotically stylized biblical scenes using dreamy-looking models in various degrees of upper-torso exposure, the undertaking employs advertising slogans to provoke: "Along with Jesus, we want men to learn to respect women" is the caption of a jeans ad. The third marketing stunt, presented by Heinz Wackerbarth, employs sets for the spring collection. His aim—despite a female Christ—is no longer a blasphemous confrontation, but commerce. (Benita von Behr)

separation from the praxis of sacred sacrificial worship, a process that also occurred in other religions. In primitive Christianity, the bloody sacrifice of beasts was replaced, on the mythical level, as an explanation of Jesus' execution, with the sacred 'necessity' of the supplanting sacrificial lamb. On the ritual plane, instead of sacrificial flesh, merely 'harmless' substitutes, bread and wine, are served. An understanding of the supper as an anticipated funeral meal is also likely.

Church History

b) The martyr Ignatius of Antioch (d. around 110) understood the Lord's Supper as a "remedy of immortality, and an antidote that we do not die, but live forever in Jesus Christ." The Orthodox churches embrace this notion. In the Western Church, since the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215)—under the presuppositions of contemporary philosophy—the concept of *transubstantiation* prevailed. Bread and wine are changed by the priest into the body and blood of Christ, retaining only the outward appearance of the bread and wine. Since the time of the Reformation, two other characterizations have been in tension with the Catholic view: While the Lutherans developed the concept of *consubstantiation*, Reformed theology emphasized the memorial aspect of the Lord's Supper (*Memorial Supper*). The meaning of consubstantiation is that, while bread and wine also remain in the Supper, the body and

blood of Christ are also present 'in, with, and under' the elements, in the realization of the celebration of the meal.

Conditions for Participation

c) As *ritual center* of the Christian assembly and community (*communio*), the Lord's Supper is linked with a number of concepts and conditions. Beginning in 100 at the latest, baptism became a requirement for the reception of the Lord's Supper (*Didache*). Later, the moment of penance and previous confession were ordered to its celebration. Matthew's additional "for the forgiveness of sins" has been adopted in most liturgies. Emphasis on the penitential aspect comports the danger of a one-sided, individualistic interpretation of the Lord's supper ("my Savior and I"), with a suppression of the community aspect. In past centuries, exclusion from the Lord's Supper was often used as an instrument of ecclesiastical and social administration, individually as excommunication, and for whole regions as interdict. The understanding of office also enters in. In the Catholic tradition, the Eucharist can be 'confected' only by an ordained male priest. Most Protestant churches permit the realization of the Eucharist only at the hands of a minister duly ordained or designated for this purpose.

Ritual Separation

4. *Current Questions*: The lofty Catholic understanding of the priesthood is regarded on the Protestant side as a key impediment to ecumenical celebrations of the Lord's Supper. The history of Christianity has known various conceptualizations of offering or sacrifice with respect to the meaning of the Lord's Supper. The identity of the presider, the offering, and the recipient are points of contention among the denominations. In 1979, significant impulses for the creation of a 'Lord's Supper Movement' emerged with the publication of a joint Roman Catholic and Lutheran-Evangelical document, "The Lord's Supper." However, to this day the different understandings of this Christian ritual are a crucial obstacle for inter-Christian dialogue.

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→ *Christianity, Drinking/Drink, Eating/Nourishment, Memory, Ritual, Tradition*

Erhard J. Wiedenmann

Love

Thematic Overview

1. The use of the word 'love' in Western European discourse—from its casual meaning of "like," to sexual "lovemaking," to the much discussed "ideal of relationship"—is closely connected, in its culturally constructed meaning, with the religious history of the concept, for example in the mass media. Most often understood as a category of emotions for positively experienced, intensive associations free of any means-end relationships, today's concept of love mixes religious models of the relation between God and human beings with those of human beings among themselves. Seemingly comparable notions in other cultures also transport distinct ethical, social, and emotional concepts of intercourse with the divine, human, or sexual other, which becomes important for different conceptualizations of → 'communication' and 'dialogue.' How a culture defines 'true love,' and the status of the individuals in a love relationship—whether it makes them 'blind' or 'seeing,' whether it is passive surrender or active decision—is characterized by the connection of the concept to religious notions of salvation and redemption, obedience and freedom, subordination and equality, knowledge and faith.

Historical Development

2. The most influential cohesive Western conceptualization of love is the interpretation of the eros of God in Plato's doctrine of Ideas.[1] Divided from idealized male friendship and familiar love (*philia*), and from social love flowing from religious motivation (*agápe*; in Lat., *caritas*), *éros* in persons is that effective corporeal and spiritual power of generation whose highest form is the soul's vision of the absolute Ideas in a "heavenly place" (in Gk., *tópos ouranós*). This philosophical, religious sublimation of corporality and materiality into a 'highest knowledge' sees the same power at work in sexuality as in the philosophical 'passion for understanding.'

Christianity, regarding itself as a 'religion of love,' adopts, especially in Neo-Platonism (→ Platonism), the idea of a spiritualized love, and excludes the driven, 'erotic' aspect: it is *agape*, as an asexual love for God, self, and neighbor (Math 22:39, after Lev 19:18), and as commanded in the form of love for one's enemies, that steps front and center. As the most important of the theological virtues of "faith, hope, love" (1 Cor 13), it is the central element of the salvific event, and of the redemption by grace of a humanity burdened with sexual original sin.

Islam and *Judaism*, too, see the argument of God's love for human beings in revelation, but here revelation is not conceptualized as a universal, anticipated redemption by love. Thus in Islam, love of God is clearly divided from worldly love, and especially coupled to the fear of God, observance of the commandments, and divine forgiveness. God's crucial deed of love in Judaism is the sacred covenant with the people of Israel, formulated as a marriage. It is joined with a religious duty—the responsible realization of justice. Sexual love and the celebration of beauty does not contradict the divine love (Song of Solomon), as neither does it in Islam, and is formulated in biblical Hebrew as *yada'*, "knowing" one's partner.

Courtly Love

In the Europe of the close of the eleventh century, chivalry developed the ideal of love that goes by the name of *courtly love*. Influenced by the wandering troubadours of Jewish and Islamic culture, this love was especially the

lyrical courtship of the unattainable lady, as ideal passionate love, modeled on the tragic love, fulfilled only in death, of "Tristan and Isolde," in the epic by Godfrey of Strasbourg (c. 1210). Likewise evading an orthodox rejection of the erotic, especially female Christian mystics of the high and late Middle Ages report their visionary personal experience of God as an experience of love, that is, of a transgressing, overwhelming encounter (mystical marriage) or merging (in Lat., *unio mystica*; "mystical union"; mysticism of love) with Jesus or God, expressed in a highly erotic metaphorical style. For the modern notion of love, with its orientation to the individual, it is an emotional 'interiorization' of religion that constitutes the norm.

Modern and Contemporary Religious Love

Up until recent times, marriage was not regarded as a place for passion or love. The Romeo and Juliet motif—love as a transgression of social and political bounds—is available as an exception, but is feeble as grounds for matrimony vis-à-vis a father's right, or economic and social considerations. Only the middle-class society of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, rejecting the marriage conventions and libertinage of the nobility, developed a matrimonial ideal of 'romantic love' (which, however, can be described mostly as an ideologization of the middle-class role of woman), arising simultaneously with the cultural importance of a self-sacrificing 'motherly love.' In the process of an increasing rationalization—even of religion—a pragmatic love becomes a concept critical of culture. In particular, the poets of sentimentality and early Romanticism, in the framework of a 'new culture of emotion,' draft models of a love of soul-mates that, as aesthetic religious power, joins the individual to the infinite: this is how Schleiermacher renews Protestant theology, and how Novalis connects Christian motifs (resurrection) with an exaltation of death and eros to a new form of mysticism.[2]

Love Today

3. For modern societies and individuals, the meaning of love is no longer obviously bound to religious structures. Nevertheless, the most diverse patterns of salvation and redemption are anchored in this concept. Only in the twentieth century has love become a normative quantity supplying life meaning. At the same time, however, it raises a claim on the relations of couples, a claim that, in the popular consciousness—by way of example, in the 'love stories' of the entertainment industry—has been amalgamated with notions of destiny and the ideals of the 'happy life.' Thus it has attained to a salvific character. With the new understanding of the relationship of love and sexuality, love, on the one hand, is a conceptual component of a criticism of a 'soulless,' commercialized sexuality, and on the other—frequently by way of models adopted from foreign cultures and religions—is interpreted as an element of unification between sexuality and an experience of transcendence ('cosmic love').

Love attains the status of utopian content as superior principle of a communicative solution of conflict. During the 'sexual revolution' of the 1960s, 'free love' was the model for political and individual structures ('Make love, not war'). In the principle of the 'dialogue' between potential parties to conflict (cultures, religions) as well, love plays a great role, as a power interpreted as universal, as conciliatory of contradictions, and as abolishing boundaries (*vis unitiva*; Lat., "unifying force"). Whether this universalistic understanding corresponds to cultural realities is an open question. Concepts of the meaning of love as ultimate foundation of life, as the experience of transcendence in the pattern of the mystics, or as model for a redemption

or release from problematic secular questions, stand at the center of modern intercourse with religion. Cast adrift from or by traditional religion, and yet adherent to their patterns of interpretation, these concepts often have an orientation to foreign religions and cultures, and stand in the field of tension among scholarship (psychology, philosophy), religion, and individual experience.

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→ *Emotions/Feelings, Eroticism, Ethics/Morals, Mysticism, Sexuality*

Alexandra Grieser

Luck / Happiness

1. 'Having luck,' and 'being lucky,' are two different things. The former expression reflects the idea that luck befalls a person from without; it is bestowed. It is this luck that underlies a coincidence regarded as 'lucky.' Nevertheless, luck depends not only on life circumstances, but also on the individual attitude toward life and the way in which it is led. This luck, settled in the interior of the person, corresponds to the turn of phrase, 'being lucky.' Antiquity itself distinguished between the Greek *eutychía* (in Lat., *fortuna*), 'having luck,' and *eudaimonía* (*felicitas*), 'being lucky.' In English and French, a similar differentiation is made: 'luck' vs. 'happiness,' *fortune/ chance* vs. *bonheur.* In old German, the word *Gelücke / Gelucke* materializes only in the second half of the twelfth century, and comprises both concepts of luck (as does modern Dutch *geluk*). The reference to the category of time in French is noteworthy, where the etymology of *bonheur* is 'good hour,' while the contrary expression, *malheur* (etym., 'bad hour') means 'misfortune,' 'ill luck.' In the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, the word 'luck' is not used: in its place stands the expression 'life.' Life, in turn, denotes lifetime, so that an inner relation obtains between luck and time.

2. On the basis of its incalculability, coincidence—thought of as bringing luck or misfortune—conveyed an impression of the capricious, and found its personification in a female figure: the Greek *Tyché*, or the Latin *Fortuna.*



At Japanese Shintô temples, for a few yen, paper lots for luck (*o-miku-ji*) can be purchased from a *miko*, a young unmarried woman who functions as a kind of priest's assistant. Japanese schoolgirls, in their uniforms, fasten their lots here to ask for luck in upcoming examinations. On other occasions as well, or with many near-universal problems (search for a partner, courtship), the lots are drawn in hopes of a positive influence on the prospect of a wish to be fulfilled. The lots have short phrases printed on them that can indicate

Outer, coincidental luck, vouchsafed by the goddess of luck, establishes a special quality of time. For a moment, the human being is offered a *chance*, a prospect. According to mythology, *Kairós*, son of *Fortuna*, embodies this 'favorable moment.' When Fortuna wishes to demonstrate her good pleasure, she sends Kairos abroad. As the latter nears the one to be granted luck, the latter sees a mighty shock of hair on the young god's forehead, and now has the chance to seize the opportunity (in German, *beim Schopfe packen*, "grasp his hair"). One who hesitates too long is 'out of luck,' for, momentarily, Kairos begins to depart, and presents the viewer only the bald back of his head. Church authorities such as → Augustine rejected the tradition of 'fortune,' as it contradicted the profession of a divine *providentia* (Lat., 'providence'). In order to integrate 'fortune' into the Christian system of belief, Augustine subordinated it to divine providence, and understood it as an instrument of God. Boethius (480–524) completed the development of a Christian 'fortune,' in his work composed in 524, "The Consolation of Philosophy" (in Lat., *De Consolatione Philosophiae*). Boethius was the first to set the 'wheel of life' in a functional relationship to fortune. At fortune's hand, the wheel begins to spin, and earthly interests spin with it; but God drives the wheel from the center. In Christian iconography, the Wheel of Fortune appears at the close of the eleventh century.

Luck in Magic and Religion

3. Usually, human beings cannot invoke luck, but only wish it. This wish occurs on occasions that set a caesura in the course of metric time, as, for example, New Year's, or one's birthday. The wish can take on a magical character, when a four-leafed clover or a horseshoe hangs at the windshield of a car. A talisman does not enhance the technological reliability of a vehicle, but it may the driver's feeling of security, which is assimilable to magical thought.

Colloquially, an accident is synonymous with bad luck, so that someone who emerges from one unscathed is said to have had 'good luck in bad luck.' In the eyes of a believer, the other world possesses a working power; a person may submit luck to the patronage of a talisman. In Christianity, following the Platonic understanding of luck, earthly luck is upgraded to 'beatitude'—which is attained as the 'highest good' (in Lat., *summum bonum*), however, only in the eternal City of God of the afterlife.

States of Happiness

4. It is not only the 'favorable moment' that evinces a relation to the category of time, but *inner happiness*, as well. The absence of a sense of time experienced by a child, or an adult absorbed in a game, produces an inner feeling of happiness. In states of intoxication, this feeling can also be intentionally provoked, through the ingestion of psychopharmacopeia or hallucinogens (→ Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens). Hallucinogenic mushrooms are ingested in the sacred rites of the Middle American peyote religion. Without the use of drugs, mystics attain to a beatific state for some moments through the ecstasies of meditation, as those of *satori* in Zen Buddhism (→ Emotions/Feelings; Mysticism). Often, these feelings are those of only momentary happiness. Nevertheless, religious moments of happiness stand against the horizon of overlapping expectations of happiness, and receive their meaning and importance only in life as a whole, when the question poses itself, whether life can be described as attained according to the moral bases of the religious communities. Inasmuch as the moral life is accomplished in the community, attention to one's neighbor and the common observance of social rules are conditions of quality of life, satisfaction, and happiness in life. But many religions promise 'true happiness' only in an existence eternally untroubled, in paradise, or in other places of aspiration (→ Garden/Paradise).

Pursuit of Happiness

5. The *pursuit of happiness* is the particular property of every human being. While the human right to pursue happiness is unknown in Europe, the case is different in the United States. In the 1776 Declaration of Independence, the formula reflects a transformation in the consciousness of the times that had been under way in Europe since the Renaissance. In place of the concept of a divine providence, the fact was recognized that the human being is capable of a self-determined life (→ Human Rights). In the eighteenth century, then, the accent shifted from a static thinking to a dynamic one. Now happiness was perceived no longer in the *condition* of perfection, but in the *process* of perfection. Correspondingly, the American Declaration of Independence guaranteed not the right to happiness, but the right to strive for happiness. The pursuit of happiness was understood then as an indispensable component of modern → civil religion in the United States. Today, at the turn of the millennium, an ideal and 'beatifying' goal sought in Western societies forsakes its religious matrix and emerges as self-realization—unless, turned altogether profane, happiness has evaporated into 'fun,' in a 'society of events.'

either a positive or a negative prospect. The one whose lot promises "Great luck" can expect the fulfillment of his or her wish for having brought the *o-miku-ji* here; and the one who has been received a lot with "Small bad luck" printed on it hopes to neutralize the omen precisely by way of this lot. (Benita von Behr)

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→ *Civil Religion, Emotions/Feelings, Ethics/Morals, Human Rights*

Ingeborg Siggelkow

Luther, Martin

The Person

1. Martin Luther was born on November 10, 1483, at Eisleben, in Saxony, Germany. In 1505, to fulfill a private vow that he had made in acute fear of death and the Last Judgment, he entered the monastery of Augustinian hermits in Erfurt. His experience of failing to attain a salvific relationship to God even as a monk led him to a gradual change of attitude and the 'reformatory turn' that he later stylized in his self-interpretation as a sudden experience of breakthrough and awakening. On October 31, 1517, Luther became a public figure by posting his ninety-five theses against indulgences. His criticism soon broadened to include an attack on prevailing dogmas, and in 1520 the Pope excommunicated him; in 1521 the Emperor issued the Edict of Worms. Luther's local lord, Frederick the Wise, sheltered him in the Wartburg Castle, where he translated the New Testament into German. In the 1520s, there followed important declarations and clarifications vis-à-vis the 'left wing' of the Reformation (with the 1522 Wittenberg riots through Karlstadt; Thomas Müntzer; Peasants' War), humanism, and the Swiss Reformation. Bound to Wittenberg by an imperial edict that continued in force, Luther could exercise his influence on the Reformation in the following years practically only by writing. Toward the end of his life, in an attitude of resignation, he composed bitter tracts against the Pope and the Jews. On 18 February 1546, Luther died at Eisleben.

Teaching

2. Luther's reformatory discovery entailed a new understanding of justification. He no longer propounded the justice of God cited in Rom 1:17 as punitive; rather, the human being is declared just. Here, against all claims that human beings' redemption depends on their individual acts (justification by works), he insisted, where salvation is concerned, on the sole efficacy of God's grace (*sola gratia*, Lat., 'by grace alone'). On the grounds of his confrontation with the 'left wing' of the reformation, Luther gradually came to attribute a function in social intercourse to law as well—for defense against the effects of sin. This idea occurred in a context of the development of the doctrine of the two regimes, the spiritual and the secular, through which God sustains the world.

Image of Luther

3. a) Even to his contemporaries, Luther seemed like a new Elijah. It was only after his death that Melanchthon—doubtless in terms of legend—reported a demonstrative 'slapping' of the theses onto the door of the Wittenberg Castle

church on 31 October 1517. This date provided the occasion for Reformation Day, in the formation of which the self-concept of Protestantism has been reflected for centuries.

As opposed to the image of Luther legitimated by Lutheran orthodoxy as an authoritative instance—yet also appealing to Luther (especially the Luther of the early years)— → Pietism exerted criticism of his person (especially Gottfried Arnold, 1666–1714).[1] Symptomatically, in Lessing's appeal to Luther as the redeemer from the yoke of tradition in the conflict over the radical bible criticism of the Wolfenbüttel fragments, the Enlightenment appropriated the reformer for itself, as herald of a criticism of tradition. A consistently theological interpretation was first established once more only by the investigations on Luther of Karl Holl, with their orientation to the proclamation of justification. The *Luther Society*, founded in 1918, devotes itself to the cultivation of this rediscovered religious image of Luther.

b) Along with his theological importance, Luther had long since developed a broad effect on cultural history. Through his translation of the Bible, Saxon Chancellery German stamped High German. Herder exalted this achievement in linguistic history to an interpretation of Luther's person as that of a genius. The popular nineteenth-century image of Luther was coined especially by the later Herder with the beginnings of a relation of Luther to a German *national religion.*[2] The Wittenberg representation of Luther, unveiled in 1821, and the 1868 Luther Memorial in Worms, show how he was more and more celebrated in national Protestantism as the one who had liberated 'his country' from Roman and 'non-German' influences (Ultramontanism).[3]

Luther's anti-Judaism, as well, was appropriated by the anti-Semitism of the Third Reich, and incorporated into a revival of his nationalistic image.[4] This use kindled debates (often abbreviating historical processes), especially abroad, as to the extent to which Luther's understanding of government and rule was to be made responsible for a German distance from the Western democratic model (*Sonderweg,* Ger., 'special way'). In a similar manner, in the Marxist view as it manifested itself especially in the German Democratic Republic, Luther was presented as a prince's vassal who followed orders, contrasted with revolutionary Thomas Müntzer. Only with the Luther Jubilee of 1983 did that country reach, in a framework of the 'early middle-class revolution,' a positive appraisal of Luther's role. By contrast, in the perception of the Federal Republic of Germany, it was Luther's religious role that had remained determinative. That role, however, was increasingly awash in social history; at the same time, the confessionalistic polemic was overcome by way of an ecumenical rapprochement. With the resolution of the ideological confrontations, Luther's name and figure outside the churches seem to be mainly those of a tourist attraction.

Luther in the Protestant Culture of Piety

4. Luther gives Lutheran piety a religious identity of its own, and makes it tangible. Eventually, then, not only a concentration of Reformation Jubilees on his person, but also St. Martin's day on November 11, Luther's baptismal and name day, received new meaning, in the memory of a Luther impregnated with traits of a traditional veneration of the saints. Here Luther appears not only as an eminent individual figure, but as a normative example of the Christian life. Over and again, the image of his marriage, an image that varied with the time, has been used for the stabilization of a Protestant family ethos seen as having its exemplary realization in the parsonage.

1. Bornkamm 1970, 15.
2. Ibid., 26.
3. Hofmann 1983, 516.
4. Bornkamm 1970, 168ff.

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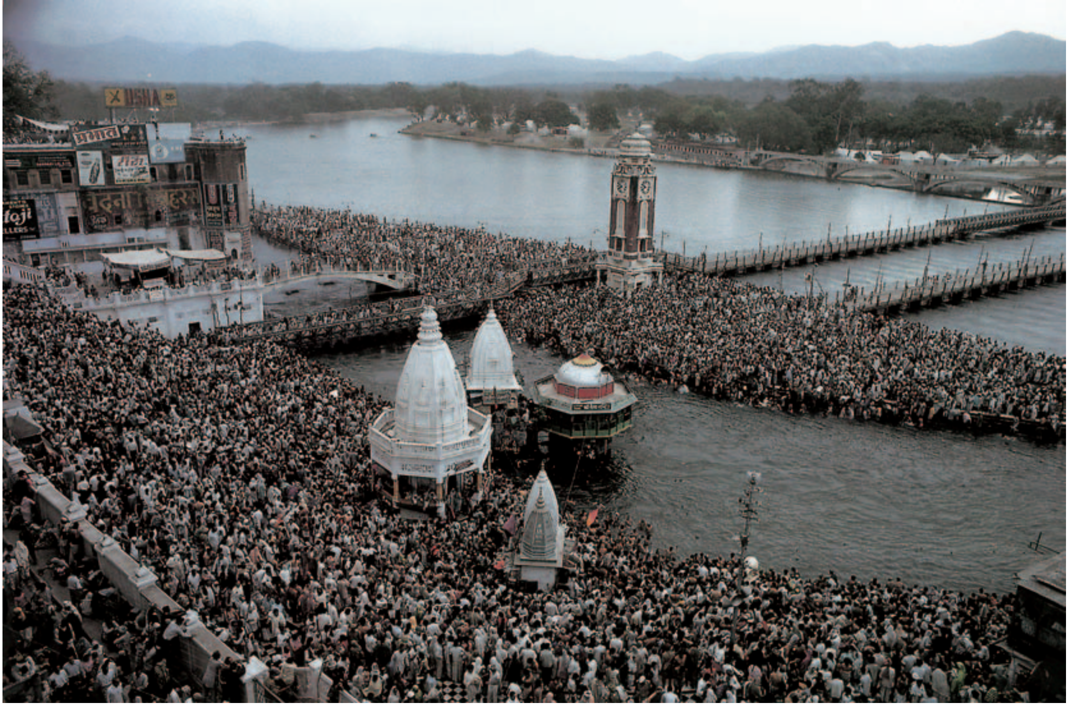
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→ *Christianity, Protestantism, Reformation*

Volker Leppin



An everyday Italian scene in Milan: Archangel Michael on a transparency on the window of a pickup truck. Ever since the Book of Daniel (10:13) and the battle with the dragon in Revelation (12:7-12), Michael has been seen as the quintessential champion of good against evil. In his mythical function as Commander of the Heavenly Host, he repels all attacks on God and the faithful. From this role proceeds his everyday task, in the Christian tradition, especially in the Mediterranean region: Michael's image functions as a magic shield, against the threats of daily life, against diseases, and even against the 'dirty tricks' of today's traffic. (Hubert Mohr)

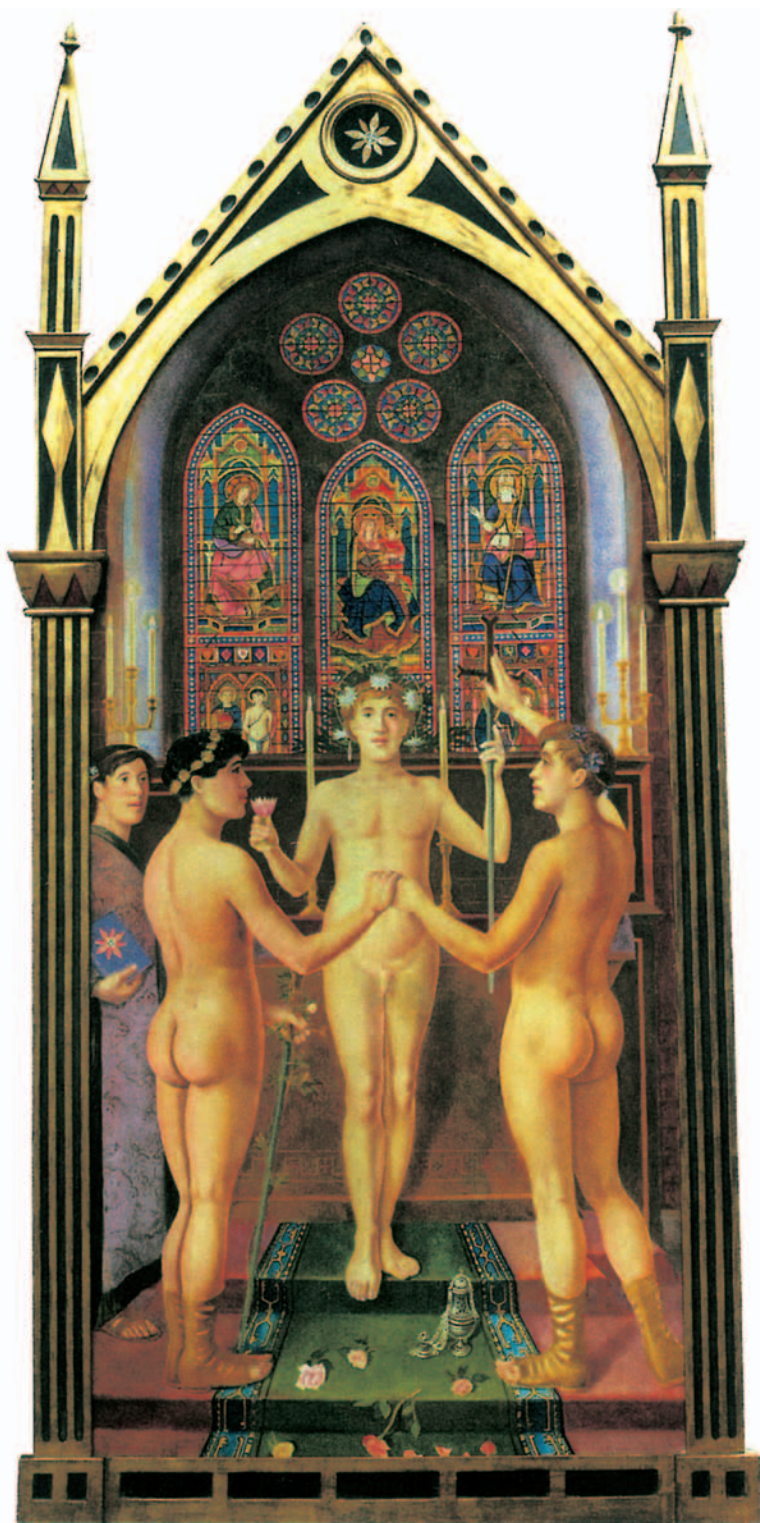


The *Kumbha-mela* ranks as the world's largest festival. During the month-long *mela*, many millions of pilgrims gather to bathe in the Ganges (the *Ganga*), which flows past Hardwar at the foot of the last stray Himalaya, into the Ganges. The festivities appeal to the myth of the *Kumbha*: as the gods agitated the ocean of milk, the *Kumbha*, among others, arrived, to produce from the floods the urn that bestowed the nectar of immortality, in order to bear the precious vessel to safety from the demons. It was drawn out of the water by Jayanta, the son of Indra, in the form of a crow. On the way, Jayanta set the urn down in three places: in Prayag and Hardwar on the Ganges, in Nasik at the river Godavari, and in Ujjain on the Sipra. In these four places, the bathing festival takes place. Every twelve years, the *Purna-kumbha* ('full urn') is celebrated, the lesser festival *Ardh-Kumbha* ('half urns') after six years each time. The festivals are held by turns, so that every three years a *Purna-kumbha* is celebrated in one of the four places. (Kirsten Holzapfel)



According to Buddhist tradition, Siddhartha Gautama achieved the redeeming insight, and became the Buddha, while sitting in meditation at the foot of a fig poplar. In the northern Indian pilgrimage place Bodh Gayā (state of Bihar) such a tree can be found today. In its shadow a seat with a red stone plate marks the place of Gautama's enlightenment. During the yearly pilgrimage feast of Tibetan Buddhists, the tree is decorated with colored prayer flags. Behind the tree is the Mahābodhi stupa ("Stupa of the Great Enlightenment"), surrounded by temples of Burmese, Chinese, Japanese, Nepalese, Taiwanese, and Tibetan Buddhists. The tree of Bodh Gayā stimulated many legends and artistic representations (as the *Bodhi tree*, i.e. the 'Tree of the Awakening'). (Kirsten Holzapfel)

‘Clarism’ was the private religion of painter and writer Elisàr von Kuppfer (1872–1942) and his life partner philosopher Eduard von Meyer. The two propagated the vision of a ‘clearworld,’ populated exclusively by beautiful, naked young men and butterflies, not only in their programmatic writings, but also in a construction in sacred architecture, the *Sanctuarium artis Elisarion*, (Lat., “Elysian Sanctuary of Art”) in Locarno-Minusio (1927–1939). Kupffer himself expressed favorite men in a monumental cycle of frescos and in oil painting. His painting, “The New Disciple” (in Ital., *Il Nuovo Seguace*, 291 × 141 cm including frame, tempera on wood) depicts a homoerotic initiation in a medieval Christian atmosphere: in an altar space, before a Gothic window wall, the initiand (right) swears on the (ritual) sword. A kind of backwards-facing utopia, it is an audacious blend of ‘churchliness’ with naked, ‘pagan’ corporality. The painting originally occupied a place in the great rotunda that housed the central sanctuary, and thus is a sacred image in the strict sense. (Hubert Mohr)





Greek Orthodox monks preparing icons. Their work is strictly governed by rules, which are set down in particular painting manuals (in Gk., *hermeneía*, items for [enabling] interpretation'). It begins with the creation of a background, on cloth that has been glued onto (usually) a wooden tablet. Then comes the sketch, in which outlines and divisions are traced according to a model or pattern. Before the actual painting is done, the layers of gold are imposed—in this case, as provided in the rule, reserved for background, auras (here, halos), and parts of the garment of the Christ. The colors are applied 'from shadow to light'—first the darkest (readily visible in the left background), then the brighter, as appropriate for the elements of the picture. After the 'chrysography' (application of gold embellishment), and drying (lasting perhaps a year), the icon receives its protective varnish, the secret of each school. Formerly, or indeed as shown here, during the act of painting, the theologically indispensable inscription is applied. The motif in the foreground shows Mary, in an attitude of prayer (*orant*); on her lap, Christ, painted after the 'Emmanuel' (Isa 7:14) style of image, the preexistent logos: as an 'elderly child' (H. Fischer), beardless, with a high forehead. (Hubert Mohr)



Legend has it that it was in the mountain forest of Sorte (Venezuela) that goddess *Maria Lionza* once overcame an anaconda in combat. Now a girl suffering from muscular atrophy, accompanied by her parents, meets with a medium there for a healing ceremony. The new Maria Lionza cult, a movement very popular in Venezuela, began during the time between the two World Wars. The *Marialionzistas*, who regard themselves as Catholics, believe in a Christian God as director of the world; and between him and human beings come mediating spirits, along with their leader Maria Lionza. The latter, plus Indian spirit Guaicaripuro and African spirit Negro Felipe, make up the 'three powers' (*tres potencias*). The spirits are impetratory partners in the problems of human beings: they counsel, assist, and heal during this ceremony of *velación* (Span., 'watch'; lit., 'candle ceremony'): there the spirits manifest themselves in the persons lying on the ground, who are rapt by the mediums into a state of trance and possession. At the healing ceremony, in which candles, flowers, perfumes, the music of drums, and singing are incorporated, a medium traces a diagram on the ground with talc, and the patient is laid at midpoint. Medical instruments lie ready for ritual employment. The medium in the photograph, just being possessed by a Viking spirit, will treat the child, over the course of the some one-hour-long ceremony, with a needle in the spinal area—the 'pretend operation' representing a treatment on a spiritual level. An assistant versed in religion (*banco*), in the foreground, watches over the progress of the ritual and the actions of the entranced medium. (Benita von Behr)



Nam June Paik, *My Faust—Channel 2* (1989), Carl Solway Gallery, Cincinnati, Ohio
Material: butterfly, a 25-“quasar” 10-in. monitor, 2 Sony laser disc players, quartz geode, two fossil slabs, nautilus mussels. Antique wood frame: 266 × 127 × 81 cm.; wood pedestal: 61, 173, 122 cm. Through the frame, multiplied video images, with a Neo-Gothic-altar-like set of furniture, the artist shifts the reception of the image media ironically into the vicinity of religious image-worship. (Rolf Engelbart)



After a nine-year pause, the Bamileke, of Bafoussam in Cameroon, took up the tradition of initiation once more. The Chief of Bafoussam, who in 1975 had to give up a career as a soccer player in order to guide the destinies of his home region, was opposed to the local traditions. Under him, initiations died out in 1975, to be intensively resumed only in 1984, in order, among other things, to strengthen the social cohesion of the Bamileke, who live in large numbers in distant cities of the country or even in the United States. In the picture, a group of first initiands are seen (with headdress of medicine leaves). Higher initiates (with ginger plants in their hands) lead them, to afford them spiritual protection against bush spirits and other dangers. Initiations take place every two years and comprise nine ceremonies for different age groups, which stretch from December to March. The first initiands are, as a rule, nine or ten years old. In view of such a long interruption, however, older youth took part in this initiation, as well. Families sometimes travel long distances to their home region to celebrate the initiation festival there. (Benita von Behr)

Machine

1. Machines (from the Doric Gk. *machaná*, or Attic *mechané*), are gears with movable parts serving for a power transfer. Normally, they stand in a fixed location, although, as in the modern traffic system, they can be 'self-moving' (Gk., *auto*-; Lat., *mobile*); cf. 'locomotive' (Lat., *locus*, 'place'; *movére*, 'to move'). 'Robots' (from the Czech *robota*, 'compulsory labor,' 'drudgery') and 'automatic' machines (from Gk., *autómatos*, 'self-') comprise the core of modern technology: without them, the global → industrialization of the economy and the mechanization of the world would be inconceivable. Their success rests on a series of epochal inventions (1765, the steam engine, by James Watt; 1876, the four-stroke engine, by Nikolaus Otto—the 'Otto motor'), by which it became possible to replace human muscular strength with fossil fuels (coal, oil, natural gas) and → electricity (steam generators). 'Automatization' by machine paved the way for the → industrial society. Today's information society, on the other hand, rests no longer on the classic power machine, but on 'trans-classical machines' (computer as Turing machine), that process information on the 'input/output' model.

Deus ex Machina *(Lat., 'a god from a machine'): Machines in Worship and Ritual*

2. In all ages, machines have performed their functions in sacred service. In the Greek → Mysteries themselves, mechanical apparatus was introduced in order to convey overwhelming or astonishing dramatic effects. Machines are especially well suited for making gods or other mythical beings appear before the astounded believer (→ Epiphany). Thus, if archaeological findings are correctly interpreted,[1] in the oracle of the dead, the *nekromanteíon,* a central sacred space at Epiric Acheron was duplicated above and beneath, and a mechanical rising stage could 'bring up' figures of gods (actors?). Another much-discussed example is the 'animation of statues' in Egyptian late ancient → Hermetism and its reception in later periods.

The heyday of mechanized mythology, however, was the Renaissance and the Baroque. The explosion in architecture and art, that drew many of its impulses from the rediscovered ancient trade literature (Vitruvius), spurred the engineer-builder to supreme achievements even in permanent scenery, the presentation of rulers, and mythical, theatrical shows. Leading the way was Bernardo Buontalentis (1536–1608), with his mechanical stage setting for the allegorical 'interplays' (in Ital., *intermezzi*) presented with the comedy "La Pellegrina" (1589) in Florence. There, mythic elements from the Platonic cosmology, such as the 'harmony of the spheres,' were presented in theatrical fashion with a virtuosic stage apparatus. Today, in many places, the tourist can observe that sort of playful machinery as a dramaturgic aid in local sacred dramas, or at festivals. In Southern Italy and the Philippines, for example, small children dressed as angels waft about with mechanical assistance in the air over the festival. The mechanization of cult does not even stop short of the functionaries: in the Buddhist prayer room of the main cemetery of Yokoyama (Japan), an automatic priest carries out the ritual singing of four monks.[2]

However, machines in sacred services are used not only as dramaturgic devices; they can also bring fortune and wealth as potent divine attributes, as with the West African Voodoo deity Gun, which, as a sign of his might, is provided with iron machine-parts.

L'Homme machine—*Mechanistic Anthropology*

3. Is there a greater contrast to the religious conception of human beings than the machine? Whether the human body is in the image of God, as in Christianity, or serves as the symbol of the transitory, in the rebirth cycles of Buddhism, it is always a whole that is more than its parts. The modern European Enlightenment makes a fundamental break with this notion, and (especially with Descartes) compares machine models of the cosmic 'world machine' (in Lat., *machina mundi*) with the human being as a microcosmic one. This approach has the advantage of rendering all elements explainable right down to the last: they need neither God nor a soul. A similar materialistic view of humanity, which prescribes itself a radical monism (as opposed to the Platonic Christian body-soul dualism), finds its most consistent promoter in Julien Offray de La Metrie (1709–1751) and his handy, polemical *L'homme machine* ("The Human Being a Machine," 1748). The advantage offered by this model manifestly resides in the notion that each part of the machine (read, 'body') can be isolated, tested as to its capacity for function, and, in given cases, repaired or even replaced—altogether to the point foreseen by today's so often chided 'apparatus medicine.' To be sure, reference was rather ineluctably to rude hydraulic patterns, as later with Freud and a part of psychoanalysis, in its effort to present the physiology and (drive) dynamics of the organism; Enlightenment figure Helvétius speaks of a "millwheel moved by a waterfall (and) moving the piston";[3] and again, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari have their drive machines moistly and merrily couple in their *Anti-Oedipus* (1972). Here, however, the materialistic image of the human being seems to bump up against a wall, where it is not enough to "situate [the human being] in the machine depot he has produced" (K. Meyer-Drawe), as it is the case with complex physiological as well as psychological medical diagnoses.

'Moloch Machine'—the Myth of the Machine

4. The introduction of machines to industrial production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to a profound revision of the working world, and to the appearance of the mass status of workers. Since then, in ever-new waves, machines have replaced manual labor, and jobs are rationalized through automation. The rage of those affected by the mechanical competitors, expressed in the early nineteenth century in violent assaults on machines ('*Maschinenstürme*'), has subsided, it is true; but the—altogether real—fear of a reversal in (work) relations, in which the human being is a slave instead of the owner of machines, is still current in manifold mythic images. Often people refer to the biblical social myth of the 'Moloch machine' of the Bible that evokes revulsion at the sacrifice of children to the Phoenician 'god king' (Heb., *malakh*). That kind of demonic machine is shown in Fritz Lang's 1927 science-fiction film "Metropolis," with the pictures that he has left etched in the observer's imaginations: Lang's machine is a nightmarish monster, at once the worker-gulping vehicle of a modern cult of Baal, and the mechanized jaws of hell. Besides the scenario of alienation, from helplessness and humiliation before the machine, in "Metropolis" the ever more current fear of the uncontrollable machine came into the foreground. It was to acquire many sympathizers in the 1970s and 1980s, and dominate a discussion of the industrial use of nuclear power and the ecological debate, especially after the catastrophe in the Ukrainian atomic power factory in Chernobyl in 1986. The fear of the sorcerer's apprentice in the face of the independently thinking and acting machine is growing with the trans-classical machine, the computer. Just so, it has been composed into a mythic image by a film-

maker, Stanley Kubrick, in "2001—A Space Odyssey" (1968), with HAL, the thinking machine, that sees its own perfection placed in danger by the fallible man, and thus pursues his obliteration. The future, then, seems to imply the necessity of an ethics not only of human intercourse with machines, but also of intercourse with human beings on the part of machines having 'artificial intelligence'—if machines were to be rendered capable of autonomous activity in a certain area or scope. This, too, has been contemplated, in Isaac Asimov's Three Laws of Robotics.[4] Lurking in the wings, however, is an even deeper fear: that the machine might propagate itself, becoming its own creator. The fear that the created one rebels against its creator culminates during twentieth century in the neomyth of the 'Machines' war against man' put in nightmarish images in such films as "Blade Runner" (Ridley Scott, 1982), "Terminator" 1–3 (James Cameron, 1984, 1991 ["Judgement Day"]; Jonathan Mostow, 2003 ["Rise of the Machines"]) and the "Matrix" trilogy (Wachowski brothers, 1999–2003).

Desire Machines

5. There are machines that are more than a machine: they are companions on a journey, inventory in a domicile, objects of devotion. Computers, and automatic machines (bikes, taxis, busses), in good animistic fashion, are given names, and hung with protective amulets (→ Evil Eye; Everyday Life). Computers are more and more becoming communicating machines, conversation partners, as with Joseph Weizenbaum's therapy program "Eliza."[5] The 'personal computer' in the house today provides the long yearned for access to the Internet and cyberspace, to wish spaces with the promise of the virtual (fool's) paradise, where all longings are fulfilled to overflowing. The silly smile of perpetual beatitude, with which the computer industry advertises its products, betrays the shallowness of that industry. The computer is the perfect "machine for a bachelor society" ("*Junggesellenmaschine*" [H. Szeemann]), created for godlike fantasies of power, paranoid private mythologies, and lonely joys.

1. Dakaris, Sotiris, The Nekyomanteion of the Acheron, Athens 1993.
2. See the illustration in COLORS, vol. 8 (1994), thematic vol., "Religion," 33.
3. Helvétius, C. A., A Treatise on Man; his intellectual faculties and his education (1772), tr. from the French, with additional notes, by W. Hooper, London 1777.
4. Asimov, Isaak, I, Robot, 1950.
5. Bammé 1983, 30-35.

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→ *Epiphany, Feasts and Celebrations, Industrial Society, Liturgy/Dramaturgy, Drama (Sacred), Work*

Hubert Mohr

Machu Picchu / Cuzco

1. The capital of the extinct Inca Empire, Cuzco, lies 3,326 m above sea level, in the southern Andes of Peru. Since the invasion of Spanish mercenaries under the leadership of Francisco Pizarro in 1532, and the ensuing colonization by European powers, the plundered city continuously waned in importance. Today, however, with some 300,000 inhabitants, it is rising to the status of an important center of trade and tourism. In its vicinity, accessible by train, lie the ruins of the Inca temple-city Machu Picchu.

Cuzco—the City

2. a) Cuzco was both the strategic and political center of the Inca Empire, the *Tahuantinsuyu* (Aztec, "Totality of the Four World-Regions"), and the heart of its religion. That Empire comprised almost the entire region of the Andes. Under the last Incan king, Atahualpa (1527–1533), it had just reached its maximum extension at the moment of the Spanish invasion, and stretched from the provincial capital of Quito (Ecuador), far to the south in the region of today's Chile. To the west, it was bounded by the Pacific Ocean, to the east by the Amazonian rain forest. Cuzco's central space, today's *Plaza de Armas* (Span., "Arms Place") was the common point of contact of the four imperial provinces, and thereby of eminent importance for military and religious ceremonies. Around it lay the palaces of the Inca ruler.

The Inca Empire

b) Around 1200, the tribe of the Incas, presumably emigrating from the region of Lake Titicaca, founded a sacred, absolutist government, maintained by a priestly caste, in the Valley of Cuzco. Its members were without exception members of the Inca tribe. Beginning at least by the time of Inca king (*Sapay Inka*) Pachacutic (1438–1471), Inca kings had themselves honored theocratically, as sons of the sun god Inti. Besides the devotion to the god king, older, regionally distinct divinities were worshiped also, such as, 'Earth Mother' Pachamama, as well as numerous lesser deities. Many animals (panther, llama, and condor), along with mountains and springs, were elevated to the rank of 'Huacas.' Down to the present day, in the Indian Quichua language, the word *huaca* ('sacred,' 'holy') is used as a designation of burial places. This usage suggests a connection with a devotion to ancestors.

In Cuzco's great temple, the *Coricancha* ('Gold Court'), a stupendous, lavishly adorned architectural creation, distinguished by its astonishingly well-joined walls, libations and animal sacrifices (no → human sacrifices) were offered, especially a fermented maize drink sold today in Cuzco's taverns as a kind of beer.

c) In the Catholic Christianity propagated in Peru by massive mission, elements of Incan piety have survived in rudimentary syncretistic form: thus, in the festival cultures (e.g., uniting the celebration of the summer solstice with those of the feast days of Catholic saints), in the church liturgy, and in art (music, painting, for example in the "Cuzco school"). Of the innumerable temples, however, with their treasures and figures, scarcely a trace remains. It was part of the Spaniards' tactics of subjugation to build churches and monasteries on the foundations of temples.

Tourism, introduced in recent decades, seems to be connected with the fascination of Cuzco as the sacred center of a once powerful, pre-modern civilization. Like another object of spiritualized journeys in the moun-

tains—Nepal's Katmandu—the city attracts especially young Western backpack and 'alternative' travelers.

Machu Picchu

3. a) The picturesque ruins of Machu Picchu in the subtropical rain forest of the spur of the Andes are of unique interest for this type of traveler. Presumably an abandoned settlement even before the coming of the Spaniards, it came to public knowledge only in 1911, through the work of American archaeologist Hiram Bingham. The function of the formerly inaccessible layout, today easily accessible by highways, is not precisely known. A high female proportion of skeletal remains points to a use as the dwelling of priestesses, the 'virgins of the sun,' called the *Aclla* (the 'Select'); at the same time, its defensibility suggests a military function.

Sacred Places

b) In the middle of the elevated temple platform is found a massive, nonrepresentational stone sculpture, the *Intihuatana*, whose perpendicular pinnacle indicates a function in the veneration of the sun, possibly as an astronomical measuring instrument. There were similar stones in other Incan places of worship, as well. On grounds of their archaic, monolithic, and at the same time enigmatic appearance, that admits of many interpretations, these stones offer a suitable projection screen for a romantic enthusiasm for an unadulterated lost Inca religion, close to nature. A ritual function seems to have attached to another stone sculpture at Machu Picchu, a block of stone designated as the "Sacred Stone," whose contour replicates the horizon of the mountains behind it. The 'sacred' character of these places appeals to visitors of a 'New Age' orientation who accordingly receive tailored offers of trips to be organized. Machu Picchu thereby offers a good example for the continuity of sacred places in the history of religion.

4. In view of irrecoverable, lost tradition, and the meager state of the sources (the Incas knew no historiography), a reconstruction, or, might it be, even a revival of the Inca religion, if indeed desirable, seems possible only in very limited measure. Indigenous cultures are always very consistently advertised with more commitment by the tourist industry than by descendants of the Inca—the Peruvian, Ecuadorian, and Bolivian Indians of the highlands. Based on the examples of Machu Picchu and Cuzco, the modern tourist industry raises the question whether a clear distinction can be made between the function of the locale as place of cult, and as cultural memorial. Indeed, visitors' interests are a mixture of religious and secular.

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→ *Mission, Power, Place (Sacred), South America, Tourism*

Christian Lange

Macrocosm

The microcosm/macrocosm analogy regards the human being as a 'little world' and as an image of the 'big world' (the cosmos) that stands in relationship with it or is influenced by it (thus, by way of example, that certain constellations of stars determine human destiny; → Astrology). Various religions, and *Weltanschauung* traditions, host a conception of these chains of laws: by way of example, in → Buddhism and → Lamaism they are present in the correspondences of the cosmos or stars and the energy channels in the human body; they also prevail in ritual practice (Tantrism, Yoga), and in the Tibetan → Mandala. In the alchemical symbol of the egg God's creation is rehearsed 'in little.' The purpose of microcosm and macrocosm analogies is to evoke the aspect of totality (holism), a concept found today in alternative medicine (body/soul/mind), as well as in esoteric concepts.

→ *Astrology, Esotericism, Meaning/Signification*

Jutta Bernard

Magic

Origins of the Term 'Magic'

The term "magic" has served to indicate, in the history of Western culture, a variety of ideas and of practices, often related to religion and/or science. Consequently, the term has been historically defined and understood in many different ways, according to the context in which it has been used. The ancient Greek term *mageía*, which is at the origin of all modern words related to 'magic,' had a Persian origin, and served to indicate, since its adoption by Greek culture, religious activities considered to be exotic, unsanctioned, or forbidden. The term kept these mostly negative connotations in Roman culture, where it was translated as *magia*. Especially during the late Hellenistic period, however, more positive connotations of magic began to manifest themselves, as appears in contemporary documents such as Apuleius's (c. 125–170 CE) *Apologia* and the so-called "Greek Magical Papyri." In this context magic was used not so much to describe the practices or the beliefs of others, as had been mostly the case so far, but positively claimed and self-assumed by the authors. The rise of Christianity, however, would add new weight and contents to the negative connotations of magic, which would remain dominant in Western culture until very recent times. The subsequent conflict between negative and positive views of magic remains one of the most significant, and for a long time underestimated, aspects of Western culture.

Attempts at Definition and Their Critique

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, scholars working in the social sciences (anthropology, sociology, psychology) and in the study of religion have repeatedly tried to define the term as a more or less universal category of human thought and/or behavior, in contrast with (and often in opposition to) other broad categories such as → 'religion' and → 'science.' In so doing they have often translated into scholarly discourse some of the old polemical dichotomies that have marked the history of this notion in the

West. These abstract, universal definitions of magic have been increasingly criticized after the Second World War, and especially since the 1970s, under the impact of postmodern and postcolonial theories. Scholarly notions of magic have been seen as ethnocentric and inherently biased, thereby compromising an objective understanding of the phenomena to which they would be applied. As a consequence, if magic as a strict theoretical problem has not disappeared altogether, as is shown by several recent attempts at revitalizing its use as a valid scholarly category, it seems nevertheless that it has shifted, from the center of methodological debate in the social sciences, to its margins. For instance, it is perhaps significant to note that in a recent survey of the most important terms in religious studies, magic was not included at all.[1] At the same time, however, magic has become the object of an increasingly large number of detailed historical analyses, aimed at understanding the evolution of its concept (or, rather, the constellation of concepts associated to it) in Western history. The recent development of a new field specifically devoted to the study of Western → esotericism has offered, among others, a convenient frame for the historical study of a subject that had been neglected, from that perspective, for too long. For this reason, magic still shows signs of great vitality as an object of scholarly study.

A Cornucopia of Classifications

Given the great complexity and breadth of the scholarly debate on magic during the last 130 years, and of the number of theories and definitions which have been proposed during this span of time, the following summary restricts itself to the main figures and stages of this debate. Several classifications of theories of magic have been proposed: evolutionist, intellectualist, sociological, emotionalist, functionalist, depending on the aspects on which the various definitions of magic have focused or the ways in which they have been constructed.

Edward B. Tylor

The most important authors belonging to what has been called the *intellectualist* school are the British Edward B. Tylor (1832–1917) and James G. Frazer (1854–1941). These two authors were also particularly influenced by the evolutionist theories of their times (→ Evolutionism; Theory of Evolution). Their theories have been defined as intellectualist because, in their view, the presence of magic could be explained in terms of processes of thought, rather than social behavior, mostly related to a primitive stage of human evolution. Tylor, often considered as the founder of modern anthropology, did not, unlike Frazer, elaborate a full-fledged theory of magic, nor did he trace a sharp distinction between religion and magic, but he dealt with the subject in several of his works, mainly in his highly influential *Primitive Culture* (1871). For Tylor magic is the result of a wrong association of ideas, typical (but not exclusive) of the 'primitive man.' The primitive man mistakes the subjective for the objective plan, and thinks that objects associated in his mind because of accidental similarity or analogy should also be connected in objective reality. It is mostly on the basis of these illusory connections, sometimes understood as impersonal principles or forces, that magic works in the view of 'primitive man.' The belief in spiritual beings, on the other hand, does not play a significant role in Tylor's definition of magic, and is rather at the basis of his "minimum definition of religion" (→ Animism). Tylor contrasts the magical way of thinking of the primitive man especially with the supposedly rational, scientific one of the modern man, and only to a lesser extent with the religious one. In the economy of Tylor's ideas, therefore, the distinction

between magic and science was much sharper than the one between magic and religion.

James G. Frazer

Frazer systematically presents his ideas on magic beginning with the second edition of his classic *The Golden Bough* (1900). According to him, magic is clearly and neatly distinguished both from science and religion, and they form together a sort of triad. The distinction is not only intellectual, but also in terms of evolution. Frazer posits that magic, religion, and science belong to three successive stages of human evolution, which go from the most primitive to the present, modern and enlightened stage. Frazer's distinction between the three modes of thought is obviously inspired by Tylor. Magic is based on wrong associations of ideas, religion on the belief in spiritual entities, and science, having emancipated from both, represents a finally valid, objective view of reality. But Frazer introduces an interesting nuance in giving also a positive connotation to magic. The latter is in fact closer to science than religion (although it represents a more primitive stage on the evolutionary scale) because it recognizes the presence of natural, immutable laws governing the universe, however mistakenly primitive man understands them. Religion, on the other hand, renounces the idea of universal natural laws because it prefers to believe in the intervention of gods or other spiritual entities, whose range of action would not be limited by any natural regularity. It is interesting to notice, in this respect, that religion is supposed to deal with those entities with an attitude of veneration or submission. However, magic and religion can find themselves mixed sometimes, when the belief in spiritual beings is not accompanied by this attitude of veneration, but rather by one of coercion. In the latter case these beings are treated like inanimate agents. In this manner Frazer, who was following here the ideas of W. Robertson Smith (1846–1894), was clearly giving a scholarly coat to a distinction (veneration vs. coercion), which had been used polemically in traditional theological discourses on magic, and which would remain highly influential in subsequent scholarly discourses on magic. Frazer also elaborated and systematized the explanation of the wrong association of ideas on which magic was supposed to be based. For him magic can be of two kinds: 'contagious' (when two objects that have been in physical contact are imagined to maintain a reciprocal influence even after they are separated), or 'homeopathic' (when the reciprocal influence is a consequence of the similarity of the two objects).

Sociological Interpretations

Some early *sociological* interpretations of magic can be found already in the writings of the British historian of Semitic cultures, W. Robertson Smith (*Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 1889). Robertson Smith's ideas on magic influenced later, in the early years of the twentieth century, the French group of scholars gathered around the figure of Emile Durkheim (1858–1917). Durkheim himself (*Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Fr., "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life"; 1912), and more systematically his colleagues Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) and Henri Hubert (1870–1927) (*Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie*, Fr., "A General Theory of Magic"; 1904) addressed the problem of magic within the context of their largely shared ideas on religion and society. Instead of focusing on the mode of thought of individuals, like the English intellectualists, this group of French sociologists preferred to emphasize the social conditions in which the phenomenon of magic develops. According to them, religion is the expression

of a social structure and serves to maintain the cohesion of a community. Religious rites are, therefore, *public* and directed at the common wealth of the social group. Magic, on the other hand, is practiced on a *private* basis, and its aims are mostly individualistic. They at best ignore, and at worst go against, the common interests of the community. Thus, magic represents an anti-social phenomenon, which can explain why it is frequently forbidden and marginalized. On the other hand, magic and religion seem to be found in any given social structure, and no chronological precedence is attributed to one over the other, as Frazer had believed.

Despite the difference of approach from the intellectualist school, it is rather easy to see that this sociological interpretation of magic is reminiscent as well of older polemical discourses on magic, mostly of a theological nature. It could be argued that, with the intellectualist and the sociological theories of magic the stage was set for all later discussions on the topic. Most of them will in fact build, often critically, on the ideas of these two different interpretations of the phenomenon.

R. R. Marett

Not only the French sociological school criticized the intellectualist theories of magic. Also in England, in the same years, the anthropologist and philosopher R. R. Marett (1866–1943) elaborated a different kind of criticism. Marett's approach has been called *emotionalist*, because he does not focus on the association of ideas, but on the human emotions that he sees at the origin of both magic and religion. In his view, and in opposition to Frazer's theories, in a primitive culture magic and religion do not differentiate themselves, but rather belong to a continuum. For this reason, he has preferred to use the expression 'magico-religious' in that context. However, he also gives a specific explanation of magic as distinct from religion, which applies especially to more complex cultures. Magic arises from emotional tensions that cannot be relieved by operating directly on their source, and must therefore be solved in a symbolic or ritual way.

B. Malinowski

This explanation was particularly influential and stood at the origin of *functionalist* theories of magic, as expressed by the Polish-born anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942). Malinowski is particular important in the history of anthropology for having advocated participant observation as an indispensable tool for studying and understanding other cultures. Unlike previous anthropologists, who studied 'primitive' cultures on second-hand reports, Malinowski spent long periods of time with the groups that were the object of his research, on the Trobriand Islands (Pacific Ocean). For Malinowski magic offers the means to solve situations of emotional stress, which is provoked in primitive man by a lack of technology and, consequently, of control of the natural environment in which he lives and operates. Magic is different from religion, because, unlike the latter, it is always goal-directed. It is interesting to note that, in Malinowski's view, magic seems to acquire a positive function, because it can help both the individual and the community to overcome difficult situations in which neither science nor religion may be of help. It is of course tempting to relate this new, relatively positive vision of magic to the new approach of field-research and participant observation. Under the impact of a direct contact with the 'primitive' populations, old ideological assumptions concerning magic, obviously related to the particular history of Western culture, began perhaps to show their limits.

L. Lévy-Bruhl

Another author who must be mentioned here, more because of the influence he has had on later discourses on magic than for his direct treatment of the subject, is Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939). Lévy-Bruhl did not produce a definite theory on magic, but he was particularly interested in understanding the functioning of primitive mentality and its difference from modern, scientific mentality. In his view primitive, or pre-logical, mentality is based on a particular way of thinking which he calls 'participation.' This way of thinking is not considered as erroneous, childlike, or pathological. It is just based on different premises, and, being consistent with those premises, cannot even be considered as 'irrational.' Participation, unlike scientific thought, is not based on causality. The mystical mind of the primitive sees a relation of identity and consubstantiality between persons and objects. The primitive can therefore believe in direct action on reality in a way that would be incompatible with normal causality.

Several authors, including the English anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1902–1973), criticized Lévy-Bruhl for supposing that it is possible to divide humanity between those who have a pre-logical mentality and those who have a scientific one. As a consequence, late in his life he modified his theory and admitted that both mentalities could be found in all cultures, including the modern Western one. Lévy-Bruhl's ideas on pre-logical mentality represented an important step in that they helped emancipate 'primitive' man from the prejudice of being incapable of sound reasoning. He tried to understand his way of thinking on its own terms, and not only in relation to modern Western thinking, and thereby paved the way for later developments in the same direction, such as C. Lévi-Strauss's structuralism.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard

In his definition of magic, Malinowski had given universal value to his findings in the field, although they had been originally limited to a particular area of the Pacific (→ South Sea). Other authors engaged in field-research after him criticized this aspect of his work and followed a different direction. Such is the case with the aforementioned Edward E. Evans-Pritchard. In his classic study on an African population, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (1937), Evans-Pritchard defined magic only in the terms of the culture he had studied, without pretending to make any conclusions on a supposedly universal nature of magic. In that context, therefore, magic refers to and translates a set of concepts, which have already their own specificity in the culture at issue. In so doing Evans-Pritchard broke with a tradition of universal, abstract definitions of magic, which he knew very well (*Theories of Primitive Religion*, 1965). The influence of his ideas will begin to be felt especially after the Second World War, but since then, social scientists have found it increasingly difficult to avoid the theoretical and methodological problems posed by the use of magic as a universal category. It is noteworthy that three of the most influential anthropologists of the post-war period, C. Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908), Clifford Geertz (b. 1926), and Edmund Leach (1910–1989), despite their considerable differences on other points, have either come to the conclusion that magic as a scholarly concept should be dissolved, or have ignored the issue altogether, no doubt considering it as irrelevant for the needs of the discipline. On the other hand, recent ambitious attempts at reviving magic as a universal scholarly category, such as D. L. O'Keefe's *Stolen Lightning* (1982), have not been able to create a wide consensus among scholars.

Magic as Polemical Discourse

During the post-war period two authors among others, the Italian E. de Martino (1908–1965) and the American R. Styers (b. 1958), have focused on the role that discourses on magic have had for the shaping of the cultural identity of the West and for the rise of modernity, and have helped to assess the problem of magic in new, potentially very fruitful ways. In De Martino's views (*Magia e civiltà*, 1962) Western culture has been characterized by the recurrence of an anti-magical polemic, which, by a sort of dialectical process, has contributed creatively in defining the particular features of Western culture. De Martino sees in many of the scholarly theories of magic a continuation of this polemic under a new form. Styers, on the other hand (*Making Magic*, 2004), has focused more specifically on the importance of discourses of magic for the development of modernity. In his view, these discourses, in defining the illicit in three particular fields (the field of religious piety, the field of reason, and the field of sexuality), have tried to regulate them in ways meant to be compatible with the project of modernity.

Magic in Historical Research

Finally, apart from the social sciences, it is probably in the field of history that research on magic has shown the greatest vitality in the past twenty years. This scholarly output, insofar as it focuses on the history of magic in Western culture, seems to be able to avoid the problems of definition, as it finds the term magic used in an emic sense in the literature it studies. Most periods of → European history of religion have been the object of recent scholarly studies focused on magic. The Greco-Roman period in particular and the medieval period have been explored by new groundbreaking research. The period after the → Enlightenment, which has attracted so far less interest from scholars than other periods, is now beginning to be studied too in that perspective.

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→ *Amulet, Electricity, Enlightenment, Esotericism, Evil Eye, Evolutionism, Occultism, Paganism/Neopaganism, Power, Rationalism/Irrationalism, Religion, Science, Witch/ Persecution of Witches*

Marco Pasi

Mandala

1. In its general meaning, a mandala is a circle that divides a sacred place from the profane sphere. In Tibetan Buddhism (→ Lamaism), the concept designates a diagram bringing central doctrinal content to graphic expression, and serving as an aid for meditation. Through the aspects of a mandala, viewers may recall their religious tradition, and have practical meditation experiences as well.

The basic form of the mandala consists in a concentric arrangement of circles and squares, together yielding a symmetrical, closed area. It represents a two-dimensional palace installation. There are also three-dimensional representations. Inside the three outer circles, there is a rectangle, the 'Celestial Palace.' Its basic outline resembles the shape of the universe in Tibetan cosmography, and the four palace gates correspond to the four directions of the heavens. The midpoint is formed by the 'lotus center,' whose analogy is the axis of the world, Mount Meru.

In the center, a → Buddha or bodhisattva is often to be seen, and other deities can also be represented there. Thus, there are numerous figures and symbols around the mandala, varying with particular doctrinal systems. There are not only picture-mandalas, but mandalas on the ground as spatial models made of colorful rice. Besides their ritual function, they are intended to represent the reciprocal relationship between → macrocosm and microcosm.

2. The goal of meditation consists in simultaneously rendering the particular central form of a mandala visible, and experiencing it within oneself. To this purpose, the person meditating first imagines the form within her or his body, and then visualizes an external image of it. Finally, he should recognize that all of the images have sprung from his own mind, and are ultimately empty.

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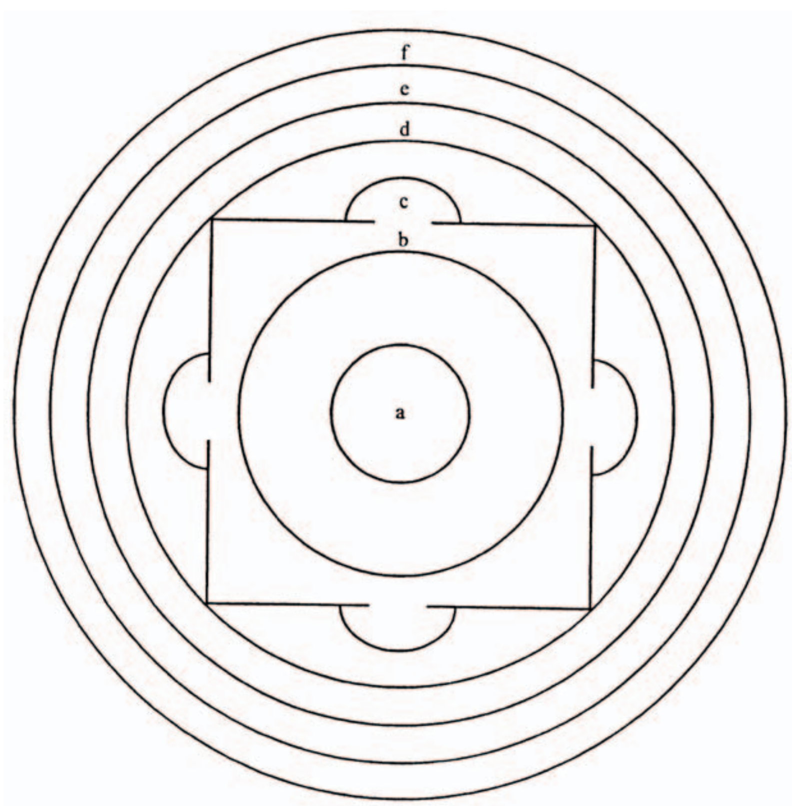
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→ *Buddhism, Image/Iconoclasm, Lamaism, Meditation, Tibet*

Thomas Schweer



In October of 1998 the Dalai Lama visited Schneverdingen, Germany, and more than 11,000 people attended, camping in a specially erected town of tents on the Lüneburger Heath. At this occasion Tibetan monks sprinkled a sand mandala. The mandala for Avalokiteśvara, the Boddhisattva of Compassion, who is considered to be reborn in the Dalai Lama, was made in the context of an Avalokiteśvara initiation ceremony. To protect the artwork, which is made up of fine coloured dust, the monks wear dust masks.



Basic plan of a mandala
a. Lotus center
b. Palace
c. Palace gate
d. Lotus circle
e. Diamond circle
f. Flame circle

Manichaeism

1. Manichaeism is a vanished world religion that once extended from Western Europe to China. Often simplistically attached to 'Gnosis' (→ Gnosticism), Manichaeism was a major threat to the early Christian church, and many misrepresentations are the result of interreligious conflicts. The dark 'Manichean vision of the world,' for instance, is a travesty concocted by the religion's conquerors, who themselves received more from it than they admitted.

Mani

2. a) Although Manicheans themselves referred to their 'church' (Gk, *ekklesia*) as "Religion of Light," as 'Manichaeism' the religion is named for its founder. Mani was born in 216 CE in Babylon, and grew up among the Elchasaites, a Jewish-Christian community that especially emphasized baptism. From the content of their belief he adopted their emphasis on the Last Judgment, the notion of the cyclical return of the prophets, as well as the idea of the ensoulment of nature. He rejected, however, the Elchasaites' ritualism, separated himself from them, and developed a 'gnostic' dualistic doctrinal system, influenced to some extent by Zoroastrian dualism (→ Zoroastrianism; Dualism). He journeyed to Northwest India (today's Pakistan), and there came in contact with Buddhist thought. This multicultural and multi-religious context permeated the entire religion. Mani himself concentrated his activity on the region of the Western Sassanid Empire, but sent missionaries to Syria and Egypt, as well as to northeastern Iranian, partly Buddhist areas. For his proclamation in the Empire of the Sassanids, Mani made use of Zoroastrian concepts. This brought him into confrontation with the Zoroastrian priesthood, to which he lost. He died in captivity in 276 or 277.

Expansion

b) As a result of persecution of the Manicheans in regions of Persian influence, the religion's center of gravity shifted more to the East of the Roman Empire, or into Northeastern Iran, and from there followed a further route of expansion through Central Asia to China. The existence of a Manichean church hierarchy is attested in China from the late seventh century onward; from the mid-eighth through the ninth century, Manichaeism was the state religion under the Uigurs. In the West, Manichaeism spread through Syria and Egypt to North Africa, as well as to the parts of the Roman Empire north of the Mediterranean Sea. There it came into a situation of conflict with Christianity (→ Augustine). After Christian-motivated refutation, and political persecution, the religion disappeared in these regions in the sixth century. But Manichean dualistic thought continued to exert its influence in the 'neo-Manichean' currents (Paulicians, Bogomils, Cathari) into the High Middle Ages in Europe.

Writings

c) Some of Mani's *writings* have been partly preserved, such as the Middle Persian *Shabuhragan*, the originally Syriac *Living Gospel*, as well as the *Book of Giants*, which shows an adaptation of Jewish traditions. A series of liturgical texts (psalms, prayers) have survived in the Coptic and Iranian languages. Important texts for the Manichean doctrine are sermons (in Coptic, Iranian, Chinese), as well as the *Kephalaia* (Gk., "Headings, Lectures"), i.e., doctrinal addresses, in the Coptic language. In addition, the voluminous anti-Mani-

chean writings of Augustine, and Islamic refutations of this religion, contain long citations of otherwise lost original texts.

Doctrine

3. a) The Manichean *worldview* is steeped in the ongoing battle of the 'Two Principles,' during the 'Three Times.' The Principles are mixed, as long as the Lord of Darkness, in an attack on the Lord of Light, is taking elements of light into his power (First Time). The intermingling of light and darkness is the point of departure for the creation of the material world and human beings, and matter is deemed evil. Humans can free the elements of light imprisoned in their own beings, through a liberating *gnosis* (Gk., 'knowledge'), provided they avoid everything in their way of life that is harmful to light (Second Time). The restoration of light to a divine origin occurs on an individual basis, and achieves its consummation in definitive redemption at the end of the world (Third Time). Jesus is integrated into the cosmological-anthropological myth in manifold forms. The historical Jesus plays a role only as the bringer of a religion before Mani. 'Jesus Splendor' transmits to human beings the knowledge necessary for redemption. Jesus *patibilis*, the 'suffering Jesus,' is a symbol of the divine light entrammeled in matter and darkness, which is itself in need of redemption.

Religious Practice

b) The rendering of the doctrine in the *religious practice* of the community found its weekly focus in Monday festivals, with laud of the Manichean deities, and with the instruction of believers on how they can avoid sins that would injure the divine elements of light. The choice of the weekday seems to have been made in an effort to surpass the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday. The annual climax of the liturgical year was the *Bema*, a festival characterized by the three elements of forgiveness of sin, a religious meal for the purification of light from matter, and a memorial of Mani's death. Manichean ethics is defined by a prominent consciousness of sin, in which prescriptions concerning food and fast, avoidance of false speech, injurious deed, and inadmissible sexuality are the central themes. The *Electi* (Lat.) are under obligation to observe this ethic perfectly, while the *Auditores*—on occasion, to the advantage of the Elect—must at times transgress it, which yields a two-level ethic, and two classes of Manicheans.

4. Thanks to Mani's multi-religious surroundings, Manichaeism was characterized from the beginning by a syncretism that was indeed advantageous for the propagation of the religion, but that had its limits. To the view of competitive religious claims, the religion's syncretistic adaptation to a given local environment fetched it the label of a → heresy (of Christianity, of Zoroastrianism, of Buddhism). This label not only unleashed external persecution, but, in China, where this process of adaptation to Buddhism had gone the furthest, a Manichean identity disappeared, an essential factor in the religion's demise.

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→ *Augustine, Dualism, Gnosticism, Hermetism/Hermeticism, Light/Enlightenment*

Manfred Hutter

Mantra

The word *mantra* (Skt., literally, 'thinking tool') stands for a multiplicity of formulaic linguistic expressions. In the Indian tradition, 'mantra' means, first, both the whole and the individual verses and hymns of the Vedic text-collections. Influenced by originally unwritten or oral traditions, belief in the power of the spoken word and its direct effectiveness is decisive for the meaning and function of the mantras. In the Hindu religions, along with Vedic mantras, mantras of other religious traditions are also applied. Recited as formulae of invocatory prayer, and whispered, or spoken in the mind, mantras are an unconditional element of the course of ritual acts. Mantras are an essential component of Hindu religiosity, whether in rituals of the → life cycle—such as initiation, marriage, or funerals—in Hindu veneration of the gods (*puja*), with altered states of consciousness and meditation techniques (*mantra yoga*), or even with religious acts performed in view of altogether practical wishes and purposes. In the traditions of *Tantric Hinduism*, the speech of philosophical reflection and the ritual application of mantras win great importance. Through their specific mantras, these schools distinguish themselves from Vedic ritual and relativize the efficacy of the Vedic mantras. The use of mantras is not restricted to Hinduism alone, but extends as well to religious traditions such as Jainism and Tantric Buddhism. As a result of the reception of Indian religiousness in the West, and divorced from their religious and ritual context, mantras have become very familiar.

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→ *Buddhism, Guru, Hinduism, Initiation, Lamaism, Mandala, Tantra*

Jörg Gengnagel

Mao, Cult of

‘Cult of Mao’ designates the personal cult or veneration (→ Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult) of revolutionary fighter and Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung; 1893–1976). This cult can be divided into two phases: the one practiced during Mao’s lifetime, and the one that developed after his death.

Folk Veneration and Formation of the Cult of Mao after his Death

1. Near the beginning of 1989, a ‘movement’ began in South China that quickly spread to the North, and within a few months embraced practically all → China. It is said to have had its origin in Canton, where three automobiles were involved in a serious accident. Two cars were heavily damaged, and all of its passengers lost their lives. Those riding in the third car, however, remained unscathed, and the automobile itself was undamaged. In it hung an image of Mao. In another version, a bus is said to have overturned, in which only those passengers are supposed to have survived who had been carrying Mao memorial plaques. Subsequently, taxi drivers throughout the country began to hang small images of Mao (in the form of traditional talismans) in their vehicles—similarly to the usage of many Catholics in the 1960s of attaching ‘Saint Christopher medals’ to the dashboard or the rearview mirror. (One may also recall the statuettes of the Madonna carried by, for example, buses in Malta.)

To the question of why he had hung up a Mao picture, one taxi driver responded (1993), “Because Mao has become like a divinity.”[1]

This represented only the high point of a development that had had its beginnings as early as the late 1980s. In Leiyang, in Mao’s home province of Hunan, farmers and pilgrims had by then already donated money for years, and it was finally applied in the construction of a large temple, the *Sanyuan si* (“Temple of the Three Springs”). Built in traditional Buddhist style, it was dedicated to the Communist troika Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and Zhu De. The faithful, mostly older persons, took care to have sticks of incense burning before pictures of the three being honored. The statues had been prepared by Buddhist artists of Mount Wutaishan: that of Mao, standing, is said to have been six meters tall, those of the seated Zhou and Zu four-and-one-half meters. At the high point of this cult, toward the end of 1994, forty to fifty thousand venerators daily are said to have visited the great temple complex. Nonetheless, in May 1995 party functionaries had it closed, under the pretext that it ‘encouraged superstition.’ In rural areas, the usage had been adopted even earlier of keeping clay statuettes of Mao in homes on the family altar that had previously been reserved for the cult of the ancestors, of burning sticks of incense there, and presenting offerings.



Mao talisman: The image shows Mao at an older age, in military uniform, in a frame in the form of a temple. The ‘temple inscription,’ “May we travel in security,” is not legible. Hanging from the bottom of the frame is the character *fu*, meaning “luck,” “prosperity.”

2. While this Mao cult sprang up in a disorganized fashion, and presents characteristics that are clearly those of folk religion, earlier forms of the Mao cult were encouraged and controlled by the government: As early as the time of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), during Mao’s own lifetime, Mao was highly stylized as that of the ‘great master of learning,’ ‘great leader,’ ‘great pilot,’ and ‘supreme commander,’ while all other ‘secure values’ of the state, regarded as superstitious or otherwise undesirable, were systematically destroyed by the Red Guards. In graphic presentation, his head was frequently depicted as surrounded by a halo. As the syllable *-dong* in Mao Zedong’s name means ‘east,’ and it is in the east that the beneficent sun rises,

the familiar song "The East is Red" could now explicitly associate Mao and the sun, where one hears:

> The East is red, the sun is rising,
> China has produced a Mao Zedong.
> Happiness and blessing he plans for all the people—
> Huhaijo!—he is the people's great redemption star![2]

Not only did Mao's picture hang in practically every home in China, but in 1966 his white bust appeared in a Protestant church in Peking, and in 1967 a sculpture of him was set up in a Buddhist temple in Shanghai. His graphic presence in the family was prominent as well, and before each meal the blessing was pronounced: "Long live Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China." This presented a certain parallel with the traditional cult of the God of the Kitchen: as the latter was continuously present in the house, registered the sins committed in the household, and reported them to heaven, thus did Mao 'wake' or 'watch' over everything transpiring here. Mao was at that time intentionally magnified by the regime as a 'stable pillar,' in a community destabilized by the Cultural Revolution. Today, large portions of that same population, unsettled by rapid economic and cultural alterations, and by the faded presence of the Party, seek refuge with previously spurned traditional gods, such as the God of the Empire (*Liu Hai*), or with new ones like Mao Zedong.

Conceptualization of the Gods and Cult of the Dead

3. The Mao cult, as expressed by the taxi and bus drivers, bears the typical traits of traditional Chinese conceptualizations of the gods. In China, the worlds of humanity and of the gods, ancestors, spirits, and demons have never been divided by a fixed boundary. Furthermore, distinctions among the beings of the beyond are graduated. Under certain circumstances, a person well fed and influential in life may have gathered considerable 'energy' (*ling*), and—if adequately graced with offerings after death—becomes a mighty ancestor having 'effective divine power' (*ling*), and brings well-being upon his descendancy. If, however, the person's grave is wrongly positioned geomantically, the 'energies' cannot unfold optimally, and the deceased consequently expresses an uneasiness in the grave; or if neglected in cult, he or she can take revenge on living relatives as a demon. If this person was arrayed with great power during life, for example as a general, then that person's effectiveness after death might be more than enough for her or his own progeny, and flow out to others. When others 'favored' by this deceased person then likewise make offering to her or him out of thankfulness, the 'energy' of this person waxes, and therewith his or her beneficent potential: he or she can become a god, and acquire influence over an entire city, a whole region, or even the whole country. Extension or continuation of a cult always depends on the *ling* of the divine, or quasi-divine object, and this quantity is in no case constant. It can decrease in certain circumstances, and the cult fall into corresponding oblivion. (No deity is everlasting.) Mao was evidently able to amass so much power and energy in his lifetime, winning even more every day in the reverence paid him in his mausoleum, that his *ling* is sufficient to make him a god.

1. See Cohen 1993, 129.
2. Bauer 1971, 568.

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→ *Ancestors, China/Japan/Korea, Political Religion, Popular Culture, Veneration of Persons/ Personality Cult*

Stephan Peter Bumbacher

Marginality / Liminality

Marginality is a sociological term used to designate persons who live on the periphery of society as opposed to those who take up the central role in a society, enjoying particular privileges and access to power and influence from which marginalized persons or groups are excluded. The most influential segment of a society is not necessarily the same as the majority, nor do marginalized groups necessarily correspond to demographic minorities (e.g. blacks in the Antebellum South constituted the majority of the population, but had no access to power and were thus a marginalized group despite being the majority). Marginalized populations tend to develop a worldview and set of values that are distinct from those of the dominant group.

However, the model of society on which this concept of marginality is based is problematic because it assumes a society that is homogeneously determined by one set of traditions and in which there are very limited social dynamics. In fact, societies vary in their levels of differentiation, and in more differentiated societies, there are correspondingly more cases in which the same individual may be part of a dominant group or part of a marginalized group, depending on what aspect of the society he or she is involved in. For example, a fundamentalist Christian in the United States is part of the dominant group as long as he or she remains in the geographic region known as the Bible Belt (→ Fundamentalism). As soon as that person moves to San Francisco and interacts with liberal culture there, he or she will be in a position of marginality (→ Migration).

In the study of religion, there are two variations of marginality that are particularly relevant. The first is the role of the nonconformist, dissenter, or 'heretic.' These terms can denote entire confessional or religious groups, such as Catholics in a dominantly Protestant country or Jews in the Diaspora. For groups that find themselves in this role, Max → Weber coined the term 'pariah,' borrowing from the idea of 'untouchables' in the Indian → caste system. However, persons within one and the same religious group can be marginalized, as when priests occupy a social role 'above' the laity and therefore live as strangers in their parish.

The second relevant variation of marginality is concerned with persons who are in the process of transition from one social group to the next. These persons are seen as standing 'on the threshold' (Latin *limin-*) and are thus sometimes described as being in a liminal state. In 1909 van Gennep, in his work on rites of passage, designated people living in an intermediate status

as being in a condition of 'neither/nor' or 'on the edge,' as being 'marginal.' In the meantime, however, Victor Turner has recognized liminal states that can be normalized as liminal within the framework of the standardizing community, which Turner refers to as *communitas* (→ Ritual). This type of temporary marginal community would include people on pilgrimages, in clubs and on communes who live according to their own values and laws while rejecting or even reversing the customary tokens of social status.

→ *Initiation, Rites of Passage, Ritual*

Christoph Auffarth

Marriage / Divorce

1. Matrimony, as a bond between one husband and one wife (monogamy), one husband and several wives (polygamy—more specifically, polygyny), or, rarely, one wife and a number of husbands (polyandry), has always reflected the religious and social norms of its respective societies, usually together with their social classes.

Sociologically, a distinction is made between endogamy (marriage within a family or group) and exogamy (marriage beyond these bounds). Homogamy is matrimony within the same social class, which for women of noble families can be an obligation. It is practiced, for instance, by the Rajputs in India, and prevailed for centuries with the Confucian elite of China, as well as with followers of the Islamic schools of law of the Hanafites and the Shafi'ites. In ancient Iran and Egypt, the ruling dynasty practiced sibling marriages, for the purpose of preserving their cultic elite social status. A natural form of birth control was endogamous polyandry, the marriage of several brothers with one woman, as practiced, for instance (at least occasionally), in pre-Islamic Arabia, as in the Himalayas and Tibet still today. This custom often included privileges for the eldest brother. Polygyny was customary with the courtly elite of the ancient East, with large harems, which also served as a status symbol. Poorer men usually had only one wife. Priests were enjoined to monogyny. In Confucianism and Hinduism, polygyny with secondary wives, and/or concubinage, was widespread among the upper class. The Pentateuch, for the upper class, attests marriage of one husband with up to four wives, along with concubinage. Monogyny, with strict marital fidelity, has been the norm in Western Judaism (Ashkenazim) since the eleventh century. In Eastern Judaism (Sephardim), polygyny continued to be available, until it was, as usually, prohibited in civil law. Islam, in sura 4:3, endorses the marriage of one husband with up to four wives, on condition of his dealing with them justly; otherwise, concubinage, with one's private slaves. But as sura 4:129 declares the just treatment of several wives to be impossible, reformers, since around 1900, have appealed to it as an endorsement of compulsory monogyny. Only social pressures would have prevented compulsory monogamy: marriage was for long the only way in which women might be cared for. In actuality, polygyny was a privilege of the courtly urban elite, who demonstrated their social prestige with large harems, on the ancient Eastern model. In Judaism, as in Islam, a polygynist was under the obligation of providing each of his wives with her own

household. Many major religions maintain incest prohibitions within close kinship, and forbid marriage with persons of other beliefs. A Muslim man may marry a Jew or a Christian, as a member of a 'protected religion,' but for a Muslim woman it is forbidden to do this, because the children are to follow the religion of their father. Jews were to marry within their faith, and the same was long true for Catholics.

For centuries, marriages were nearly everywhere patrilocal—that is, the bride, usually very young, moved into the extended family of the husband, often entirely strange to her, and joined it and was subordinate there. In Hinduism, in addition, this entailed breaking off relations with her original family. In China, the husband's mother might reject the bride and send her back to her family, even before consummation of the marriage.

In Roman law, within the extended family, the husband's father was the superior, enjoying absolute power, which extended even to the right to sell the children (*patria potestas*, Lat., 'paternal authority'). Universally, a woman won social acceptance only through her marriage, and respect and influence only as the mother of sons.

Almost all religions categorize matrimony in their patriarchal terms. Confucianism did so in terms of its cosmological system: for the Confucian elite in China, man and wife represented the union of Yang and Yin, of the world above and the world below. They symbolize the order of the cosmos, to which the unmarried are a potential factor of disturbance. The Hebrew Bible founds the 'lordship' of the husband over the wife with the myth of original sin (Gen 3:16). The New Testament postulates the subordination of the wife to her husband by analogy with that of the community with regard to Christ (1 Cor 7:24-38). The Qur'an bases that same subordination on 'God's favoring man to woman' (sura 4:34), as well as on man's economic superiority; but the Qur'an also says that God has established 'love and mercy' between a man and his wife (sura 30:21).

Purposes of Matrimony

2. In China, a homogamous, patrilocal marriage, with exchange of bridal gifts, counted as a goal worth striving for, and as the instrument for stabilizing relations of solidarity. A man had secondary wives and/or concubines at his disposition, usually women of lower social origin, for the satisfaction of his sexuality and for the generation of additional male progeny. Buddhism endorses marriage for its laity for the generation of young Buddhists, but strictly forbids sexual promiscuity and adultery. In Hinduism, marriages were regarded as sacramental, that is, indissoluble for life, until into the twentieth century. But a man could marry several wives.

Judaism, Christianity, and Islam recommend marriage also for the regulation of sexuality. In Christianity, according to Augustine, matrimonial sexuality had to serve procreation. Thomas Aquinas added that it should be without a sense of physical passion. In Judaism, a man was permitted premarital sexual relations, a woman was not. The Qur'an imposes severe punishment for all extramarital and premarital sexual relations of husband or wife, but permits the husband concubinage with his slaves. Both Judaism and Islam place the husband under the obligation to satisfy his wife sexually, for the preservation of the family honor. The primary purposes of matrimony are companionship and the procreation of children (Gen 2:18,24; 1:28), especially male, for the maintenance of the family even in a material respect. Childlessness was regarded as God's punishment, an abundance of

children as his blessing. Since women have no right to inheritance in Judaism, childlessness constitutes grounds for divorce even today, and formerly, after ten years at the most, grounds for the husband to marry a second wife. In Islamic countries this latter occurs even today, although women are heirs; but they are entitled to their own property. There is no common property in Muslim marriage according to the Shari'a law, as well as according to most modern Muslim family courts. In Judaism, the brother of a deceased husband was to marry his widow in a leviratic marriage, and a husband the sister of his deceased wife (sororatic marriage).

Prerequisites for Matrimony

3. In Judaism and Islam, as in Roman law, marriage rests on a civil contract between the bridegroom, male members of his family, and the (male) representatives of the bride. Formerly, this contract did not need to be fixed in writing. For the early Christians, the basis of matrimony was a civil consent between husband and wife, wherein the father of the bride, the 'bride-giver,' had rights of possession. From the fourth century onward, as Christianity was promoted from a tolerated cult to the state religion, the Church blessed first marriages. After the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215), in order to prevent secret marriages, publication before the Church became obligatory. Since the Council of Florence (1419), a monogamous marriage between two baptized partners has ranked as a sacrament, and indissoluble by virtue of natural law. In the confrontation with Protestantism, the Council of Trent (1563) introduced the 'obligation of form' of marriage: that it be concluded before the pastor and two witnesses, although this soon held only for purely Catholic regions. Since Leo VI (886–912), the Eastern churches have raised the ecclesiastical blessing of a marriage to the status of an obligation. In 1529, Martin Luther declared marriage a 'secular thing.' Protestantism paved the way to the civil marriage.

Age for Marriage

Before modern times, the *minimum age for marriage* was universally early. In Judaism, for both girls and boys, it was twelve years, and in Islam for girls often even before menarche. Early marriages, especially for girls, were concluded in the Christian Middle Ages, too.

For centuries, in Europe as throughout the East, marriages were concluded through family mediation or by professional marriage brokers, usually under the aspect of the creation or reinforcement of social conditions, frequently with relations of possession and/or power (dynastic marriages). The prime consideration was the maintenance of hierarchical and patriarchal structures. Individual love or inclination could develop, if at all, only in a marriage, not before it. With Muslims and Christians of the Near East, as with Hindus, marriage between cousins has always been frequent, for the consolidation of familial relations (including the financial ones), and contracted by parents, often very early.

Bridal Gift

The payment of a *bridal gift* is an obligation, in Judaism as in pre-Islamic Arabia to the father of the bride, in Islam to the bride herself (sura 4:4). The amount is negotiated before the wedding, and is stipulated in the marriage contract. In Islam, the bridal gift rapidly became a status symbol, in virtue of which parents have been able to deny their daughter to an unpleasant suitor by claiming a high amount. Here, by contrast with legislation in the Christian West up until the 1960s or '70s, there has been no matrimonial commu-



In the region of Tsukaru, in the prefecture of Aomori in northeastern Japan, offerings are made to female dolls in cosmetics and wedding attire, as well as to photographs of young men, sometimes in military uniform. In this area one comes upon both similar and different phenomena standing in connection with the coupled images. In the Kawakura shrine of bodhisattva Jizo, shamanic rituals are held for the souls of the departed. In glass cases, frequently provided with names and addresses, there are countless 'pairings' of the kind pictured here. They represent marriages after death, celebrated for the consolation of the souls of young men who have died unmarried. This custom is limited to the region of Tsukaru, and even there achieved real popularity only in the 1970s. It may be that this relatively new manifestation is connected with the fact that, in a farming region such as Tsukaru, finding wives is a problem for men nowadays, and with this usage these men can provide their group of kin with ritual progeny. The custom does reflect ritual practices—likewise shamanic—that were, and to some extent still are, widespread along the entire Pacific coast of East Asia, as in Taiwan, and on the Korean peninsula. In these regions, it is true, the practices also serve—indeed perhaps primarily—for the consolation of the souls of deceased unmarried young women. (H. Nakamaki and D. Eikemeier)

nity of goods, so that, at least theoretically, the wife has free disposition of her possessions. However, she has been increasingly hindered in this by reason of her dwindling public experience and opportunities for education. In Judaism, the wife remains the possessor of her property, while the husband administers it, enjoys any interest from it, and at her death is her sole legatee. In Hinduism, especially in the North of India, it is customary for the father, as 'bride-giver' of his daughter, to bestow a rather large amount of property on the marriage, of which the daughter alone has disposition, but which her husband may administer, and which, for the husband's family and himself, is a condition of the marriage. With the middle and upper classes of Christian Europe, and the Jewish diaspora there, a dowry was socially obligatory for centuries, and for men often a motive or condition for the marriage.

4. Nearly everywhere, special, usually elaborate festivals (→ Feasts and Celebrations), extensions of the ancient rituals of initiation, accompany marriages. Customs differ by region, nor are they always tied to religion, but are often similar in a region with members of different religions. Generally, they depend on social status, and are intended to demonstrate this as much as the importance of the occasion. Special marriage dress for bride and bridegroom usually emphasizes the festive atmosphere. In regions and cultures in which the virginity of the bride is of importance, the sign of the surrendered virginity, a blood-stained cloth, is produced during the wedding night to the awaiting guests, usually to be greeted by women with cries of jubilation. In rural areas of Islamic countries, this practice is still observed today. In the Fifth Book of Moses, this praxis is also attested for ancient Judaism (Deut 22:15).

5. a) In Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, the → *death* of one of the partners means the end of the marriage. In Hinduism, widows were burned alive (*sati*), especially among the elite Brahman castes. The British colonial administration prohibited this (1829), but it continued until 1909, especially in Bengal, and is even occasionally revived today. Indeed, before the Hindu Widows' Re-Marriage Act of 1856, widows' position did resemble social death: unlike widowers, they were prohibited from remarrying, were



In Momostenago, in Southern Guatemala, an endangered marriage is healed. The couple kneels before the three small crosses. After the husband, some months ago, had been unfaithful to her, the wife besought help of the shamans. A penance was imposed on the husband, his wife has left him, and now he is to be restored to the condition of purity, and the marriage is to be reestablished. For the celebration of the renewal of the marriage bond (*renovación*), the shaman has selected a favorable date in the Mayan calendar. In the ceremony, he stands next to the couple, dressed in blue, while an assistant (right) casts sacrificial gifts into the fire. Around the fire lie readily burnable pine branches. Shells to hold the *copal* (the indispensable sweet-scented smoking resin) stand ready. The shaman calls the gods to witness. In conclusion, the pair is once more blessed, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. The mutual presence of both indigenous and Christian elements, typical of the region, is evident here in the Mayan Quiché ritual. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

afforded no social assistance, and were often imputed guilt for the death of their husbands.

b) In Judaism and Islam, *divorce*, in the form of the husband's unilateral rejection of his wife, was permitted, without cause and without legal intervention. In Judaism, a husband is permitted remarriage after divorce, but a wife only if her husband consents to it in writing. In Islam, the bride's representative in a matrimonial contract can stipulate her right, in certain situations, to demand divorce, for example if her husband strikes her, or marries another wife. Ordinarily, in case of divorce or rejection, the Muslim husband must restore the remaining portion of the dowry. The wife and her children have to return to her relatives, who are obligated to care for her. Muslim women could also 'ransom' themselves by returning their dowry, a usage adopted from pre-Islamic times. In Judaism and Islam, a woman could theoretically sue for divorce by submitting legal evidence of, for instance, an incurable disease of her husband, of which she has known nothing before the marriage, or of his impotence. Remarriage after a partner's death or after a divorce has always been readily available in Islamic law, and used to be practiced frequently, also by women.

Divorce

Protestantism introduced the transition to a *secular marriage law*, which determined the marriageable age, a matrimonial right of possession, and the possibility of divorce for husband and wife. The civil marriage was first legalized in the *Code Napoléon* of 1804, becoming obligatory in France in 1884, and in Prussia, in the wake of the *Kulturkampf* ('cultural struggle'), in 1875. Since then, the civil ceremony must precede the church wedding. At the same time, civil divorce also became legally possible. Whether and to what extent women may sue for divorce depends, everywhere, and down to the present day, on the social status of the woman.

6. *Celibacy* was first recommended only in the New Testament (1 Cor 8:26; 32-35). The Roman Catholic Church enjoins celibacy on all priests, the Eastern churches only on those of high rank. Buddhist monks and nuns live in celibacy, with gifts richly bestowed on male monasteries by the laity, but not on cloisters of nuns. In the Middle Ages, nuns were regarded as 'brides of Christ,' and nuns' cloisters offered unmarried women a socially acceptable existence. Islam, which orders marriage in sura 24:32, tolerates celibacy in case of social necessity, and for persons able to maintain a serious asceticism. But there were communities of celibates, usually the members of mystical brotherhoods.

Celibacy

7. Since the close of the nineteenth century, emphasis on individualism, along with increased social mobility on the part of women as a result of the women's movement, has grown in Western and Central Europe and in North America. The same can be said of the tendency to an individual choice of partners, and marriages for love. First of all in the wake of colonial policy, Western European and American lifestyles became models for the upper classes throughout the whole East. Traditional forms of marriage and of social intercourse changed. In a framework of religious stipulations interpreted in a tolerant and modern way, legislation sought to reform centuries-old usages, and deep-rooted ways of thinking, but could eliminate them nowhere immediately.

In *India*, the Special Marriage Act of 1872 sought to set a limit to bigamy. In 1929, and again in 1938, child marriages were prohibited by the postponement of the marriageable age for girls to fourteen years. In 1955, the Hindu Marriage Act established the marriageable age for girls at fifteen

years, defined grounds for divorce for both partners, once again obliged monogyny, and prohibited social barriers based on caste.

In Communist *China*, building on developments occurring since the 1920s, civil marriage was made obligatory (May 1, 1950), and forbade any exchange of material values in the form of a dowry or bridal gift. While the upper class had gained individual selection of partners, marriages for love, and small families; marriages in rural areas, and among the urban proletariat, continued to be concluded on the basis of family alliances struck out of economic considerations. Social recognition of a marriage occasions great marriage festivals here, as elsewhere. On these occasions, European models for dress are normative with the upper and middle classes, as throughout nearly all of the East. Single-child marriages, compelled by the state on demographic grounds, and the fact that marriage partners live separately in order to be near their different places of employment, is leading to the dissolution of traditional structures of family and domestic hierarchy.

Arab Countries

In 1917, Ottoman Turkey, at home as well as in the *Arab countries*, which at that time stood under its rule, began reforms of Islamic family law. Stronger reforms were enacted in the time of the Mandate (after 1920), and after the formation of the national states in the 1950s. The marriageable age was established in consideration of the economic and demographic situation of the respective countries. In the wake of Ataturk's policy of secularization, in 1926 Turkey introduced *en bloc* the then-prevailing Swiss civil law. But by 1988, eight amnesty laws were promulgated for the legalization of children of polygynous marriages, certified only by the Imam, which take place mostly on the countryside. In Saudi Arabia, Islamic family law is still in force today. In Iran it was reintroduced after the overthrow of the Shah in 1979, and the reform laws of 1967 and 1975 were declared invalid. In Libya in 1977 (with subsequent modifications with regard to the marriageable age and divorce law), in Pakistan in 1979, and in the Sudan in 1983, Islamic family law was reintroduced. After Bourgiba's rise to power in Tunisia in 1956, polygyny was prohibited, and the bridal money fixed at one dinar. In all other countries, polygyny was made more difficult, and conditioned by demands on the husband that, for example, he has to proof his ability to support a second household in court. In 1994, the number of polygynous marriages ranged from two percent in Egypt to as much as twelve percent in Saudi Arabia. Wives became able to ask for divorce more easily in many Islamic countries. Only in Egypt under Sadat was an amendment introduced providing support for a woman, with children, divorced after a marriage of several years.

In → *Iran*, after 1979, not only marriage with eleven-year-old girls, polygyny, and the almost unlimited divorce right of the husband in terms of the Qur'an, but also the 'temporary' or 'pleasure' marriage became legal once more. The latter form of marriage, endorsed by the Shia, permits a contractually regulated heterosexual relationship for between twenty-four hours and ninety-nine years. It was founded and propagated by the ideologues of the Iranian revolution in order to release the strict determinations of Islamic law, especially after the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988), which resulted in a surplus of women. Previously, it was used as a temporary means of support for girls, mostly from socially weak families, and was a kind of → prostitution. In the nineteenth century, Snouk Hurgronje observed the fact that it was practiced even in Sunnite Mecca, during the pilgrimage, offering women of lower-class families means of support. Egyptian author 'Abbas Mahmud

al-'Aqqad (1889–1964) recommended it in the 1950s to Arab students in Europe, for the satisfaction of their sexuality in conformity with Islam.

Israel, despite the proclamation of "equal rights for all citizens, regardless of religion, race, or sex," maintained the Jewish religious marriage and divorce law, in its Declaration of Independence and in an equal-rights law for women in 1950. A contract may be struck only on the initiative of the husband. Even today Orthodox Judaism emphasizes the role of woman as mother and as guardian of traditional values. A marriage age was established for all citizens of Israel, including Muslims and Christians, after the establishment of the State in 1948. Non-Jewish citizens of Israel also observe their own family law; Muslims use a slightly modernized version of the Ottoman Turkish law of 1917. The possibility of a divorce on demand of the wife, before secular courts with agreement of religious courts, has been debated in European and American Judaism since about 1880, and remains controversial today. In Orthodox Judaism, there are a great number of 'enchained' women, whose husbands deny them permission for a divorce that would comport a right to remarriage.

Israel

Since the Second Vatican Council of 1965, the Encyclica *Humanae Vitae* of 1968, and the *Familiaris Consortio* of 1981, the Roman Catholic Church includes 'loving togetherness,' 'total fidelity,' and 'unrestricted mutual acceptance' in its sexual ethics of marriage.

In Europe today, the United States, and the large cities of the East, inclusive of Israel, the 'neo-local' marriage is customary—that is, the nuclear family with its own household and a variable distribution of duties, with the wife's growing occupational employment, personal responsibility, and experience 'on the outside.' Since the 1970s, in Western and Central Europe, new forms of cohabitation, without confessional blessing and/or state registration, have begun to prevail. The number of non-marital households has increased tenfold in the former West Germany since 1972. By 1995, their number had risen to around a million. The divorce rate has considerably increased in Germany since the 1960s. While it was formerly higher in the German Democratic Republic than in the Federal Republic, social relations in the Eastern federal lands have led it to fall sharply today in comparison with the Western lands. The Roman Catholic Church still rejects both divorce and the remarriage of divorced persons.

Europe

The ecclesiastical and civil protection of homosexual couples is the subject of controversy in the United States and West and Central Europe. For Islamic and other Eastern and Asian countries, it is *a priori* unthinkable.

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→ *Ethics/Morals, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Life Cycle, Sexuality*

Wiebke Walther

Martial Arts

1. *Martial arts*, today's generic name for an entire series of Far Eastern disciplines, are centuries old in their origin, and in China and Japan were an important aspect of a comprehensive and transcendent vision of human development. Originally, it was a matter of techniques (in Jap., *jutsu*) of the duel and self-defense, unarmed, as some form of *chi gong* (in China, something like 'elaborating of energy,' a fundamental, multiplex system of bodily-spiritual exercises), such as *kung-fu* (properly *shaolin-chuan*, a fisticuffs developed by monks of the Shaolin monastery), *jiu-jitsu*, *karate*, and (more recently) *judo* ('gentle path,' developed in 1882), or *jiu-jutsu* (a modern combination of judo, karate, aikido, and ancient jiu-jitsu), or *aikido* (a modern defensive martial art taught since 1938). But armed techniques are also included in the concept of martial arts, such as archery (in Jap., *kudo*) or fencing (in Jap., *kendo*, *laido*). *Tai chi chuan* (Chin., 'the fist [-icuff method of battle] of the Highest Last'), a system similar to chi gong, can be practiced with or without weapons. Under the influence of Daoism and Buddhism, as historical example shows, these disciplines developed to 'ways' (in Chin., *dao*) of spiritual development. They then developed and embodied a cultivated, dynamic attitude toward life, an attitude approaching human ideals, a mindset transcending struggle. Especially the unarmed disciplines, historically born of emergency defense situations, rest on this ultimate readiness for peace: their principle is to redirect opponents' rage upon themselves. They usually contain the development of special spiritual abilities (in the perception of the enemy, and in the control of one's own body), on the basis of the universal 'life power' (in Chin., *ch'i*; Jap., *ki*) that has played such a focal role in Chinese life and thought. But the armed disciplines mentioned have also contributed to this paradoxical development, in another spirit.

2. The expression 'martial arts' appeared in the United States after the Second World War, as the GIs returned from Japan. Then came the 'Eastern' battles of Bruce Lee in television and on film. Finally, Eastern wisdom was discovered by the → New Age movement.

History: China

3. In → *China*, the connection between martial arts and the spiritual path reaches all the way back to the 'Yellow Emperor' of the third millennium BCE. Daoism and, later, Zen Buddhism left their imprints on the arts of unarmed self-defense (in Chin., *wu-shu*), but also on those of the waging of war. A classic example is afforded by Chinese military leader Sun Tzu, who lived in the civil war 'time of the struggling empires' (ca. fifth to third centuries BCE), and composed the work of strategy, *The Art of War.* According to Sun Tzu, the greatest of all virtues in the military leader is 'unfathomability': no longer to cherish and preserve any strategies whatsoever that might be determinable by the enemy, but to follow the flow of the situation and thus become unassailable. In China, a relation to force is pragmatic and pessimistic: force and violence have become unavoidable, and therefore the military leader will deal with it wisely. The greatest victory, accordingly, is the one that can be wrung from the situation without fight and struggle.

Japan

In *Japan*, the 'way of the warrior' appeared. Here, from the simple military manual *Bujutsu*, the spiritual ideal arises of 'putting an end' to all battles—the path of *budo*. This path lies on the foundation of Chinese Daoism and Confucianism (both gaining a foothold on Japanese soil in the fourth century) and Buddhism (since the sixth century, from Korea, and since the twelfth century, as Zen Buddhism, from China). The Samurai had discovered Zen for themselves, as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, and integrated it into their training. Then came the historically important 1281 victory over a Mongol armada, which was attributed not only to the *kamikaze* ('divine winds,' typhoons), but also to the spiritual force of Zen training. This attribution occasioned the acknowledgment and influence of Zen among the ruling class. In succeeding centuries, Buddhist, Shintô, and Confucian virtues, such as a sense of justice, compassion for all beings, courage, chivalry, and loyalty, found increasing entry into the Samurai code of honor (*bushido*). But the Zen monks use the practice of archery as active meditation, for the purification of heart and spirit.

The life story of legendary Samurai (in Jap., *ronin*) Miyamoto Musashi (1584–1645) is an exemplar of the acceptance of such a warrior-ideal, spiritualized by the influence of Zen Buddhism. Musashi, who had no army, is the author of the classic *Gorin-no-sho* ("Book of the Five Rings"). In a celebrated 'fanfare,' he declares his posture or attitude (with a long and short sword) 'facing all sides,' a posture of invincibility: it has no manner of intent, and therefore can react spontaneously. For the survival of the 'I,' fixed emotions like fear, ambition, and rage would only cloud the vision, and therefore 'stain' a warrior's endeavor. The entire purport is to strike down the adversary at the exact moment at which he strikes, nor is the attitude of the novice other than that of the master. Musashi not only became invincible, but also became a versatile artisan, painter, and calligrapher.

4. Today, along with the classic books mentioned, we have those dealing with 'Zen in management,' or 'Zen in the art of mountain climbing.' Athletes take an interest in the 'Dao of sports.' Carlos Castaneda attained cult status in the 1970s with books in which warrior-shaman Don Juan embodies the ideal of an immaculate 'warrior' way of life. Tibetan teacher of meditation Chogyam Trungpa (1939–1987) taught the 'sacred path of the warrior'—a person who fears neither self nor others.

Martial arts seem irreconcilable with the religious principle of powerlessness ("Thou shalt not kill"), and many critics hold them in contempt.

Generally speaking, martial arts are less aggressive and destructive in proportion as they advance from pure technique to the *Dao*, a comprehensive manner of life embracing the spiritual dimension. Along this pathway, as Buddhism, for instance, teaches, the causes of aggression, greed, rivalry, and ignorance are overcome, in favor of a larger, more responsible view of reality: martial arts can be a valuable aspect of this representation. When there is no such comprehensive vision, of course, then—like any form of human culture—they will be abused.

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→ *Daoism, Meditation, Zen Buddhism*

Michael Schaefer

Martyr

Concept

1. The expression 'martyr' (from the Greek *mártys*, 'witness') denotes a person who consciously accepts death for his or her religious position and religious community, and who, after death, receives privileges, becoming also a role model for those who remain behind. The concept is familiar to Jews, Christians, and Muslims, and to other religions too—one need only recall the self-immolation of Buddhist monks during the Vietnam War. In a broader sense, as well as a secularized one, victims of political repression, and even persons who perish in natural disasters, can be described as martyrs. The concept can even be extended to include groups, peoples, and cities.

History of Jewish and Christian Martyrdom

2. The biblical conception of the meritorious activity of blood witnesses rests on the history of the three men who preferred to stride into the furnace of fire rather than pray to foreign gods (Dan 3:16ff.), as well as on the memory of the persecution of the Jews by the Seleucids in the second century BCE. By way of Jesus's crucifixion, the thought of a sacrificial death was enhanced for Christians in a special way. Persecutions quickly supervening in the second century led to the development of concepts of the character of the Christian martyr. In the same century, the Jewish assembly of scholars at Lod determined that, for Jews, martyrdom as the offering of one's life is obligatory when a believer—in the presence of a Jewish group—is compelled to the reverence of foreign gods, to forbidden sexual intercourse, or to murder. On the basis of the European persecution of Jews since the Crusades, the



During the uprising of the Palestinians against the Israeli occupation, repeated suicide bombings blasted whole buses, with bombs attached to the assailant's body. In 1996, five years after his death, relatives of bomber Yahiya Ayyash, with friends from the underground movement *Hamas*, gather at his grave to pray. For specially endangered persons, not only does the Qur'an promise a special reward in heaven, but a martyr's death assures the deceased and his or her relatives social recognition besides. The memorial of the dead itself becomes an expression of mingled protest, rage, and pride. (Christoph Auffarth)

Jewish concept of the martyr was developed, and then reinterpreted under conditions of the liquidation of Jews at the hands of National Socialism during the Second World War.

Ancient Christianity offered its martyrs exuberant veneration. But as early as 300, the great longing for martyrdom began to dry up. With the recognition of Christianity as a religion with equal rights, and then as the official religion of the Roman Empire, martyrdom lost much of its meaning and role in imperial territory. A specifically Christian devotion to the martyrs now appeared. Their graves became the sites of churches and chapels, and their veneration was tied up with divine service; at the same time, their

bones were taken to other churches and deposited under their altars. The spread of Christianity beyond the region of the Empire, and the mission among non-Christian peoples, repeatedly occasioned new martyrdoms. In the sixteenth century, the cult of the martyrs, with its abuses, was subjected to sharp criticism on the part of the Reformation Churches, while the Council of Trent itself intervened by laying down restrictions and imposing an order. In the twentieth century, honest Christians, such as, for example, Catholic priest Max Joseph Metzger (1887–1944), suffered the death of martyrs at the hands of the National Socialist terror.

Islamic Conceptions

3. The notion of the martyr (in Arab., *shahīd*) sprang up in Islam, as well. In particular, a martyr is someone who falls in the course of a → Jihad. While Sunnites traditionally cultivate no special devotion to the martyrs, with the Imamite Shiites such veneration became a vital and essential element of faith: exemplars are the imams of ancient Islam, in the succession of Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law Ali (600–661). By his death in 680 at Kerbala, Ali's son al-Husain became the Shiite arch-martyr. On the date of his death, Muharram 10 in the Islamic calendar, the day of Ashura, Shiites recall his suffering with processions, and even passion plays (→ Penance/Penitent; Iran), and are themselves ready to follow his ideal. In the preparation for and execution of the Islamic revolution in Iran, this Shiite concept of martyrdom was intentionally introduced for the purpose of mass mobilization, at first for the reshaping of Iran, and then in the war with Iraq (1980–1988). The victims were honored as folk heroes. In the escalating political and military confrontations in Western Asia, as well as in North Africa, the concept of martyrdom attained comprehensive importance with militant forces—'martyrdom' in its religious and political meaning alike—so that today it has become a key concept of political and religious rhetoric in countries of an Islamic heritage. In acts of terrorism, the victims—or the self-sacrificing agents of the deeds, depending on one's viewpoint—are designated and addressed as martyrs.

Functions for the Community

4. Martyrdom is a demonstrative, voluntary and desired act of self-immolation at the hands of inimical forces. → Suicide is usually excluded; in extreme situations of conflict, however, it can be included without second thought, when there is hope that, on the occasion of such an exceptional act, a particular goal may be reached that has been proposed as religious, political, or military. The victim becomes a model and an ideal for her or his respective religious community, and can encourage other, non-fatal, forms of voluntary commitment in behalf of the community. Here the idea is publicity, and the aims—through the sensational nature of the exploit, incomprehensible to the enemy—are to impress followers and adversaries alike, to afford moral reinforcement in one's own society, and to weaken the enemy society. The martyr's society promises the martyr a special reward after death, such as immediate entry into the presence of God or paradise, sinlessness, and the status of mediator between God and the faithful. Veneration is localized at the grave, or at the place of the martyr's relics, and memorial festivals are temporally specified in terms of the actual or supposed date of the martyr's death. Legends of the life and death of the martyrs serve to elevate the memorial to trans-local and trans-temporal status in the eyes of the faithful. Usually, religious communities celebrate the readiness of their followers for martyrdom in the age of their appearance and production; but there are

other occasions, as well, notably their expansion, or an existential threat; at this point corresponding forms of martyrial veneration are developed. Once the latter are consolidated, religious communities are then rather inclined to 'downplay' them, especially their extremes, to formalize them, and, on occasion, to replace them with other manifestations.

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→ *Fundamentalism, Holy War, Jihad, Relics (Veneration of), Suicide, Veneration of the Saints*

Holger Preißler

Marxism

The concept of *Marxism* gained currency in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and stands for the theoretical variant and the political variant of the socialist movement originating principally with the efforts of Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895). The Second Communist International (and after 1917, the Communist Party oriented to the Russian, and later to the Soviet Communist party) understood themselves explicitly as Marxist. Then the non-Marxist variants of the concept of socialism slipped away into a peripheral condition that attracted little attention.

There is some basis for questioning whether Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels composed their works as the foundation of a closed system with an answer to all questions. It cannot be doubted, however, that the transformation of Marxist thought into a dogmatism did not correspond to the intentions of the creators of Marxism. One must certainly distinguish between Marxism as a theory of a capitalist society, and Marxism as a dialectical theory of knowledge—although the chef d'oeuvre of Marxism, *Das Kapital* (Ger., "Capital"), cannot be understood without the Hegelian dialectic. The unity of theory and practice represented in Marxism is not transmitted by a moral appeal, but is presented as a necessity: subjects—with the right scientific understanding of relations—will indeed act correctly over the long term. The core of the Marxian analysis of capitalism is the demonstration that the societal wealth possible through the development of productive forces will be fully put into practice only when the producers themselves become subjects of the process of production, instead of having to act helplessly in a seemingly objective compulsion of circumstances. As part of the

Enlightenment, Marxism retains no essential interest in religion. For Marx and Engels, an adequate → criticism of religion was already available in the foundational works of Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872).

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→ *Capitalism, Criticism of Religion, Economy, Socialism, Work*

Günter Kehrer

Mary

1. Mary, the mother of Jesus, represents a central figure in Catholic theology and practice of piety. Veneration of Mary as the Madonna emerges from mutually independent cultural horizons, in Poland (pilgrimage to Czestohowa/Czenstochau; → Orthodox Churches), and in Italy (→ Mediterranean Region). Presented as of great importance, but nearly always with reference to her Son, she meets with great reverence in the Eastern and Southern European Orthodox Churches. Finally, she is only a peripheral figure for the Protestant Churches (and Islam).

2. The *Catholic* Church hierarchy—for more than 1500 years now—has sponsored a doctrine of Mary with space for manifold and vigorous forms of veneration. These include invocation, Marian evening services in church, feasts, hymns, acts of dedication, processions and pilgrimages, prayers, and musical Masses. Such address is very effective in the service of a comparatively unproblematic contact with Mary. Still altogether human, she can be presented in familiar, even relaxed situations, and thus becomes more approachable than Jesus, whose manifestations are pervaded with martyrdom and crucifixion, and who, over and above this, is to be understood as divine.

Mary in the New Testament

3. The Mariology of Catholicism is exemplary with respect what an earnest theology can actually accomplish—namely, with very little material as its basis, develop a copious conceptual edifice. As Jesus's mother, Mary plays an objectively exceptional role, which this material, this group of writings neither belittles nor embroiders. An angel announces to her that she will become pregnant without sexual contact, and will bring the Messiah into the world, all of which she accepts (Luke 1:26-38). She welcomes the wise men from the East, and, with husband and newborn son, flees to Egypt before the advance of Herod's murderous minions (Matt 2). Together with Joseph, she finds Jesus after a three days' search, holding a discussion with the scripture scholars of the Temple in Jerusalem, where he had remained behind without their permission after the Passover festival that they had celebrated together; she remonstrates with him (Luke 2:41-49). Mary regards with consternation

her son's later activity, and a course along which he turns from his own family (Matt 3:21). On the other hand, at the wedding in Cana, she is the person to envision the possibility of Jesus's working a miracle (John 2). Under the cross, she encounters her son once more, where Jesus entrusts her with the protection of one of his disciples (John 19:25-27). The gospels give no information about her later life, just as they remain silent as to her family extraction. This lacuna—as it was felt to be—is filled by the 'apocryphal' writings, peripheral to the New Testament: the 'hidden' books, not acknowledged as belonging to the canon of holy writ. There, material for fond legends, images, and dogmas, abounds.

Over the course of time, the most diverse groups within the high and low clergy, along with the laity, have repeatedly integrated further material for declarations on Mary into the life of faith. Behind this material stand intentions to reinforce current trends in the areas of church politics, liturgy, worship, or charity, and to see to the realization of one's own interests. Thus Mary developed into a mirror of interpretation and factor of power, in whom, depending on a given intent, different aspects were stressed such as virgin, bride, mother, Sorrowful Mother, handmaid of the Lord, immaculately conceived (not virginally, but without original sin), advocate, Mediatrix of All Graces, warrior, or queen. In principle, all of those involved have always been able to appeal here to the New Testament pronouncement, "Surely, from now on all generations will call me blessed" (Luke 1:48)—a component of the *Magnificat*, the canticle of Mary to God, which—particularly in its prophesying the overthrow of the mighty—falls rather outside of the framework of the rest of what is reported of her. In medieval discourse, Marian piety and theology probably exerted some influence on the formation of the concept of *Shekhinah* in Jewish → Kabbalah.

Marian Dogmas

4. The official Catholic Church has especially responded to the lofty content of the passages cited by the proclamation of four Marian dogmas:

(1) Mary is honored and glorified as the Mother of God (at the Council of Ephesus, in the year 431).

(2) Emphasis is placed on her perpetual virginity (baptismal profession since the fourth century, proclaimed as official title in 451 at the Council of Chalcedon, and two hundred years later endorsed by Pope Martin I).

(3) Further, it is to be taken as a fact that Mary was immaculately conceived: that is, that, from the very moment of her conception, she was free from original sin (Pius IX, after consulting the bishops, 1854).

(4) Finally, in 1950, Pope Pius XII (again, after consultation with the episcopate) declares "that it is a dogma revealed by God that the Immaculate, Ever-Virgin Mary, Mother of God, having completed the course of her earthly life, was assumed, body and soul, into heavenly glory."[1]

Private Revelations

5. It would be altogether inadequate, however, to contemplate the magisterial pronouncements of the popes on the question of Mary in isolation. The infallibility officially attaching to these pronouncements, along with their occasionally trenchant tone, expressly calls for counterweights. The "mystifying mobility and dexterity" of Catholicism (Henri Lefebvre) has therefore established the institution of 'private revelation' as a potential factor in the generation of dogma. According to Catholic understanding, for the explanation and reinforcement of the word of God in the Bible, revelations

worthy of attention can be made in later times, as well. Visionary persons, for example, can feel personally called upon by Mary to intensify their life of faith, or to cultivate a special form of Marian meditation service and to ask the same of others. True, a decision on the credibility of these inspirations rests once more with the official church. But the entire process has received a moment of contingent cooperation, drama, and plebiscite, that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has led, for example, to the emergence of places of pilgrimage: Lourdes (1858; certified 1862), La Salette (diocese of Grenoble, 1846; certified 1851), Fatima (1917; certified 1930), or Medjugore in Herzegovina (1981, without official determination). Conceptualizations of faith drawn from the most diverse psychic needs thus materialize as current historical events that can be experienced. The public esteem aroused by these happenings (even, at times, in an anti-ecclesiastical circle) is evaluated in the Marian context as further evidence of their authenticity, particularly in fundamentalist circles with an emphatically 'eschatological vision.' The production and reproduction of pictorial presentations of Mary, still persistent today, provides her followers with an aesthetic home.

6. Although much of today's Marian veneration seems pre-modern, both in form and in the values it promotes, nevertheless, taken as a whole, it is actually a matter of a complex of religious phenomena of modern times. It emerged after Enlightenment, French Revolution, and 'secularization,' to replace the veneration of local saints (along with the veneration of relics). In parallel with the strengthening of central papal power in the area of ecclesiastical politics, the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century realized a concentration on Mary in the area of its policy with regard to piety. It did so with the intentional introduction of instruments of publicity and systems of union (founding of Marian associations). But the popular religious objects and rituals referring to her could also—despite their apparently idyllic constitution—be directed aggressively without: "Rise up, [Protestant women], mount a revolution against the men that have withheld your right from you, and even now would still withhold it! Demand pictures of Mary, demand statues of Mary in the churches, on the streets, in the public squares, demand Marian hymns, demand Marian evening services, demand the return of what you have been robbed of since Luther!"[2] This summons by a Redemptorist father, formulated in 1933, did not envisage the emancipation and equality of woman. It was rather that her appeals for an armament strategy, nourished from below in popular liturgy, were wielded on the field of confessional confrontation. Even today, Mary is not least of all a figure of identification for an ardent credence, and is repeatedly claimed as such by conservative or charismatic groups inside or on the margin of the Catholic Church (*Fatima Apostolat / Blaue Armee Mariens; Engelwerk; Internationale Rundfunkgemeinschaft, Inc. / Radio Maria*). Simultaneously, in the last twenty-five years, a new religious appropriation of Mary is to be cited on the part of feminist theologians, as well as in → New Age spirituality where many new revelations of Mary are intensively discussed.

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→ *Catholicism, Gender Stereotypes, Jesus, Hildegard of Bingen, Joan of Arc, Mysticism, Pilgrimage*

Martin Schmolze

Mask

1. The mask is a means of temporary alteration of the physical appearance. It is especially the 'look' of the face, as a projecting mark of the human being's identity, which can be altered or hidden by masquerade. Thus, pleasure and vice are flaunted by masquerade, as at → Carnival; at the same time, masks serve as a means of the presentation of identities and events (→ Drama [Sacred]). Different views prevail on the question of how masquerade should ultimately be conceived. For some, the mask is a necessary component in the sense of a hollow face; others regard the definition of masquerade as also including → tattoo, makeup, and veils.

'Mask' as a Concept

2. Recent ethnological studies indicate that the overall concept of 'mask' is a Western one, under which (cultic) objects are isolated from the context of their application. On the other hand, in the contexts in which these objects are ritually presented, frequently no equivalent is found for the independent concept of mask (see Pernet 1992; Mack 1994). Thus, the expression, used in many parts of Central Africa, of *makishi* or *nkisi* refers to (a) the ceremony at which a mask is used, (b) the event of masquerade presented at the ceremony, (c) the masks themselves used at the same, and (d) that which is ritually represented (cf. Mack 1994; Kubik 1993). The concept of the mask made for the museum excludes all of the cases in which the mask has permanency only during the cultic act for which it is produced and worn. At the same time, there are cases in which masks as cultic objects represent the presence of gods during a ceremony without ever being worn. In view of such diverse practices, ethnological discussion has found a common denominator in the concept of the mask in its function of representation.

3. In a ritual framework, the mask is regarded as a means of staging → collective representations. That is, the conceptualizations embodied through masquerade (of transcendent beings and events) and the occasions of their presentation (dances, songs, gesture), as well as their interpretations, are sanctioned by the respective society or group. The circle of those

to whom the production, preservation, and wearing of masks is assigned, is socially regulated, as is the transmission of the knowledge bound up with these activities. But a decisive element for the presentation, or the communicative value, of masks in the framework of a cultic occurrence is finally the behavior of those group members who count as uninitiated. The fear demonstrated (often by women) at the emergence of the masks endorses the role identity of the masked participants (often men). With regard to the staged representation, then, special knowledge and bodily techniques are required, for the masks to be able to act.

Masks in Ritual Contexts

4. As means of presentation and direction, masks find application in various ritual contexts (e.g., → initiation, cult of → ancestors, → drama, → feasts, and the healing of the sick).

a) In a context of → rites of passage, masquerade is a medium accompanying the transition from one status to another. In the initiation rituals of the Baining of Papua New Guinea, the event is contextualized for male initiands through the presentation of the creation of the world, with the appearance on the scene of various masks. After a nighttime fire dance of the masks, which represent the spirits of animals and plants of the forest (men's domain), the initiands are acquainted with the production of the masks, and with social rules. The conclusion of the initiation consists of dances by day, in which masks appear that present ancestors whose sphere of influence is the fertility of the garden (women's domain) and the establishment of social order.

Veneration of Ancestors

b) In the *veneration of ancestors*, masks not only represent transcendent beings, but also serve as collective material, and symbolic stores of possessions in the hands of groups, for example of kinship groups (→ Family Cult), and at the same time are a means of the self-presentation of these groups. In the ancient Roman funeral cult, the series of ancestors was presented by means of wax death masks of the departed ancestors of the current generation (in Lat., *imagines maiorum*), displayed by mimes in the funeral procession for a deceased family member. In one of the dance cycles comprising a part of the Potlatch of the Kwakiutl (Northwestern American coast; Canada), members of the host group of kin represent their relationship with mythical beings in masked dances. Recitals are presented that convey the origin of ceremonial privileges (masks, → dances, songs [→ Singing/Song]) of the group in terms of a primordial encounter with these beings, frequently animal in form. The history of the transformation of such a being into an ancestor is presented especially graphically, with the use of wooden 'masks of transformation,' whose half-faces, to be opened with cords, conceal one or two other masks underneath (= mythic role identities).

Masks in Sacred Drama

c) Along with the visualizing and narrative function of masquerade, its manipulation is especially striking to the eye in a context of sacred → drama, in which myths and legends are dramatized. On Bali, such presentations are part of the village and temple calendar festivals, although they can also be presented in situations of crisis, for the purpose of averting misfortune. At the center of the various stories stands the struggle between the two mythical figures Barong and Rangda. The figure of Barong embodies the life-protecting powers, and appears as an incarnation of the god Shiva, variously in the mask of a boar, a lion, or an elephant. His adversary Randa, an incarnation of

the goddess Durga, represents the destructive powers. Those 'onlookers' who especially seek to participate in the healing powers of Barong are those who, during the presentation, fall into a trance. They are attended by a priest, upon whom it also devolves to address the masks of Barong that lie in front of the area of presentation and to charge them with healing powers, in a ceremony of purification and consecration. Similar masked sacred dramas are part of the monastic culture of → Lamaism in Tibet and Ladakh.

As a medium of the dramatized development and recall of historical events, masks are used in the *Conquista* plays of the Aymara- and Kechua-speaking Indians of Central and South America. These plays partly go back to the Passion plays introduced by Christian missionaries with personal conversion in mind, as well as to indigenous dances. In them, the story of the Spanish conquest is interpreted from an Indian viewpoint, and with the mask, a stereotyped picture of the foreign invaders, as blue-eyed and white-faced with red beards, is conveyed and preserved.

The European Christian Context

d) In the *European Christian* context, the concept of the mask is bound up with the wish to conceal the 'true face.' In this sense, referred to the individual wearer or personality, masquerade denotes the substitution of another identity for the 'true' one, which subsequently can be exposed. In ancient theater, the Latin *persona*, from which the concept of person etymologically derives, like its Greek equivalent *prósopon*, denoted both the obligatory mask and the role presented in the masquerade. In Greek theater, the mask was used as a means of identifying the characters presented, and served to 'reveal' to the public the identity of the dramatized figures and their role. With the criticism mounted by the Fathers of the Church against theater as part of cultic presentation in honor of Greek god Dionysus, and as an expression of polytheistic sentiments, the use and importance of the mask was gradually demonized. Corresponding to this process, the writings of the Church Fathers developed a concept of person in which the identity of the individual in relation to an almighty God was established as authentic personhood. In these terms masquerade counted as displacement, as a falsifying presentation, and was under suspicion of idolatry. The Middle Ages saw repeated prohibitions by Church and magistracy of the mask as a component of 'heathen' usage. Nevertheless, → Carnival as the day for masking, and a time of ritual transition before Lent was integrated into the medieval Church, and has remained dependent on the dates of the festal calendar of the Catholic Church to the present. This particular context of masking adopts a double form: as 'demonic mischief' (Southern Germany, Alps) of fearful effectiveness, with a deterring (apotropaic) function, although now limited to the folkloristic; and as Carnival masquerade, and a welcome means of playful disguise, anonymity, and moral license—revived some time ago in the folklore of the Venetian nobility.

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→ *Carnival, Dance, Drama (Sacred), Fear/Dread, Initiation, Ritual, Theater, Veil*

Claudia Naacke

Masses

Human Beings in Crowds and Masses

1. 'Mass,' like 'crowd,' means first of all a multitude of persons. 'Mass,' however, goes beyond 'crowd,' and denotes a 'perceptual' form of crowd, special from without as from within: a multitude arising and understood politically, religiously, or aesthetically, as an independent social condition of aggregate. This aggregate is not defined in terms of an absolute number: the community of believers itself, in its → architecture, is a (prayer) mass. Human masses make their appearance in qualitative leaps: from the individual to the → group to the mass. As criteria for 'mass,' we may establish: anonymity (the persons composing it are unacquainted with one another); bodily contact, so that the 'security distance' of the sphere of intimacy is pierced; geometric ('stochastic' or crystalline) equality—each member is an, aesthetically, quasi-identical particle of a totality (see ill.); immensity; symbolic community building, with the capacity for collective representations; emotional adjustment or intensification, up to the state of euphoria.

Modern → industrial societies are held to be 'mass societies.' Not only has the demographic explosion of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries 'made them that way'; the politicization of the (working) masses, with their culture of the demonstration, the 'total mobilization' of the marching masses of Fascism, → National Socialism, and Communism, and finally, democratic movements such as the protest and the peace movement have all contributed to the circumstance that masses are a component of the public self-expression of modern societies (→ Civil Religion). Here they are also indicative of the religious forms of modernity, although as forms of socialization they are not to be limited to these.

Cultic Masses

2. Masses are an excellent basis for making not only politics, but also for making religion. The crowd organized into a mass, then, belongs to the oldest dramaturgic means of religiousness presented as spectacle. *Cultic or liturgical masses* are, for one thing, masses in movement: they form a → procession on streets and roads, they use their march to stake out a claim to city space (as in the case of the Irish Order of the Orange) and (with a procession through the fields) the landscape; as emotionalized *masses of mourners* they accentuate society especially impressively, in state funerals or in Shiite memorial rituals of the Ashura (→ Iran). On the other hand, cultic masses come into existence as disciplined, static, 'closed' (E. Canetti) masses: in the form of a '*prayer mass*' in Christian divine service, or at Islamic Friday prayer, when the mass of praying Muslims may stretch for blocks; as '*festive masses*,' at the mass weddings of the Unification Church, or at Church Days in the football stadium. In polarized fashion, liturgical masses or crowds can be set over against an single person, who has been stylized, by way of a podium or a microphone, into the equivalent of the mass: then the reli-

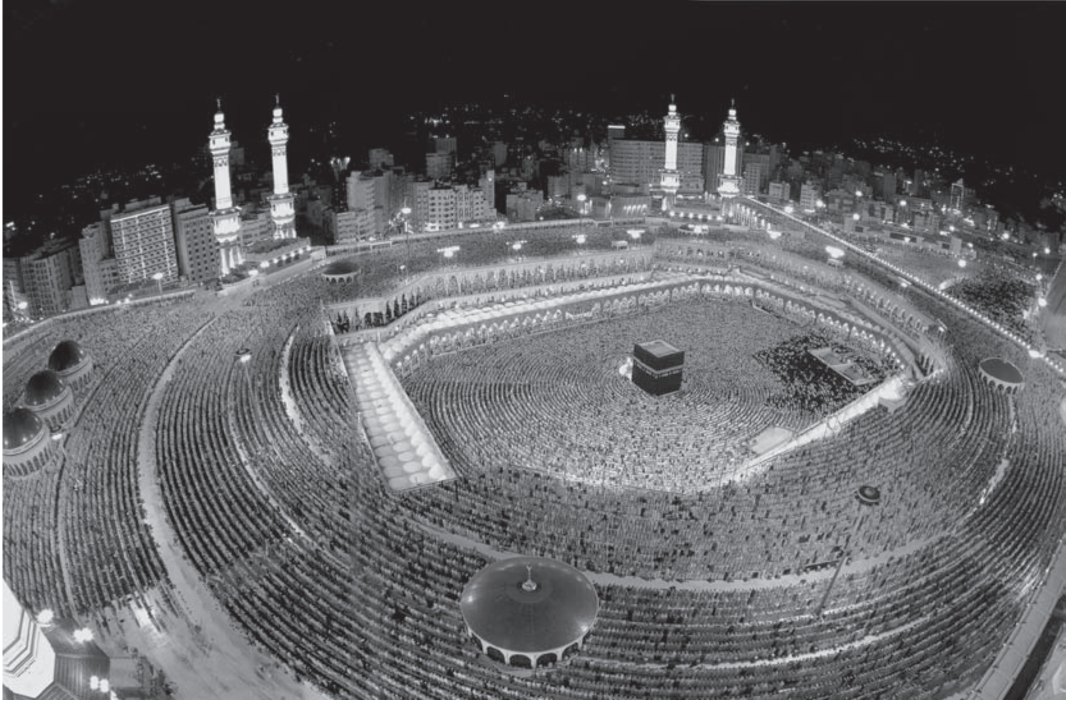


Mass as a euphoric removal of social constrictions: Thousands of men assemble annually, in February, for the "Festival of the Naked" in the Buddhist Temple of Sai Dai Ji (Western Japan). Clad only in a loincloth, crowded in upon one another flesh to flesh, they vent their enthusiasm for wooden good-luck pieces being tossed into the crowd. Here religion makes possible an experience that transcends social conventions. Here bourgeois norms can be transcended through the medium of the mass, in which believers briefly experience a ritual exception to those norms (→ Marginality/Liminality): the distance that interferes with intimacy dissolves, and the intimacy is further enhanced by nakedness—in itself a social taboo, of course. The ritual's drive to motor activity additionally promotes the unaccustomed bodily contact among the anonymous crowd. However, a pleasure-charged 'crowd-bath' requires no Asian temple for its orgiastics: in the 'bubble-bath' of today's techno-disco, we can experience the like in an altogether profane context.

gious superior (the preacher, the 'leader,' etc.) faces the mass of 'his' or 'her' believers (Rome, Saint Peter's Square). However, they can also demonstrate ingenious interior structures, from the gender-specific 'double mass' of men and women, to the mass in a hierarchical ladder, socially compartmentalized according to prestige. In all these cases, the transition from the practice of faith to the demonstrative proclamation of belief a fleeting one: it depends on the respective belief environment whether the mass will gather its collective energy into its own euphoric celebration, or discharge aggressively to the outside (e.g., in the pogrom).

Mythical Masses

3. Not only the earth, but heaven itself is peopled by masses: YHWH, Lord of Hosts ('God *Tsebaoth*') commands numberless 'heavenly hosts,' his throne is surrounded by, among others, 144,000 elect (12,000 from each of the twelve tribes of Israel)[1]—even in the monotheistic religions, celestial personnel are remarkably stocked up in the non-dogmatically fixed region of the middle or intermediate beings. In early modern Christian Europe, their number had



Doubtless the most stunning and aesthetically positive example of an ornamental mass is the massive, concentric prayer mass that comes into being when, during the month of pilgrimage, one to two million Muslims travel to → Mecca in fulfillment of their religious duty and assemble around the Ka'aba. The onlooker does not know which to find more astonishing: the organizational achievement—so many persons gathered in so narrow a space—or the discipline of the believers. The geometry of this mass arises by way of the fact that, on the ground, circular lines have been drawn, upon which respective prayer areas are marked. This mass ornament comports an impressive symbolism: it is constantly directed toward the center of belief, the Black Stone. (Hubert Mohr)

expanded by leaps and bounds. Even a critic of the persecution of witches like Johannes Weyer (1515–1588) calculated (in the spirit of 'many enemies, much honor') 1,111 legions of demons at 6,666 each (7,405,926 demons; by way of comfort, the number of angels who have not fallen, according to scholastic tradition, was double).[2]

The number of the gods of polytheistic religions likewise varies considerably, in terms of which mythical levels are 'measured off.' While the group of twelve deities of Homeric Olympus still find places at a table, and the thirty-three Vedic gods are still manageable (Rigveda I, 139, 11), the total number of Hindu deities is declared as an exorbitant crowd of 330 million. Of course, this looks like an exotic-minded 'rough estimate' on the part of European observers, who lump the multiplicity of local cults and religions together under an artificial pantheon and thus reinforce their polytheistic prejudice (→ Hinduism). To practice faith, gods obviously need a distinct cultic or mythic face, and divorce themselves from all speculative attempts at an anonymizing multiplication.

Perhaps more than cultic masses, mythic masses are organized in 'double masses' (Canetti): opposite the choirs of angels stand hosts of devils, opposite the hosts of the redeemed (in paradise) stands the mass of the damned (in hell). And the host of the dead, or the rowdy 'savage host,' offers the living a weird, invisible post-mortal picture of itself.

Mass as Stereotype: Prejudice and Hostile Caricature

4. Masses are dreadful: the image of the mass of persons is one of the key images of fear in the modern age (→ Modernity/Modern Age). It has its social location in the mass of workers that takes over the streets, seeking to secure its ends by demonstration or overtly seizing power by revolution. The Commune in Paris in 1870, the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Spartacus uprising in 1919 in Berlin are such examples. The legacy of the workers' movement and the communes nowadays approaches images of 'mass religions,' conjuring up the counter-image of individualistic Western society, many of them intimating its demise: collectivistic, incalculable (population explosion!), uniform—in religious terms: fanatical and fundamentalist. A current presentation of such a religious image of terror is the Shiite Islamic Revolution in → Iran, with its 'mass deployments.' It is principally those religions whose faith is practiced 'orthopractically,' in and with the community of believers (in Arab., *umma*), who are promptly returned the verdict of mass suggestion and 'mass delusion' from the side of enlightened modernity.

The sometimes inescapable dread that, in mass societies, persons would count not as individuals, but only as a part of the collectivity, has trumpeted nineteenth-century middle-class cultural criticism to the fray. Here, the mass was set over against the—large, solitary, genial, heroic—individual (→ Nietzsche, Le Bon; → Hero/Heroism). Where this opposition missed the mark, then the lonely one in the mass, or the big-city idler (Fr., *flaneur*), is praised as a special form of contemporary melancholy. Let us put it in an existentialist jargon: "The Stranger"—a work composed in 1942 by Albert Camus (→ Existentialism)—is, in the crowd, on his own, godless and 'manless.'

Mass Occurrences

5. Today the time of that manner of self-tormenting solipsism seems past. When the Pope, in Saint Peter's Square in Rome, gives his blessing *Urbi et Orbi* (Lat., "to the City and the Globe [of the world]") at Christmas or Easter, or when he journeys to Mexico, this is far from still being a mere liturgical rite. It is a media happening, and popular religious 'event,' that reaches a

global audience quota. It thereby inserts itself into the pop culture of modernity, which is a culture of mass events. Mass religious events, such as a revival, a festival, or a procession, are religion become absolutely public and visible. Seen historically, there was a cultic organization and (self-) presentation of human masses in European modernity for the first time only during the French → Revolution. One of the implications of the 'nationalization of the masses' (G. Mosse) in the nineteenth century was that deployments of persons, sporting competitions, and mass events ('folk festivals') were staged not only by social organizations like the unions, but also by entities enjoying state encouragement (e.g., through the *Gesellschaft Deutsche Nationalfeste*—Ger., "Society of German National Festivals," founded in 1897 and promoted by the state). Their climax came with the political-and-religious mass aesthetics of the 'mass ornaments' of the Fascist and Communist regimes of the twentieth century: the Nuremberg National Socialist Party Days (with their virtuoso documentation in Leni Riefenstahl's 1935 "Triumph of the Will") and the May Day celebrations in Moscow, Bei-Jing, and Pjongjang.

In parallel fashion, the traditional religions organized the masses of the faithful: from the Church Days (*Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag* ["German Evangelical Church Day"] or *Katholikentag* ["Catholic Day"], both founded in the revolutionary year of 1848), to the 'Folk Pilgrimage,' to the 'sacred skirt' (Ger., "Heiliger Rock"; in 1810, there were c. 200,000 pilgrims; in 1844 c. one million) as a demonstration of Catholic faith, and the Marian pilgrimages to Lourdes, to the papal visitation, or—in the area of Islam—the pilgrimage to → Mecca. But charismatic preachers, like Billy Graham or Martin Luther King, Jr., also attracted masses. It seems too facile to write off this sort of mass religious event as pure ideology, or to wish to 'unmask' it from a viewpoint of religious criticism. The spectacular presentation does aim at effects of 'mass suggestion'; it is carried forward and reinforced by the participants, who can act out liminal experiences in the mass: wishes to be able to fuse together, and rites of excesses, orgiastic jubilee choirs, crying fits or euphoric community feelings. And it is surely appropriate that, as Christians believe, one more mass event awaits us all: the Last Judgment.

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→ *Civil Religion, Collective Representations, Perception, Political Religions, Prejudices/ Stereotypes, Psychoanalysis*

Hubert Mohr

Master / Pupil

Concept

1. A person (who may be invested with a priestly function, but who often stands in competition with the latter) becomes a *master* (Lat., *magister*, 'director,' 'teacher,' 'leader'), in the sense of a religious teacher, (1) in the context of a determinate religious tradition, (2) for one or more other persons (*pupils*), (3) when the latter ascribe him a religious authority and an adequate preparation for teaching and (4) the person in question accepts the role or already professes it. "The relationship of master to pupil is deemed to obtain where the connection is a personal one, and not, or not primarily, one determined by topics to be discussed or considered; consequently, the individuality of the master and the pupil wins central importance."[1] The term 'master' can apply, for example, to a → *Guru*, *Lama*, *Rabbi*, *Abba* (Christian desert father), *Shaikh* (→ Order/Brotherhoods), *Tsaddiq* (→ Hasidism), or *Staretz* (Russian Orthodox Christianity). In some religions, the master is regarded as necessary for salvation (e.g., in many Indian *bhakti* and → *tantra* movements). The question of whether a pupil should go to one master, or may go to several, is answered differently in terms of each tradition.

A distinction can be made between masters who come forward as the representative of a deity, and those who take themselves as seekers along the way and just as needful of salvation as their pupils. Further, a distinction can be made as to whether the purpose of the teaching is the personal salvation of the pupil, or is accompanied by the requirement that he or she should also engage in teaching, and thus, should also become a master. Here we are dealing with charismatic relationships of government in Max → Weber's sense. In some traditions, the master is ascribed miraculous powers. Such classifications, as well as the scientific concept of master, are theoretical reconstructions of historical reality. In practice, what are at hand are mixed forms.

Forms of the Master-Pupil Relation

2. In the model of the master as religious teacher, what is primarily at stake is not the communication of knowledge, but a piercing transformation of the pupil's personhood, self-concept, and worldview. Accordingly, a close cohabitation, or at least personal proximity, between master and pupil, is honored as useful. In order that the pupil may achieve this alteration of personhood, the master introduces the pupil to the ideal life in the sense of the religious tradition at hand. In addition, the master may intentionally confront the pupil with such limit situations as may introduce or hasten such a transformation (for example, in the direction of the 'death' of the old personhood). Such limit situations include, among others, → asceticism, → meditation at places at which corpses are burned, solitude, ecstatic group experiences, the master's abrupt demolition of the pupil's trusted concepts, as, for example, in meditation on a koan in → Zen Buddhism, or—in therapeu-

tic jargon—with the sudden subtraction of the pupil's transferences. These sorts of situations, and the successive consecration to ever 'higher stages' of knowledge, can be understood as → initiation. The the textual tradition is transmitted to the pupil through recitation, repetition, and question and answer. In many traditions bearing on the master-pupil relationship, both are understood to be required to seek each other out, and to investigate each other's suitability. Actually, however, a pupil is often assigned a master. There are various views (e.g., in rabbinical Judaism) on whether a special talent or extraction is a necessary qualification for a pupil, or whether all should be given the opportunity for religious study. The materialization of the master-pupil relationship is usually accompanied by the dissolution of everyday social conditions and contexts (Luke 14:26). The pupil surrenders himself to the master in all trust, and in general owes him absolute obedience, either because pupils cannot judge the purpose of an indication or means, or because God himself is dealing through the master. The *Rabbi*, for example, is to be honored more highly than one's own father, as the latter has only brought the pupil into this world, while the former will take him or her to the future world.[2] One's strife with the rabbi is strife with God.[3] Thus, a pupil is bound to revere the Tantric master (*sadguru*) as higher than God, since it is only in the form of the guru that God is in a position to bless and redeem the ignorant pupil.

The pupil has to support the master, wash and mend his garments, and care for him in illness. Contrariwise, the master also has duties with regard to the pupil: the rabbi is even bound to support a poor pupil with food and alms. A master should perceive the character of his pupil exactly, in order to adapt his teaching to him or her. He must prevent his pupil from succumbing to desperation along the way, and may undertake disciplinary measures against him. If the pupil turns out to be inaccessible to the master, the latter may dissolve the instructional relationship. In Buddhism, for example, the pupil is required to watch over the master as to his right conduct, and, if need be, to invoke disciplinary measures in order to lead him into the path of right conduct.[4]

Traditional texts urgently warn against false masters. The *kularnava tantra* gives a list of empirical characteristics of a genuine guru. It includes, for example, economic independence of the pupil, freedom from fear, pain, hatred, and pridefulness, equanimity, dissociation from women, possessions, and vices. The Buddhist monk and master should be friendly, earnest, and dignified, should himself accept instruction, and should not seduce persons to evil deeds.[5] In Judaism, the rabbi should, for example, be a teacher only as an avocation or without monetary compensation. He should teach the Torah out of love for it, and not in order to earn money.

A rapid increase in master-pupil movements, verifiable at certain times, can in some cases be understood as a reaction to increasing inaccessibility of formally organized religion; in other cases, it can be understood as flight from the world, from the occupation of familiar society and institutionalized religion by unfamiliar powers. The characteristics of a master proposed in the religions are not to be confused with historical reality, in which the personal salvation of the pupil has frequently played, for the master, no recognizable role.

1. Wach 1925, 8.
2. Mishna, Baba Metsia 2,11.
3. Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 110a.
4. Vinayapitaka 4:66.
5. Nyanaponika (trans.), Die Lehrreden des Buddha aus der Angereihten Sammlung (Anguttara-Nikaya), vol. 4, Freiburg [3]1969, 24.

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→ *Asceticism, Authority, Buddhism, Charisma, Christianity, Group, Guru, Hasidism, Hinduism, Judaism, Lamaism, Meditation, Mysticism, Order/Brotherhoods, Priest/ Priestess*

Christian von Somm

Materiality

Along with the statues, apparatus, and special attire of worship, material is an important, if often little noticed, component of worship and ritual. Material used in worship can be made of inorganic matter and products as well as organic ones, which find application within ritual activities. It is applied as *sacrificial material*, when entrails are burned in honor of the gods, or flowers are placed on graves for ancestors; as *means of purification*, when the body is cleansed before prayer with water or refined aromatic oils, sand, or even bare stones; as means of *painting* or *marking*, when, as in many tribal religions, before or during an initiation, the body is daubed with ocher, soot, or mud.

Thus, materials used in worship include inorganic and organic things, as well as culturally refined natural products (agricultural products) or cultural materials such as paper:

Inorganic Materials

a) *Inorganic materials* become those of worship especially in the form of the four elements *earth* (mud baths in → Voodoo, body painting), → *water,* principally introduced as a means of purification (Christianity: baptism, 'holy water'; ritual washings in Islam; Mikwe ritual bath in Judaism), *fire* (sacrificial fire: nearly all ancient forms of religion; bonfire; solstice celebrations; → Light/Enlightenment), and *air*, the latter principally in the form of breath, by which, for example, in the Tridentine baptismal ritual, 'new life is breathed' (→ Breathing). *Stones* often become the object of worship, on account of their frequently projecting, anthropomorphic, phallic (Shiva's *lingam*), or otherwise bizarre shapes, or indicate points of boundary and orientation (→ Place [Sacred]; Orientation), or else are used as altar stones.

Organic Material

b) *Organic material* can be divided, according to its origin, into human, animal, and vegetable materials, where a distinction is to be made each time between raw materials (e.g., rye, rice) and cultural products (bread, Jap. rice wine *sake*). Although there seem to be no limits to cultic fantasy in a choice of the respective materials and products applied, upon closer observation their selection and placement appears to be determined by a cultural frame. This situation becomes clear especially with respect to plants and animals. Whether they or parts of them serve as sacrificial offerings (wheat, vegetables, herbs, fat, bones), as adornment (twigs, flowers), aromatic material (resins: incense and myrrh), as nourishment in the common meal (→ Eating/Nourishment; Drinking/Drink), or as hallucinatory drugs (peyote cactus in Middle America, mushrooms like the toadstool [amanita muscaria] in Northern Eurasia; → Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens)—their appearance in worship is closely connected with the respective manners of subsistence of the societies to whose religions they belong. Thus, in agricultural societies, the results of the cultivation of the soil and animal husbandry is—especially in sacrificial rites—translated cultically: fat, milk, flesh, cow dung (Hinduism: Brahmanic initiation) enrich the palette of material used in worship just as do the agricultural products bread and wine. These latter even advance to the central material of the Christian practice of worship. Of the human body—aside from uncertain anthropophagic practices (→ Cannibalism)—especially, separable corporeal elements are ritually functionalized, as → hair (at the hair sacrifice in rites of initiation), or fluids and products of secretion like → blood (slitting—'subincision'—of the penis among Australian Aborigines), sperm (Gnostic groups like the Ophites), or urine (in the life reform movement).

c) In terms of the respective technological characterization of a culture, 'artificial' materials or discoveries are integrated into cult or worship: in Chinese space, paper → money is sacrificed; and, especially, the custom of the → light offering has a close orientation to respective technological possibilities, as when wood (fires), oil (lamps), beeswax, artificial wax, or even → electricity serve for the generation of light in worship.

Believers' sensory experiences in the presence of materials used in worship, when these latter are painstakingly arranged, unaccustomed, precious, or even loathsome, make up a good part of religious fascination. While the 'disappearance of matter' is regretted in the age of cyberspace, it is nonetheless very questionable whether religions can do without the elementary fascination of material, sensory perceived presences.

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→ *Blood, Everyday Life, Hair, Perception, Popular Culture, Relics (Veneration of), Water*

Hubert Mohr

Matriarchy / Patriarchy

1. The question of gender difference (→ Gender Stereotypes), raised once more in the 1970s by the new women's movement, has kindled a discussion of possibilities for a social order outside patriarchal power relationships, and for a peaceable, control-free cohabitation of the sexes. Many women lack female models and figures of identification. In order to counter this 'lack of tradition,' historical models were sought. The concept of the matriarchy was promptly introduced, with an appeal to Basle scholar of prehistory Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–1887), the first to inject (1861) the concept into the scholarly debate of the nineteenth century. As early as 1724, priest J. F. Lafitau had reported of certain matrilinear tribes in America, erroneously speaking of a *gynecocracy* (Gk., 'government by women'). An important role in the discussion was played by archaeological 'finds,' like the excavations in Anatolian Çatal Hüyük (Province of Konya), or on Crete (Knossos), which seemed to confirm the existence of matriarchal societal structures. Concepts of matriarchy are radically distinguished here from notions of cultural science like 'matrilinearity,' 'matrilocality,' and 'matrifocality,' which describe the organization of kinship in the 'succession of the mother.' But since *matriarchy* (from Lat./Gk., 'government by mothers/women') as a societal type is thus far sufficiently evidenced neither historically nor archaeologically, the central consideration of the concept of matriarchy should become that of a social myth within certain ideological systems. 'Matriarchy' here is diametrically opposed to 'patriarchy,' government by 'fathers' or males. Thus construed, it is part of a *history of the battle of the sexes*.

In distinct theories of matriarchy, matriarchal cultures are attended by the following fundamental phenomena:

- Dominant role of woman in society and politics ('matriarchy' in the strict sense)
- Descendancy, and inheritance, family, or domicile rights determined through the maternal line ('matrilinearity,' 'matriarchy').
- Veneration of female divinities in religion and mythology ('mother deities'/goddesses)

Bachofen's Theory of the Matriarchy

2. a) *In quest of the matriarchy—constructs and concepts:* (a) Johann Jakob Bachofen's study, *Das Mutterrecht* (Ger., "Maternal Law"; 1861) was immensely influential for later concepts of the matriarchy. The former interpreted phenomena of ancient religion and mythology as evidence or memorial of real historical occurrences. Bachofen sketches *central figures of the feminine* in three matriarchal cultural stages (that are complemented by a patriarchal stage): (1) the *hetere* (Gk., 'companion,' fem.) as man's sexual fantasy—stage of hetarism, or 'tellurism,' of the 'Aphroditic' *ius naturale* (Lat., 'natural law'); (2) the → Amazon, as sexual nightmare and augmented gradation of the *hetere*; and (3) the *sublime and chaste mother* (as sexually neutralized woman—stage of the 'matrimonial Demetric principle' and the 'matriarchy'). His history of human development follows a universal evolution: from corporeal matter—personified in the feminine element—to the pure masculine spirit; from nature to culture, from primordial promiscuity and heteric matriarchy to the gynecocracy, to what he designates as the "mild, loftier law of spiritual fatherhood").[1] At the end, for Bachofen, the

spirit (i.e. man—in Christian terms, 'fatherhood') has triumphed over inferior matter (i.e. woman). Thus, his composition and work are underpinned ideologically by prevailing relations of power, and they justify the subjection of woman vis-à-vis man, and therewith consolidate a 'justified existence' of the patriarchy as the highest stage of development.

Robert Graves and the 'Genuine Myth'

b) For English author and poet Robert Graves (1895–1985), the economic and political structure of matriarchal cultures, which he places time-wise in the third millennium BCE, is secondary. His principal interest is in religion, to which he ascribes the primary role in social life. He sketches a religious system of matriarchal societies that rests on the mystical reference prevailing between the Great Goddess (as tribal mother) and her sons. The Great Goddess comes forward under three aspects—girl, nymph (nubile woman), and old woman;[2] under the influence of J. G. Frazer's scientific epic *The Golden Bough* (1st ed. 1890), Graves places a masculine companion piece, the 'hero,' at her side. For Graves, this 'genuine myth'—that is, the relation between goddess and sacred king—is conveyed in the patriarchy, and further encoded and distorted. As with all other concepts of the matriarchy (including those not expressly presented here), a reification of the feminine grounds Graves's position as well. The unknown 'feminine' is filled with attributes like nature, savagery, unfathomability, disorder, but also with 'feminine virtues' like motherliness and purity. The feminine, in relation to the patriarchal norm (patriarchal normality), is constantly the strange, the unknown, the other. Masculine yearnings, fears, and hopes with respect to the other sex take form in matriarchal cultures, become essential, and find their localization in the unthreatening sphere of the historical past.

Feminist Debate over Matriarchy

c) In the wake of the women's emancipation movement at the beginning of the 1970s (with forerunners since the 1920s—B. Diener-Eckstein), there arose—building, in part, on the scientific male fantasies described—independent feminist sketches of the matriarchy. The existence of an ancient or prehistoric matriarchy was considered to supply the women's movement with the evidence that female depreciation was historically and not biologically conditioned. Furthermore, the sense of a self-contained female history was thought to offer the demonstration that women—although in the remote past—were actively involved as independent agents in the shaping of society and culture, and thus that the demand for equality of rights in the shaping of today's society was justified. The reconstruction of a genuine female past led unwaveringly to a distancing from the historically produced 'male' image of the world, and to the formation and construction of an independent 'feminine image of the world.' Many matriarchal scholars, as, for example, M. Sjöö and B. Mor, describe the repression of the matriarchy by the patriarchy as the beginning of destruction, violence, and subjugation.

Feminist matriarchal research is recall of a better society, and so of an anterior utopia. It always simultaneously contains analysis and criticism of the patriarchy. With Heide Göttner-Abendroth (1980), for example, the matriarchy still described by male theoreticians as a 'primordial morass' (Bachofen) and chaos, becomes, by means of counter-mythologizing, a peaceful 'mythic time.' The development from then until now is seen as follows:

(1) The *Golden Age:* pure matriarchy, worship of the Goddess, peace-loving ordering of society, life in harmony with nature;

(2) the *Silver Age:* matriarchy, agriculture, appearance of the great goddesses of classical antiquity (Demeter, Kore, etc.);

(3) the *Bronze Age:* theocracy, beginning of the patriarchy, age of 'heroes,' war, and hostility among peoples;

(4) the *Iron Age:* extends until today: "persons are descendants without values, degenerate, cruel, unjust, ill-willed, insidious, and without respect. War and bloodshed over power or money makes the gladness of their hearts."[3]

It is striking that, with feminist matriarchal scholarship—somewhat as with Robert Graves—social structures are taken less into account, and the emphasis falls on the so-called *matriarchal religions*, with a Great Goddess in their myth and cult. This fact influenced the development, among some scholars in the women's movement, of sketches of a *matriarchal spirituality.* Out of the search for evidence of a society created and shaped by women, religion emerged as the principal motif. 'Matriarchy' became the paradigm of a spiritual lifestyle, of the quest for a new definition of reality and for a specifically feminine outline of life, in which cosmic myths, and the mystification of feminine culture as an expression of female power, play a great role. The matriarchy as a utopian place of peace, of bonding with nature, and nonviolence, are impressive vis-à-vis the life realities of women in the patriarchal society. The quest for the matriarchy, therefore, has—from the beginning—been a quest for the ideal primitive society (i.e. primitive homeland of woman), which, as shown here, is not so new, but fits into the long tradition of patriarchal myth-formation, through ideological preparation of history or historiography. The concept of a matriarchal world picture, then, is less a matter of objective facts than of a subjective claim to cultural, religious, and historical elements for the history of a 'woman culture.'

1. Bachofen 1948, 393.
2. Graves 1948.
3. Göttner-Abendroth 1980, 5.

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→ *Amazons, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Gender Stereotypes, New Age, Peace, Law, Sexuality, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Angela Schenkluhn

Meaning / Signification

1. "One who asks the meaning of life *is* sick," wrote Sigmund Freud in 1937 in a letter to Marie Bonaparte. Viktor Frankl's later response is, "One who does *not* ask the meaning of life *gets* sick."[1] Behind these two neat accentuations stands—among other things—the question of the transition from an unquestioning consciousness of a meaningful and meaning-filled life, to its crisis-attended questioning. The historical locus of the question of the 'meaning of life' can be broadly defined in terms of two modern conditions. The one is growing secularization; the other is a development in which "life as experienced is transformed into the product of one's own acts and of one's self-determined decisions."[2] Both premises take us back to the nineteenth century, and, indeed, the formula of the meaning of life cannot be demonstrated before the nineteenth century, as → Nietzsche and Dilthey are its first representatives. However one may see the relationship between progress and modernity, between a waxing cultural complexity and a general secularization (→ Security), the fact remains that the problems of the *balance sheet* of life have obviously changed: Have the parts, the portions of my life, each their own meaning? Can I calculate or hierarchize 'meaning of life' against life-meaning? Indeed, how does it stand with the question of the 'meaning of life' at all? If meaning can be 'conferred,' can it then also be 'lost'? In other words, is 'meaninglessness' the necessary counterpart of 'meaningfulness'—or, instead, is Niklas Luhmann justified in positing the simple 'impossibility of the loss of meaning,' the 'meaninglessness of the notion that existence is meaningless'?

'Pining for Meaning'

2. "In all cultivated heads," notes Paul Valéry, "the most varied ideas, and the most contrary principles of life and knowing, exist in unregulated proximity." This condition is "the essence of modernity."[3] Ever since the 1970s, publications have multiplied that are dedicated to the pluralization of the worlds of life, and plurality of lifestyles.[4] The shift of accent is obvious: it is no longer the cultural macro-level with its different systems of parts, or 'cultures,' that stands in the foreground, but only the distinct situation of a 'shifting' among 'different worlds.' Since there is no 'compulsory meta-system' (W. Welsch), uncertainties concerning orientation, malaises, and renunciation of meaning are the consequences. Such are the diagnoses, in some of their variations.

Need for and Loss of Meaning

3. 'Meaning' is especially precarious where diverse social, religious, or cultural areas, with their respective temporal and historical patterns, overlap or coincide. An ascription of meaning is obviously placed under special demands, then, when routine collapses, patterns of coherence stop working, or competing systems of interpretation result in paradoxes. This analysis presupposes that the personal agents have a horizon available of what to expect—that models of coherence exist, from whose point of departure insecurity or dependency ('contingence') can finally be specified and 'experienced.' Fundamental religious patterns of a basic assessment of contingency focus on the connection of action and passion, and result, for example, in the ancient East's 'reproaches to the gods,' and psalms of protest. At the same time, a fundamental difference between various types of religion becomes visible here: contingency in polytheistic religions is primarily attributed to a multiplicity of gods, their antagonisms, and their spontaneity, while in

monotheistic religions it is dealt with by way of a complex history of the ascription of guilt. In other words, contingency in the religious context presents a complication of the problems of theodicy: after all, we find ourselves under conditions of reflections on, and systematizations of, expectation. One implication of this complementary relationship between polytheistic and monotheistic religions lies not only in variously conceived ascriptions of meaning and patterns of orientation, but—on a higher level of synthesis—in a difference among salvation histories ('soteriologies').

4. Since the seventeenth century at the latest, the tendency seems to be forming, among cultural subsystems in Europe, to develop their own systems of meaning, still limited for a time by the demand that they be compatible—at least basically—with Christian soteriology. This observation generates a series of clear conclusions as to the structures of the formation of meaning across the board. Is another sense or 'meaning,' for example, produced (or is meaning produced in a different fashion, as, for example, in a framework of the system of law) in the framework of the economic system? Does the history of nature lose its meaning if it is programmatically de-historicized (M. Schramm, W. Lepenies)? It belongs to the shifting processes of a transformation in orientation that, in the eighteenth century, the spatial pattern of presentation of the 'connection,' or of 'fullness' (Lat., *plenitudo*) is set at naught by the interpretation pattern of a fixation in time.[5]

Meaninglessness and the Impossibility of Meaninglessness

5. In a framework of his theory of social systems, Niklas Luhmann has developed the thesis that meaninglessness can never be achieved by the negation of meaningfulness in the framework of systems of meaning—that, in the framework of this self-referentiality, "even for it there can no longer be anything that does not appear as meaning. The discourse of 'loss of meaning,' 'endangered meaning,' 'meaninglessness of being' must then (in the modern age!) be surrendered even by this approach to theory."[6] As a consequence of his analysis of social systems through a theory of system, this thesis has won a great deal of attention, and has led to a differentiated determination of the meaning concept. Precisely in the context of a rejection of Luhmann's apodictic determination, it seemed to be helpful to describe the legitimate achievements of the concept of meaning within and outside meaning systems. Precisely then the fact can be recognized that, first, it is possible to expect "that not only distinct courses of events can be referred to an agent as attributable selections, but that even the overall connection of all 'happening' should evince order and consequence, and this in the sense of a comprehensible, and not only regular, succession. As we know, Weber has pointed out the significance, in this connection, of at least the intention of winning rational interpretations of the world, created by intellectuals. Only through them does that expectancy of meaning vis-à-vis the world arise that can be disappointed."[7] The opportunity of negating 'meaning' on the meta-level arises only with the professionalization of religion, and the systematization of interpretations of meaning. The → disenchantment of the world by sciences, and the accompanying expectation of the world to be a meaningfully ordered cosmos, then do constitute, on the level of description, the (paradoxical) possibility of attesting to distinct phenomena of meaninglessness.

Ever since Max → Weber, in such dramatic style, has spoken of a "polytheism of values"—of "*the old, many gods* that step out of their graves, disenchanted and hence in the form of impersonal powers, and strive for control of our life," the problem of the orienting function of sciences has remained

under discussion. Weber, as Wolfgang Schluchter has shown in his *Religion und Lebensführung*, has stood up for "a cultural study (*Kulturwissenschaft*) that would be free of value judgments, and at the same time would be value-referring,"[8] inasmuch as they take into account two heterogeneities: the heterogeneity of the sphere of knowledge and the sphere of evaluation, on the one hand, and the heterogeneity of judgments upon knowledge and upon values on the other. This stance means that, despite all difficulties, a distinction must be made among orderings of value, and a decision taken for individual life. That which, with Weber, discharges into pathetic dualizations and alternatives (→ Values), is being increasingly installed as the signature of the modern age.

In an anamnesis of the situation found at the point of departure—and, at the same time, of the situation of modernity—extremely different factors and components can come under discussion. Wolf Lepenies's observation seems of special importance "that the human and social sciences forming in the eighteenth century have reinterpreted, and reduced to utility, in substantial way, that combination of boast of explanation and renunciation of orientation that distinguished the natural sciences."[9] The 'moral sciences' (in Fr., *sciences morales*) in France at first aroused the appearance of being able to legitimize their claim to orientation by popularization just as scientifically as the natural sciences had done for their epistemological achievement. One of the strategies of the moral sciences lay in the notion that certain areas of living, which in no sense belonged to this field of objects, should themselves be rendered scientific (on the model of the natural sciences). Comte's draft of sociology as the 'natural science of the social' is an example, even in consideration of the idea that 'science' should decidedly replace 'religion.'

Narrativity and the Conferral of Meaning

6. It is easy to overlook the fact that the nineteenth century is the horizon of time in which many sciences "seek to have [their] claim to orientation prevail by popularization."[10] The background of this new development, on the one side, is the development of scholarly scientific languages, and on the other, the growing professionalization of the sciences, which phenomenon also generated a 'laity.' That popularization of sciences can issue in religious patterns is best shown by the popularization of Darwinism in Germany, which, through Ernst Haeckel, issued in monism as a religion. In this pattern, and its inherent "orientation overshooting" (Lepenies), impossible for scholarly science to work its way out of, lurks the fundamental model that currently characterizes the relation of → 'New Age' spirituality to the natural sciences. From the viewpoint of the disciples of the New Age, the natural sciences, and precisely the 'hard' sciences, are constantly producing 'meaning,' i.e. meaning-bestowing patterns of orientation. These patterns are now called morphogenetic fields, strange attractors, or eons—which far outstrip their primary scholarly scientific connections.

Symbolization of Meaning, or Balancing Its Account?

7. On a comparable level, in the internal and external context of sciences, current complaints of loss of meaning and orientation deficits, together with a 'new confusion,' are indicators of the difficulty of dealing with ambiguity, multiplication of meaning, and complexity. Dealing with competing 'systems of interpretation of meaning' requires of their users or appliers other qualities and qualifications than an orientation to traditional religions or conservative educational traditions has demanded or would demand. Inasmuch as these outlines of meaning follow their respective cultural differentiation

processes, it is necessary for a pragmatic orientation to be able to 'put them in a cultural order'—to be culturally competent.

Homo Compensator

Helmuth Plessner's image of the human individual's "eccentric positionality" (naked, unbalanced, half), which finds compensation for that 'halfness' in culture,[11] becomes, in Odo Marquard's 'thesis of compensation,' a statement about the relationship of groups of sciences in the framework of culture: the 'humanities' compensate for the 'concrete losses in life' of the hard sciences; thus they make it possible to erect a 'meaning for activity and life.' The point of departure of Marquard's conception adopts an approach of Joachim Ritter: the figure of the *homo compensator*, in which Marquard sees a key motif of philosophical anthropology, a motif that ultimately has accompanied that anthropology from antiquity. It is of key importance for the current line of questioning that modern variants of the concept of compensation are a legacy of the Leibnizian theodicy. Later theoreticians took up the thesis of the inevitability and 'unsurpassability' of the modernity of the humanities, developed in this framework, with alacrity.

Animal Symbolicum

In various places in his works, and compendiously in the work of his advanced age, *Essay on Man* (1944), Ernst Cassirer characterizes—or indeed, defines the essence of—the human being as *animal symbolicum*, who produces and applies the symbol, and settles it in a kind of 'symbolical grid' in a 'symbolical universe.' Adopting this observation, which has already been encountered in multiplicity and in other formulations, Hans Lenk has specified it still further, and broadened it: the human being—unlike the beasts—has the ability to generate ever more abstract symbolizations, and then to investigate and apply the symbols themselves, meta-linguistically and meta-theoretically: the human being is the *meta-symbolizing being*. The human being is "that being that can also reinterpret these interpretations of her and his once more, and that must interpret them constantly anew—and only thus endeavor to comprehend them."[12] Against this background, in an expansion of Lenk's approach, culture is understood by the latter actually to be able to be understood as an *'interpretative community'* (H. Lenk), or *"meaning community,"* as a play of culture, extending the various speech, image, symbol, act, and schema plays to a meta-level, that of 'meaning.'

Meaning of the Act, Meaning of Life, Meaning of the World: Competing Meaning Patterns

8. Processes generating security as elementary components of cultural developments (→ Security), the tallying-up of life and the meaning of life in complex cultures (which now finally make this possible), as well as differentiations of the sciences, along with the patterns of orientation now 'transported' into them, are extensions of a 'tallying' pluralism. The "old, many gods," it would seem, appear less in an "eternal struggle" (Max Weber's mythologizing interpretation) than in a rather opaque, complex scenario in which one must 'arrange' oneself. Over against Weber's call of resignation to find the demon and obey him, as he holds one's life-threads, and over against Freud's comprehensive malaise in culture, the protective, that is, meaning-conferring, character of culture is notoriously underestimated. The 'spider webs' of Ignaz von Born's parable, and Cassirer's 'symbolic web,' not only bind, but also, especially, support.

Various judgments of modernity, which weigh complexity and culture against one another, take their orientation in the philosophical and theological thesis, ready to hand, that 'meaning' fulfills functions of orientation

only as cohesive and totalizing pattern; or conversely, that only monist and cohesive models of interpretation could truly generate meaning. A consequence of this conceptualization was the shift of meaning into the objects, an ontologization of meaning: as 'there is only one world,' ultimately there is also only one order conferring meaning. The competency or selectivity of the recipients of meaning, the users and the 'users-for-a-purpose,'—the trouble, here, of finding concepts already introduced shows this—customarily remains outside consideration. The sciences here only too eagerly accept the thesis of the professional producers of meaning that systems of meaning are to be used only in alternation and exclusively: a 'switch,' even on the descriptive level, therefore, is presented as heresy, as → conversion or → apostasy, or even as rejection of meaning. On the model of the Christian theologies, a 'singularization of meaning' is represented. For → European history of religion, on the other hand, it can be shown that a synchronous use of different systems of meaning, even of different religious systems of meaning, represents the rule, not the exception, from → Late Antiquity and the → Renaissance onward. An evolution of ideas in the stacked, closed space of supervision, as is typical with the establishment of complex cultures, potentially means, as well, "alternative play space" (R. Döbert), and produces the possibilities of a contest, or 'market,' of ideas that need not necessarily be measured only in terms of practicability and efficiency. Overlapping attributions of meaning and patterns of interpretation, a production of meaning that 'overshoots,' seem historically to materialize at those borders at which meaning has abandoned the conditions of production characterizing a 'subsistence society,' and can be 'withheld.' But this view presupposes means that can convey and 'transport' meaning: literature and art, philosophy and theology, sciences and institutions, film and television—and in some cases specialists to manage the necessary applications.

Singularization of Meaning: Religion as Exclusive System of Meaning?

9. The sciences, especially the science of religion, have paid little attention to the complex religious orientations and 'meaning competitions' typical of the European situation. This outcome, doubtless, is also connected with the fact that a successive dismembering of different areas of life was generally interpreted as → 'secularization' on the basis of Christian claims on normativeness, and this 'secularized' was excluded from the area of meaning across the board. While the other systems do still uncontestedly count as → 'religions,' the switch of systems of orientation, in terms of need or in biographical succession, is handled in the schema of apostasy and conversion. Temporary, partial, or successive switches are then to some extent automatically under suspicion of heresy. A comparative 'singularization of meaning' is also represented against modern bestowals of meaning, conferrals of meaning, histories of meaning (see above, parag. 7). P. L. Berger's 'heretical imperative' is indicative of this tradition, and is an attempt to describe—and evaluate—the deficiencies of traditional Christianity in modern society.[13] The religions of modernity, and the new religious movements, lay out compensatory strategies: over against the loss of meaning is set a 're-enchantment'; over against a 'shortage' of meaning, a post-monotheistic pluralism; over against a particularization of meaning, a world as meaningful organism; over against a diffuse meaninglessness, a narrative revival of old meaning resources.

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6. Luhmann 1996, 108.
7. Hahn 1987, 163f.
8. Schluchter, Wolfgang, Religion und Lebensführung. Studien zu Max Webers Kultur- und Werttheorie, Frankfurt/M. 1988, 350.
9. Lepenies, Wolf, "Wissenschaftskritik und Orientierungskrise," in: Lübbe, Hermann et al. (eds.), Der Mensch als Orientierungswaise? Ein interdisziplinärer Erkundungsgang, Freiburg 1982, 991.
10. Ibid., 105.
11. Plessner, Helmuth, "Die Stufen des Organischen und der Mensch," in: Idem, Gesammelte Schriften 4:385; 395.
12. Lenk, Hans, Schemaspiele. Über Schemainterpretationen und Interpretationskonstrukte, Frankfurt/M. 1995, 14f.; cf. p. 252.
13. Berger 1980.

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→ *History, Nature, Science, Tradition*

Burkhard Gladigow

Mecca

General

1. Mecca (in Arab., *al-Makka*—often with the suffix *al-Mukarrama*, 'the Venerable') is the sacred city, and most important place of pilgrimage, of → Islam. The central sanctuary, the *Ka'ba* (Arab., 'cube'), a rectangular building, in whose northeastern wall the Black Stone is fixed, with its religious importance from pre-Islamic times, stands in the center of the Great Mosque. Mecca (provincial capital of the emirate of the same name) lies on the West coast of the Arabian Peninsula, in the mountainous region of the Hijāz, in today's Saudi Arabia. It is about 72 km distant from the Red Sea, and has some 300,000 inhabitants. The area of the city is relatively high (roughly 280-320 m), and lies between two nearly bare chains of hills. Although rain falls irregularly (about 100-150 mm per year), heavy rain collects in the valleys, owing to the fact that the surface is of granite. Thus, the city, and especially the *ḥarām* (Arab., 'holy area'), are occasionally flooded, as they were in 1942 and 1950. Dams have been built recently, in an attempt to prevent flooding. The climate is hot and dry—in July an average of 37.5°C—and natural sources of water are few. At present, a pipeline leads from the seawater desalination plant to Mecca; since 1998, its capacity has been doubled to 140 million m^3 annually, with an investment of $525 million. Non-Muslims are prohibited from entering the city.

History

2. Mecca had importance even in pre-Islamic times, as a commercial city, and doubtless also as a place of pilgrimage. In pre-Islamic times, the culture and religion were not entirely different from those of the neighboring nomads on the Arabian Peninsula, and a polytheistic religion, characterized in part by divination, was the basic religion. Meccans must have come to know Judaism and Christianity, as well, together with the so-called *Ḥanīf*s (probably monotheistic hermits). Presumably, the Ka'ba and Black Stone, as well as the other stations of today's pilgrim route, or Hajj (Arab., *ḥajj*), were already reckoned as sanctuaries by that time. After its capture by the Muslims in 630, → Muhammad, himself a native Meccan, made the city the key pilgrimage place and direction of prayer (in Arab., *qibla*). The Umayyad caliphs (→ Islam) came from a class of the Meccan nobility. Even by the time of Caliph 'Alī, however, Mecca had become politically peripheral. But its religious importance remained intact, and the 'Abbasid caliphs, especially, invested a great deal in the city. The sanctuary of the Ka'ba was subjected repeatedly to incursions by extremist, mostly antinomian groups, such as the one in 930, when the Qarmats plundered the city, murdered numerous inhabitants and pilgrims, and carried off the Black Stone to their realm in today's Bahrain, from where it was recovered only in 950. After 960, Mecca was controlled in turn by the *Šarīf*s (Arab., 'noble,' descendants of the Prophet) under the administration of the caliphs, then the Mongols, and

finally the Ottomans, who maintained themselves in two kingdoms until 1924. The last Sharif had to yield to the onset of the Waḥḥābites, followers of the radically traditionalist doctrine of Muhammad ibn ʿAbdulwaḥḥāb (1703/04–1792), who especially opposed veneration of the saints and any kind of outer grandeur, and represented an extreme moralism. Since 1744, the teaching of the Waḥḥabīyya has been linked with the direct forebears of today's Saudi royal house, which was proclaimed in 1925. A confession in the proper sense does not exist there any more than do parties, unions, or elections. The foundation of the state is Islamic law (Sharia, → Islam), whose observance is also overseen by a special religious police. Since King Faisal (assassinated in 1975), first approaches have been made to a constitution or deliberative bodies, but power lies as much as ever with some 10,000 Saudi princes, especially the King.

The Hajj

3. The Saudi government has made the organization of the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina a government program from the beginning. Since 1986, the King has called himself "Guardian of the Holy Places." The Hajj (Arab. for pilgrimage, especially to Mecca, and then Medina) is one of the Five Pillars of Islam (sura 3:97), and is to be undertaken by every Muslim once in a lifetime. Muslims distinguish between the ʿ*umra*, in which only the holy places in Mecca are visited, and the actual Hajj. The latter generally takes place between the 7th and 13th of Ḏū l-Ḥijja (in the Muslim enumeration of the lunar months, the month of pilgrimage). The pilgrim enters upon a condition of consecration (in Arab., *iḥrām*), whose external sign is special dress (for men, two unsewn white sheets, around the hips and over the shoulders, no head-covering, sandals) as well as certain prescriptions of abstinence (such as from perfumes and sexual intercourse, the → hair must not be washed, combed, or cut). Important ceremonies of the pilgrimage (see also maps) are the hearing of a sermon, the sevenfold circling of the Kaʿba (*ṭawāf*), prayer at the *maqām Ibrāhīm* (Arab., "place of Abraham": according to Islamic teaching, Abraham built the Kaʿba), and the course (*saʿy*) from Ṣafā and Marwa, which were integrated into the area of the mosque, standing (*wuqūf*) at the *Jabal al-Raḥma* ("Mount of Grace") or *ʿArafāt*, the course from there to the Gal Minā, with an overnight stay in Muzdalifa (in the Qur'an, the place is *al-Maš ʿar al-Ḥarām*). In Minā, seven stones, ideally gathered at ʿArafāt, are cast at one of three stone pillars (in Arab., *jamarāt*) that symbolize the Devil. On the tenth of Ḏū l-Ḥijja, an animal sacrifice is slaughtered, with several pilgrims present, if possible. The meat is consumed, and the leftovers distributed to the poor. The organization sponsored by the Saudi government meanwhile sees to the removal of the leftovers, so that danger of disease is extensively checked. The subsequent shaving or cutting of the hair is customary, but not obligatory, as is drinking from the cistern *Zamzam* in Mecca. A further circling of the Kaʿba is executed, which in the meantime has been redecorated with its new brocaded cover (*kiswa*), whereupon the last days are spent in Mina, where, daily, seven more stones are cast at all three pillars. The Hajj closes with a 'farewell *ṭawāf*.' Most of the rituals could be of pre-Islamic origin, reinterpreted after the establishment of Mecca as spiritual center of Islam, and 'Islamized' by the pronouncement of certain formulae, for example with the *wuqūf* or *ṭawāf*. Pilgrims optionally pay visit to other places in Mecca, such as the birth house of the Prophet, as well as the trip to Medina to the entombment mosque.



Pilgrims to the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar-al-aswad*) at the Kaʿba. The Kaʿba itself, as well as the Black Stone, date from pre-Islamic times. After the conquest of Mecca in 630, the idols in and around the building were removed, and the sanctuary and cult were Islamized. Islamic legend maintains that Abraham built the Kaʿba, and that the Angel Gabriel brought the Black Stone from heaven as a sign of the Covenant with God. The Stone has a red-black color, with red and yellow particles, and consists of lava or basalt. It protrudes into the northeastern outer wall of the Kaʿba, and is held together with a silver bond: it may have been a result of the plunder by the Qarmats in 930 that it has been broken into three large pieces and a number of small ones. In their circumambulations (*ṭawāf*) of the Kaʿba, pilgrims press their breast against the part of the wall between the stone and the door, and try to touch and kiss the Stone. At the same time, the Stone has also become the object of antinomian attacks against religious law (as, for example, by the Qarmats), and so it is guarded by members of a special police unit (*ṭawāšī*, in the picture), who, especially during the month of pilgrimage, are stationed in the *maṭāf* (surrounding area), for the protection of the pilgrims and the sanctuary.

4. Even in the recent history of Mecca, repeated violent confrontations have occurred during the Hajj, such as, for example, 1979 violence with Iranian (and so Shiite) pilgrims, which killed 402 persons. Likewise in 1979, a group of extreme traditionalists occupied the area of the mosque, in which there were 50,000 persons just then, and proclaimed Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Qaḥṭānī to be the *Mahdī* ('messiah' of the end time). The Saudi police managed to take the armed men into custody relatively quickly, and they were beheaded in 1980. Sixteen participants in an assassination attempt by Shiite Kuwaitis in Mecca were executed in 1989.

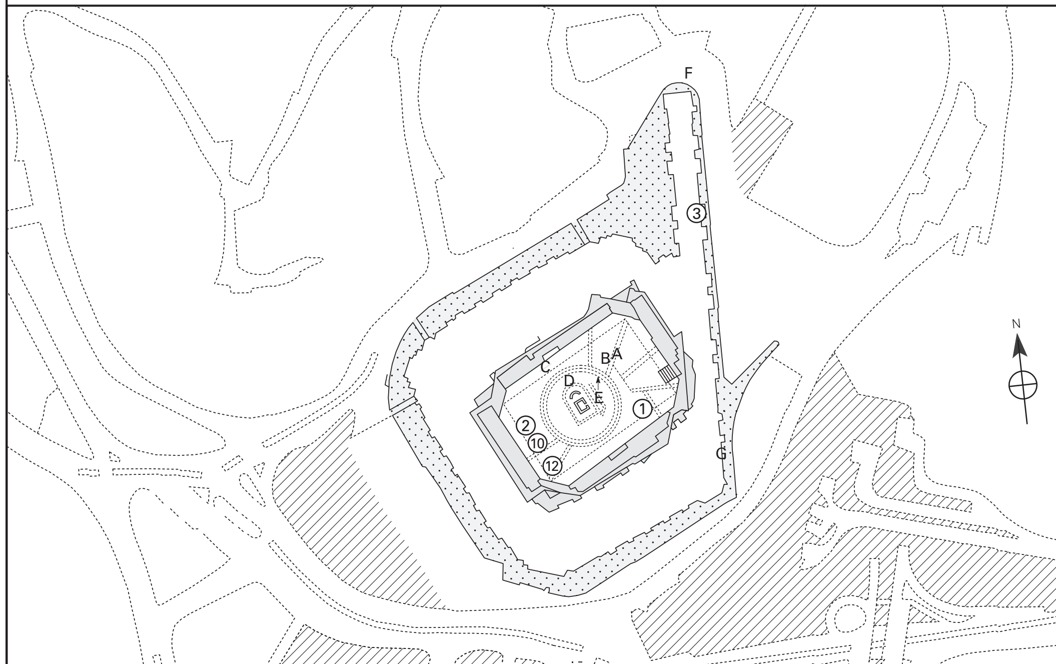
Other events have burdened the organization of the Hajj, such as the panic in the Great Mosque in 1990, where nearly 1,500 pilgrims died, or as recently as 1997, the burning of the tents in Minā, which cost the lives of 343 persons.

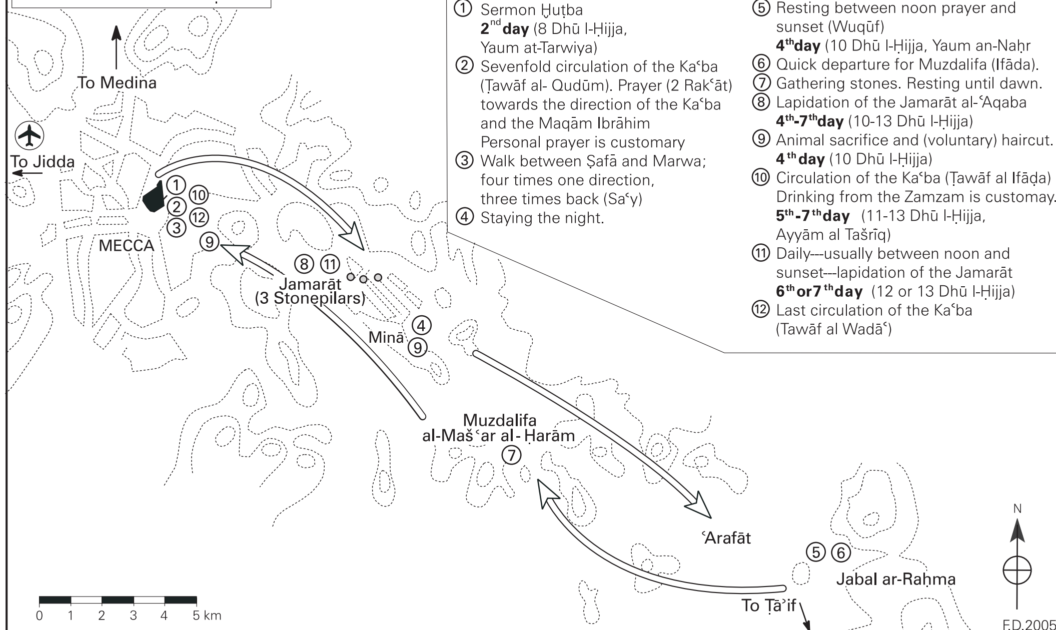
The Saudi health organization, which has developed rapidly since the oil boom, is concerned that no epidemics break out during the Hajj. (The cholera that had often been introduced previously quickly subsided.) Hygienic measures have been taken, and adequate medical care of the pilgrims has been assured. The Jidda airport, connected with Mecca by an eight-lane highway, through which most pilgrims come today (87%; most of these from Indonesia), belongs to the largest in the world in area, and can accommodate 9,000 pilgrims per hour (the pilgrimage is undertaken by 1.5 to 2 million pilgrims annually), along with 6,000 other passengers, during the D̲ū l-Ḥijja. A system of four-lane circulator highways surrounds the sacred area of Mecca's center city, and connects this area by highways with the rest of the country. Four highways, and a pedestrian lane, lead to ʿArafāt alone. Since 1956, the sacred area itself has constantly been widened: from originally 3,000 square meters in three approaches before 1993, it has grown to 186,000 square meters (room for one million persons at prayer, parking lots for buses and cars), and was widened around certain minarets. The course between Marwa and Ṣafā has been attached to the complex of mosques, and roofed, the Zamzam has been overlaid with marble and completely remodeled, and steps, with ramps for wheelchairs, along with new doors, have been installed. These construction projects have driven some 125,000

MECCA: Grand Mosque (Al Masjid al-ḥarām)

- Old Kaʿba Mosque
- New Saudi Buildings
- Surfaces Torn Away (1978-88)

A. Zamzam Springs
B. Maqām Ibrāhīm (Here one may join a group led by a Muṭawwif)
C. Maṭāf (open area for circling the Kaʿba)
D. Kaʿba
E. Black Stone
F. Marwa
G. Ṣafā (wheelchairs are available here, and one may join a group under the leadership of a Muṭawwif)





households and shops from center city to decaying streets, which have now been colonized as far as twenty kilometers from downtown. The old building substance of downtown, with its up to seven-story clay structures, has all but disappeared. Similar construction projects have been begun in Medina, as well.

This program is all part of the effort of the Saudi government to style Mecca, and along with it Saudi Arabia, the midpoint of the Islamic world. Stagnation in the development of the city, caused by the oil boom on the East Coast, has since been practically overcome. Since 1948, Mecca has been the site of an Islamic university and a center for Islamic education. The Islamic World League has its headquarters here, along with numerous printing and publishing houses. The standard of living is high. Eighty-five percent of the wage earners work in the tertiary sector, mainly in health institutions and establishments, the hotel industry, or as *Muṭawwifīn* (cooperatives of official pilgrimage leaders). State industry is essentially limited to a *kiswa* factory with some 200 workers, as a result of the tradition that the particular political ruling power establishes the *kiswa* over the holy places.

Meanwhile, the massive character of the Hajj is also seen as a problem: not only the fact that the first oil boom is long past, and now even the *Ministry for Ḥajj and Waqf* (religious foundations) must cut their budgets. But extravagances and untoward episodes, which repeatedly arise despite excellent organization, have led the government to suggest to the Organization of Islamic Conferences, well-established in Jidda, a contingent of pilgrims of at most 10,000 per country and year, especially in order to reduce the Iranian pilgrims. Meanwhile, Iran is permitted to send 110,000 pilgrims per year.

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→ *Islam, Local Devotion, Orientation, Pilgrimage, Place (Sacred)*

Agnes Imhof

Media

Transmittal of Religion

1. Religions are complex, culturally conditioned systems of communication and symbol. Their 'messages' (of the will of God, of the gods, of the ancestors) and their signs are often accessible to and interpretable by only a few specialists. Religions therefore need to shape and develop certain strategies of transmittal. This means that, even per se, → communication has a medial aspect of conveyance of information, of coordination, and of articulation. Media (whether human or → machine) are to some extent means of assistance



In 1991, the Catholic Church in Poland had received from the state the right to use, free of charge, frequencies today occupied mostly by the private station *Radio Maryja* (Polish, "Radio Mary"). In the name of the Virgin Mary, Radio Maryja, which is financed entirely by donations, has long since become a platform for a Poland-centered, anti-foreign Catholic → fundamentalism. According to the station itself, it had four to five million regular listeners in 1998. The concept of 'interactive radio' includes active audience-participation, in the form of live expressions of opinion, but also prayers, etc. A newspaper and a television station have been planned.

to, and material carriers of, religious symbolic systems. By accommodation to new media, of course, cultural and religious conditions can be created anew, and they are—not infrequently accompanied by the critical voices of representatives of traditional forms of transmittal.

What functions various media adopt within a society, which interests they satisfy, and how communication, the conservation of knowledge, as well as → advertising and propaganda, or the construction of partial audiences and spaces of communication (for instance, the Church in the Middle Ages), run their course, are recurring questions, especially with reference to religion. Thus, until well into the Middle Ages, European culture appeared as an era of the medium, 'person'—religious → specialists as a medium—not of the written media. Only with the fifteenth-century invention of printing does an alteration occur that, seen historically, can be grasped as the first instance of a 'communication between human being and machine.'[1] The addressee of the 'message' is indeterminate, interpretation is left to the individual, and the book becomes an educational medium, but also one of entertainment. Simultaneously, by way of new technological media, further ways appear for receiving and storing cultural and religious knowledge. No longer is the human memory alone important for transmission; now complex material objects and processes join it. Particular achievements are externalized, and the culture of memory gradually loses its importance (→ Memory).

In the twentieth century, through the development of electronic media (mass media), we experience a further 'turnabout.' New forms of communicative networking (Internet), new information-storage systems (video tapes or diskettes), plus the pluralization of the supply of information, by cable television or satellite, present opportunities for a new form of spirituality or piety. It can be discovered, in all of its multiplicity, in the mass media, on the music and art scene, or in entertainment and the area of leisure. Thus, today we stand on the "threshold of the age of the boundless media,"[2] the media that make it possible, in principle, to navigate many areas of life with the same apparatus (e.g., on-line shopping and banking), and to develop



Using a wooden block and a block-letter method, a Buddhist monk in Nepal is producing prayer banners. In Lamaistic culture, such banners are hung in open spaces, for example at mountain passes, where the wind waves them. One frequently sees them on long strings, stretching from the tip of a *stupa* (Buddhist sacred architecture) to the ground. In the raw climate of the Himalayas, the printed material does not long endure, and so the banners are regularly replaced through the efforts of adherents. The five colors (yellow, red, green, blue, white) correspond to the directions of the sky. Often, additionally, the animal symbols of the directions of the sky are pictured: a horse, a peacock, bird-person Garuda, an elephant, and a lion. Activated by the wind, the banners become a medium of religious communication. The saving power of the mantras printed on them is a proclamation that will be borne further without more human intervention, freed by the wind and blown by it to all living beings. Thus the fluttering prayer banners send their blessings to all the winds. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

new forms of communication, information, and entertainment (audiovisual conferences, networked games, chat rooms, cyberspace).

How, and in what guise, religions will react to these recent developments is as yet undetermined. So far, it has been the constant interest of the religions, as partial systems of society, to appropriate the respective cultural technologies—not without a critical distance, however. This can be shown with the medium of the book, as well as with the use of radio and → television.

Nevertheless, despite these facts, what has always been of outstanding importance has been first of all the human being as 'transmitter.' It has always been persons who remembered and proclaimed the information, who transmitted it through speech, and interpreted 'magical signs.' Thus, in a presentation of the relevant media for the religions, the 'primary medium,' that must not be missing, has always been the person, along with the print media and the electronic media. The medial importance of the individual person lies in the pure storage of information, and communication, as well as in a function of social regulation and worship, in the stabilization of government and in entertainment (in Lat., *spectaculum*).

The Religious Specialist

2. Religious → specialists are differentiated religious 'person-media' (W. Faulstich). They are characterized by their assumption of particular roles and cultic functions (→ Sacrifice)—both therapeutic and cathartic, within a society—partly in combination with charismatic capabilities (→ Charisma). Depending on the cultural context, they are priest(esse)s, shamans, prophet(esse)s, monks, nuns, and preachers, and even singers and storytellers. As a 'medium between the worlds,' they communicate, through particular techniques (e.g., → oracles, → dreams and → visions, as well as astrological interpretations; → Astrology), at one and the same time with the gods and with human beings; they are the guardians and conveyers of sacred traditions; they are the instances of formation and education; they structure the world for the members of their community; and they indicate schemata of order. Their role is frequently bound up with enormous prestige and political influence, so that they can be media of government, on the one hand; but on the other hand,

as in the case of the reforming prophets, they can stand against government, worship, and priesthood, for renewal in times of crisis.

For the European Middle Ages, it is especially the *preachers* and mendicant monks who tread the narrow line between monastery, university, and the developing city, and open new channels of information and communication. With the monks stepping out of the monastery, and practicing new kinds of proclamation, for instance the folk sermon on the streets and in the squares, and this in the colloquial language, a new dimension of public sphere was reached by the religious message. That dimension, with its orientation to persons and groups with particular purposes, produced a connection with other media of the transmission of the faith (→ Liturgy/Dramaturgy; Book; Art/Aesthetics; Drama [Sacred]; → Procession). Along with the cult of the saints and their relics, the mendicant monks' sermons became at once the determining foundation of 'folk piety,' and again, the "key medium, in the Late Middle Ages, through which scholarly 'book-knowledge' found entry into folk culture, and theological thought patterns into the conceptual world of the laity."[3] It is precisely the suppression of 'superstition' and folk culture by the 'mission preachers' that demonstrates the sermon as a combative medium of the Church(es). In the coming of the 'television preacher' (→ Televangelism), who, today, via satellite, can at times be received at several thousand places worldwide, and in simultaneous translation, this tradition continues to an extent never reached before.

Along with the religious specialists, it is especially *singers* and *storytellers* who have always been responsible for the storage and transmission of myth and wisdom. In songs of the gods and heroes, in sagas and fables, prevailing hierarchies of values and norms transmitted a framework of orientation for human action. → Heroes represented cultural ideals. In the European Middle Ages, singers and storytellers were both the first 'live' entertainment media, and, similar to the traveling player, communications media of the first rank. Through their mobility, they were the journalists of their time, and vehicles of political report and daily critique.

The Configuring Media

3. Human individuals, as cultural beings, shape their environment anew: in creating or reshaping things, at the very same time they see new opportunities for the transmission and storage of knowledge. The *configuring media* are always the vehicles of two aspects, that of art and that of the medium. Culturally conditioned means of expression such as → dance or → theater not only convey cultural identity, in the form of religious traditions and myths, but also serve for the regulation of socially conditioned events, and are elements of stress management, as well as of pure entertainment. Media of the image (wall, window, icons), sculpture, the plastic arts, memorial and burial stones, and architecture preserve the social memory. The transmitting function of the configuring media is especially the product of their public character. The consequent adaptations of the religious 'proclamations' to the medium are seen in an immediate comprehensibility, generated by the multiplication of information and of its character as call and appeal. Thus, for example, the windows of medieval cathedrals, with their image cycles from the world of Christian belief, the symbols of salvation, and scenes from the Bible or the lives of the saints, became independent vehicles of transmission, whose shaping, through the accentuation of particular elements taken from the everyday reality of the onlooker, often deviated considerably from a presentation in the text. It was precisely on that account, however, that

the theologians adopted them—along with murals and frescoes—for the religious instruction of a mainly illiterate audience, a project that they could more easily integrate into their concrete reality by way of the proclamations transported through the images. Only in the wake of the → Reformation did the image lose its importance, and the 'wall' as a medium moved out of the church.

Similar developments are found in liturgical plays, such as the Easter or crib plays, the Passion plays, the miracle and legend plays. If at first there was only the presentation of certain textual passages (such as the Mary's visit to the empty grave; Matt 28:1ff.; Mark 16:1ff.; Luke 24:1ff.; John 20:1ff.), eventually there is an extension of the themes and an individualization of the persons presented (e.g., weeping Mary), until entirely new details are added (e.g., purchase of ointments from the greengrocers). Furthermore, the place of execution shifts from church space to that of the square before the main gate.

Thus, the purpose maintained by the 'shaping media' was not only a simplification and a direct comprehension on the part of audiences, but also affects, pleasures, and entertainment.

4. Written media, such as the scroll, the sheet or folio, the book, the computer, are media that use *writing* as a tool for the storage of information and cultural knowledge. Far more powerfully than the shaping media, those just cited are first and foremost storage media with an archival function.

Writing

With the development of written signs (from the fourth millennium BCE, in several coding systems almost simultaneously in Egypt and Mesopotamia), the history of the written media began. In the course of time, these media extensively replaced the subjective/objective configuring media in their function as media of storage and communication. The new specialists, the writers, often belonged to a privileged condition—were functionaries of the administration, or with the military—and, to some extent, had cultic functions as well. (In the European Middle Ages, at least in Christian contexts, the ability to read and write was limited almost entirely to → monasticism.) Even the book's predecessors, the papyrus or parchment sheet, the codex and the scroll, became important storage media, for sacred as well as profane purposes. They stood in a connection with worship, as, for example, with the determination of sacrificial gifts to be made on the part of the faithful. The 'book house' as a part of the Temple shows a close affinity between the place of worship, library, and administration.

In particular, the *scroll* was suited for the preservation of lengthier sacred texts, since it subsequently was almost impossible to manipulate (for example, through the removal of textual passages). By way of its character as representation, the scroll has always found use, especially in cultic public space (e.g., still today, the scroll of the Torah in Jewish synagogues; → Book). It may be that early Christianity's address to the codex, on one side, has to do with its greater convenience for missionary journeys. But on the other, perhaps it ought also to be appraised as a form of division, and these quasi-alternatives will have to be investigated still more precisely. It is clear, however, that, with the closing of the private Roman libraries in the fourth century, and the appearance of Christian libraries, the era of the scroll medium came to an end. What had not been transcribed in codex form, no longer belonged to the canon, and gradually fell into oblivion.

The *codex*, consisting of several parchment pages, folded and glued together, and cut on three sides, was the Christians' preferred written medium.

Only in the Middle Ages was did the book replace the codex. Because of its configuration, like that of the book later, the codex received its own sacred character. Furthermore, its cover design communicated messages of an iconographic kind. Its history, as well as especially that of the book, was closely bound with the (Christian) monasteries, especially as the latter began to build the monastic libraries with their writing rooms (*scriptoria*). Beyond monastery walls, the book as communications medium had almost no importance at all.

Inside the medieval monastery, the production of writing material and writing instruments, the binding, as well as inscription, of books, was now regarded as a work 'pleasing to God.' The scriptoria were decisive for the propagation of religious content on the one hand, and on the other for the book as a medium; however, not only were the books of other monasteries copied for use in one's own monasteries, but original projects were assigned and prepared as well. But unlike the authors, the copyists must not necessarily have the benefit of literacy.

By way of → *scholasticism* and the university system, the function of the book as custodian of sacred tradition basically changed. Gradually, profane works came to be copied as well, especially those of antiquity. The book became a tool. Smaller formats appeared, more convenient to transport, and the book developed into a new means of education. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, book production gradually shifted to the profane area, a broad basis of commerce in books appeared, and the introduction of printing in the fifteenth century simplified the access to books even for the laity.

Secondary Media: Print Media and Photography

5. In media studies, 'secondary media' are those media that require technological apparatus for their production. These, first and foremost, are print media. Regarded functionally, they have taken over the storage and transmission services of the written media, to which a communicative element is added through the moment of 'mass production,' that concentrates less on communication with an elite inner circle.

a) Block printing was introduced in China as early as the first millennium CE, greatly simplifying the work of printing and copying. Here was a means of production that not only offered enormous economy, but also made the first 'mass editions' possible. The invention by Johannes (Gensfleisch zum) Gutenberg (1394/99–1468) of printing with movable type (typography) not only rendered the book a medium for writing, but established the basis for new communications media to develop, such as the handbill or the newspaper. It was especially the Reformed Churches that made use of printed *pamphlets* for mass mobilization, and to gain their objectives: oral communication no longer had the upper hand in communicative situations; rather, hopes lay with the printing of books, which was brought into connection with the decentralization and multiplication of specific audiences. Especially in → Pietism, writing and books became an essential medium (edifying literature, reading communities, or weekly papers such as the *Christbote* (Ger., "Christian Messenger") in Southern Germany at the end of the nineteenth century. Today, all of the churches make use of various printed testimonials, both on the level of the community (community letters, church bulletins) as well as inter-regionally, by weekly newspapers, or special pamphlets.

b) With the invention of *photography* in the early nineteenth century, the desire for an exact representation of reality seemed to reach fulfillment. A

medium had been created that, as technique of documentation, no longer needed language, but conveyed the world 'as it is.' At first employed especially by anthropologists in their research projects, or utilized by merchants, colonial bureaucrats, and missionaries for 'those at home' as a welcome means of depicting the situation, such early pictures nevertheless show 'reality' less than they do the 'foreign,' or 'strange,' in its exoticism, savagery, or, indeed, idealization. The time it originally took to set up the background and lighting rarely allowed for much more than 'still' photographs ('posed' pictures, or portraits, and inanimate scenes), not least of all, and often, intended to serve for the justification of → colonialism and → mission (→ Evolutionism). The foreign (or foreigner) was to be presented as especially uncivilized and 'savage,' in order to emphasize the dangers of the mission, and its ensuing success. Photography—especially after the development of the 'snapshot camera'—became a mass medium in the service of → tourism, not only recalling the (vacation) world of the stranger, but also presenting it at home. Press photography, picture postal cards, and advertising posters all take advantage of religious pictorial motifs. Whether by way of pure representation or through photographic montage, religion worked in formats suitable for setting religious declarations into new connections of meaning (e.g., in an advertisement for energy-conserving lamps with a picture of a Buddhist monk, and the caption, "Many ways lead to enlightenment").

Tertiary Media—Mass Media

6. Since the 1950s, as television has entered so many Western households, one has heard the expression, 'mass media.' Like the book, painting, and plastic arts, the mass media as well are 'vehicles of religious messages,' and means of the production of meaning.

a) *Religious radio stations*, such as the Orthodox Jewish *Qol Hai* (Heb., "Voice of Life") in Tel Aviv, Vatican Radio, or *Radio Maryja,* the largest Catholic private station in Poland, tailor their messages for a special audience, or use the medium for purposes of propaganda, indeed to the point of political agitation. Here, demand determines content, just as with television. In 1997, *Qol Hai* had adopted too moderate a line to suit ultra-Orthodox listeners, and their massive criticism forced a partial revision of its presentation: religion and world reporting are now handed on from an Orthodox standpoint, and even the songs played have religious themes, presented in Hebrew or Yiddish. There was a complete prohibition of songs sung by women, or such as might bear on romantic love relationships. *Radio Maryja*, founded in 1991, on the other hand, has simply become the loudspeaker of its conservative audience (the 'family of *Radio Maryja*'). As need arises, it organizes thousands of persons for demonstrations (for example, against a policy of European integration), or organizes pilgrimages to Czestojowa. The resonance in the population is apparently so great that Polish church leadership feels constrained to practice a policy of 'putting up with it.'

But by virtue of its character as mass communication, radio (or television) can also be introduced for regulative purposes. In 1997, in Ankara, the state Office for Religious Affairs held 'standardized' sermons in 700 of the 1,100 mosques and houses of prayer, and had them broadcast by radio. The growing tendency in Turkey to revise the function of the Friday sermons as political proclamations, obviously evoked this state measure in order to fight the progressing Islamism (→ Laicism).

b) Unlike radio, the medium of → television is not 'talk-centered,' but has other means of conveying 'messages,' by virtue of its 'realism.' Nonetheless,

television was at first used by the churches by and large in the conventional sense: broadcast of divine services, broadcasts of the Papal Easter blessing *Urbi et Orbi* [Lat., "To the City and to the World"]), not least of all on the assumption that particularly creative depiction would work on the content in a falsifying and distorting fashion. Today, church productions tread new paths, and there is less hesitation in using the mass media in more diverse ways. Thus, in 1999 in the United States, the Catholic Church started a campaign on local television and radio for vocations to the priesthood, an idea picked up in the same year by the diocese of Essen (Germany).

Computer and Internet

c) While radio and television as media of communication are preponderantly asymmetrical in their producer/consumer (listeners/viewers) relationship, the Internet offers the opportunity for an interactive participation. Forums (newsgroups, listservs, message boards, etc.), more or less stable, are created to address particular religious themes and situations. Here, in a new, unique form, the Internet offers groups the opportunity of worldwide communication on religion and religions, although preponderantly, once more, in written form. The most diverse groups avail themselves of it, whether by advertising for members, by means of 'stock markets' for sales and information, through so-called 'E-Zines' (electronic magazines), or as a platform for discussion. But the Pope, too, since 1998, has come on the Internet: an Internet camera pursues his activities, whether in divine services on Saint Peter's Square, or on his travels. In this way, believers can participate in the religious life of the head of the Roman Catholic Church while they are seated comfortably in front of their computers at home. It becomes more difficult when the new medium attempts to penetrate the sphere of ritual practice itself: according to Catholic understanding, confession over the Internet is inadmissible and invalid. Subsequently, the communications technologies are of only limited utility. 'Personal conversation' continues to be regarded as indispensable for the transmission of the faith.

1. Giesecke 1998, 39.
2. Schulze, Gerhard, in: Müller-Doohm/Neumann-Braun 1995, 370.
3. Mezger, W. (1989), cited in Faulstich 1996, 168.

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→ *Book, Communication, Dance, Drama (Sacred), Film, Image/Iconoclasm, Language, Literature, Liturgy, Monasticism, Monument/Memorial Places, Oral Tradition, Publicity, Sermon, Society, Specialists (Religious), Televangelism, Television, Text/Textual Criticism, Theater*

Jutta Bernard

Meditation

1. The concept of meditation is widespread in Western linguistic usage today. Its meaning and interpretation vary strongly. In general, what is understood by 'meditation' is a deepened consciousness of concentrated recollection, as distinct from a person's normal everyday consciousness. Frequently, the concept of meditation includes the techniques for the attainment of this special state of mind and spirit. Meditation is both, then: the way and the goal of a concrete spiritual practice.

2. Fundamentally, in Western modernity, the concept of meditation can be distinguished in terms of two different associative contexts, one religious and the other nonreligious. The latter, as a rule, refers to the everyday linguistic use of the word, and means an intensified 'reflection on' something. It comes from the lexical translation of the Latin concept *meditatio.*

Meditation in the Area of Religion

Extroverted vs. Introverted Meditation

3. Along with this profane understanding, in the 'world religions' (Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam), we find another apprehension of meditation. It could be understood as a mental or spiritual 'submersion.' In this religious context, meditation scholar Klaus Engel distinguishes an *extroverted* form of meditation, in which the meditation is conducted with the eyes open, from an *introverted* form, in which the eyes are closed. According to Engel, the "introverted forms of meditation [strive for] a 'sinking' of the soul, with the purpose of an integration of the basis of the soul, as the central experience was called in Christian language, or [an integration] of the dimension of the soul that in Indian Hindu tradition is called samadhi." To be distinguished from these 'introverted foms,' according to Engel, are "the extroverted forms of meditation, which are devoted to a development of the existing, outer directed consciousness."[1]

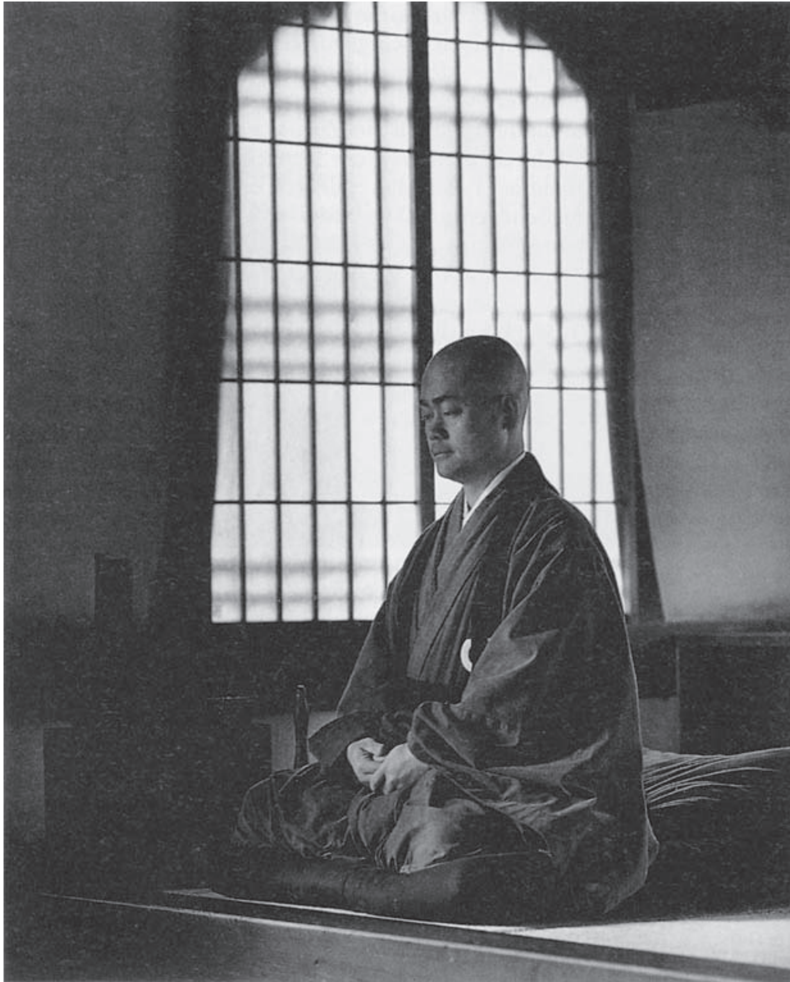
Jack Kornfield offers a similar, practice-oriented classification of various forms of meditation. He likewise distinguishes two basic types of meditation: the 'concentrative' meditation and the insight meditation. The umbrella concept 'concentrative meditation' means, for Kornfield, a whole class of kinds of meditation in which what is at issue is the schooling of the mind or spirit through persistent and persevering focusing on the → breath, a → mantra, a candle flame, or the like, so that all thoughts and other sensations, all distracting influences from within and without, are excluded. To be distinguished from this, according to Kornfield, is "the other heading of meditation," the schooling of the "insight" or "consciousness." The latter does not attempt to withdraw the mind from current events, in order to gather it to a particular object and thereby to release altered states. Instead, it works with what is at hand, and schools the attention to be paid to the continuous flow, from moment to moment, of all of that of which our life consists.[2]

Asian Religions

4. Both of the above classifications are strongly dependent on the historical development of meditation in the *Asian religions.* Among these, → 'Hinduism' and → Buddhism have always been powerfully influential.

Hinduism

a) Within 'Hinduism,' the development and formation of → yoga contributed decisively to the establishment of meditation in Indian culture. The mysticism of yoga has very ancient historical roots, dating from Vedic times



A presiding monk (*jikijitsū*) practices *zazen* (seated meditation) in *Tenryuji* Monastery in → Kyôto, Japan. In the *zendo*, the meditation hall, the monks sit in two long rows, on podia that directly face each other. The podia are covered over with straw mats (*tatami*), each of whose two square meters constitutes the personal living area of a monk: there he sleeps at night and meditates by day. In *zazen*, great value is attributed to the position of the arms, as well as to the seated posture. When meditating, monks sit with a straight, upright torso, their legs crossed on a stationary pillow, and hold their hands together. Their eyes are open, and fixed on the floor at a distance of approximately one meter in front of them. Two attendants pass back and forth between the podia with 'warning sticks' (*keisaku*), of which they make use if a monk has fallen asleep or into a careless position. *Zazen* exercises alternate with periods of walking, during which the body can relax. The length of time a seated period lasts is the time it takes a stick of incense to burn (about one-half hour). (Benita von Behr)

(c. 1500–1000 BCE). The *Keshin hymn* of the *Rig-Veda* (X, 136) includes the oldest literary testimonial to meditative practices. This text describes the typical breathing practices for the introduction of meditative states. True, while the goal of the early practices of the Keshin quite obviously was an ecstatic state (→ Trance), the meditative techniques of classical yoga are described by scholar Mircea → Eliade as a form of 'enstasy.'[3] The former, then, aim for a rapturous state of 'being outside oneself,' the latter consciously strive for a state of total 'being with oneself.'

In 'classical' yoga, meditation takes a central position. The yogic system of grammarian Patanjali, which arose about the turn of the age, knows an 'eight-limbed path of practice' (*ashtanga-yoga*), in which 'meditation' (*dhyana*) is the seventh limb. Intensive preparation for it takes place through the realization of ethical principles, through very disciplined exercises for the schooling of body and breath, through a withdrawing of the senses within, and through techniques of concentration. Meditation in Patanjali's sense, then, means the schooling of the capacity of 'pure vision.' In this state, the exercitant should experience the fact that the immortal and pure core of

one's being (*purusha*—'the seer') is not bound to the changeable and conditioned circumstances of the outer world. The 'outer world' in this system explicitly includes the exercitant's body and → psyche.

Buddhism

b) *Buddhism*, which appeared in India, manifests, first of all, many parallels with the yogic system in its meditative practices. Here as well, the historical Buddha taught an 'eightfold path,' whose seventh ('perfect attention') and eighth steps ('perfect recollection') may be ascribed to the narrower context of meditation. In the practical translation of these steps, two particular methods of meditation developed: in the culture around Hinayana Buddhism, primarily the form of *satipatthana* meditation, and in the environment of Mahayana culture, primarily the form of *vipassana* meditation. The *satipatthana* variants direct the attention of the exercitant, successively, to the body, the senses, and the spirit—ever-finer levels of being. *Vipassana* meditation is concerned first and foremost, instead, with the conscious recognition of the 'three attributes of being' ('transience,' 'subjection to passion,' and the 'egolessness' of all worldly phenomena).

Zen Buddhism

Through the intermediary of Chinese culture, Buddhist meditation techniques reached Japan. Here, from the twelfth century onward, the form of Zen meditation developed. In the practice of Zen, *za-zen* ('sitting in submersion') holds the central place. This exercise in meditation takes no fixed object of meditation, but seeks to hold the mind in a state of awake, thought-free attention, out of which state spontaneous enlightenment (*satori*) is finally to emerge (→ Zen Buddhism).

Western World Religions

5. While in both Eastern religions meditation constitutes a theoretical and practical center of gravity, in the three world religions of the Western hemisphere it frequently plays only a subordinate role. In Judaism (see particularly → Kabbalah), in Christianity, and in Islam, which likewise know meditative techniques, the mystical tradition has a difficult time holding its ground vis-à-vis the prevailing theology, which, as a rule, is of a rather dogmatic orientation. This set of problems becomes evident precisely in the development of European ecclesial Christianity. The repression of the mystical theology of Bonaventura (1217–1274), or the stream of ecclesiastical banns against mystics like → Meister Eckhart, are eloquent testimonial. To the very present, there appears to be a strong ecclesial reservation with regard to meditation.

6. Today, three particular developments shift the field of the themes of meditation into a new light: an enormous amount of new applications of Eastern meditation practices in the Western industrialized world (→ New Age; Esalen Institute); a growing application of meditative practices in the area of management training; and science's reinforced exploration of meditative techniques. Meanwhile, there are a multiplicity of empirical studies on physiological and/or psychological effects of meditation.[4] A 1995 bibliography lists 1021 studies limited to the psychological area of research on meditation (C. Unger). On the other hand, the trend toward meditation for managers seldom occasions scientific reflection. Where a critical reflection takes place, it is found to be a striking fact that meditative techniques of the 'overcoming of the I,' from Asia, are introduced for the 'ego reinforcement' of Western managers. Hence, in Western culture, there are visible tenden-

cies toward a secularization of meditative practices originally determined by religion.

1. Engel 1995, 11f.
2. Kornfield in Walsh/Vaughan 1980.
3. Eliade 1958.
4. Engel 1995, 169-249.

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→ *Esalen Institute, Kabbalah, Mandala, Mysticism, New Age, Psyche, Yoga*

Christian Fuchs

Mediterranean Region

Historical Region

1. *The Mediterranean basin as a 'historical region':* The Mediterranean basin offers a mosaic of societies and cultures that influence one another. The question of how far to extend the borders of this space remains open. 'Minimalists' would like to have the borders of the 'authentic' Mediterranean region coincide with those of the olive culture in the North and the date culture of the South. Here, parts of Spain and Northern Italy would no longer belong to the Mediterranean region, any more than the South of Egypt or Tripolitania. The 'maximalists,' by contrast, among them historian Fernand Braudel, reckon to the Mediterranean region not only these areas, but also a very wide belt of transitional zones. In recent years, a number of critical voices have been raised reproaching scholars of society and culture with having 'invented' the Mediterranean basin, on the foundation of their own projected fears and hopes.[1] This criticism is justified at least to the extent that there is here no temporal and spatial culture area abiding 'everlastingly,' or cultural unity stemming from a common origin. Even though the whole region was held together for a time by the Roman Empire, one ought to speak rather of a 'historical region' (J. Szücs), engaging in trade and sharing in common historical experiences. These include not least of all the common destiny of a decline.

Decline

Between 1450 and 1600, a new economic world order took shape. It was based on a specific international distribution of labor among distinct regions (Wallerstein 1974). The route taken by the capitalistic world system in question led to the dismemberment of the continents, and thus of Europe itself, into center and periphery. Now some areas depended on others, in

hierarchical order, each having its own socioeconomic assignment to perform for the whole. Within Europe, the Northwestern part (England, Holland, Flanders, etc.) of the old continent took form as the effective center of the new world system. Southern Europe—especially Italy, Spain, and Portugal, which had been socio-economically dominant for centuries—developed into a large periphery, which became one of the most important suppliers of foodstuffs (wheat) and raw materials (wool for the expanding textile industry) to the center. With the fall of the Ottoman Empire, which for centuries had been a powerful and independent imperial presence in the South and East of the Mediterranean, and thus stood outside the capitalist world system, this last part of the region, which had included the Balkans and almost all of North Africa, was incorporated with responsibilities similar to those of Southern Europe, from mid-eighteenth century onward, into the world order dominated by Northwest Europe as periphery.[2]

The Historical Syndrome

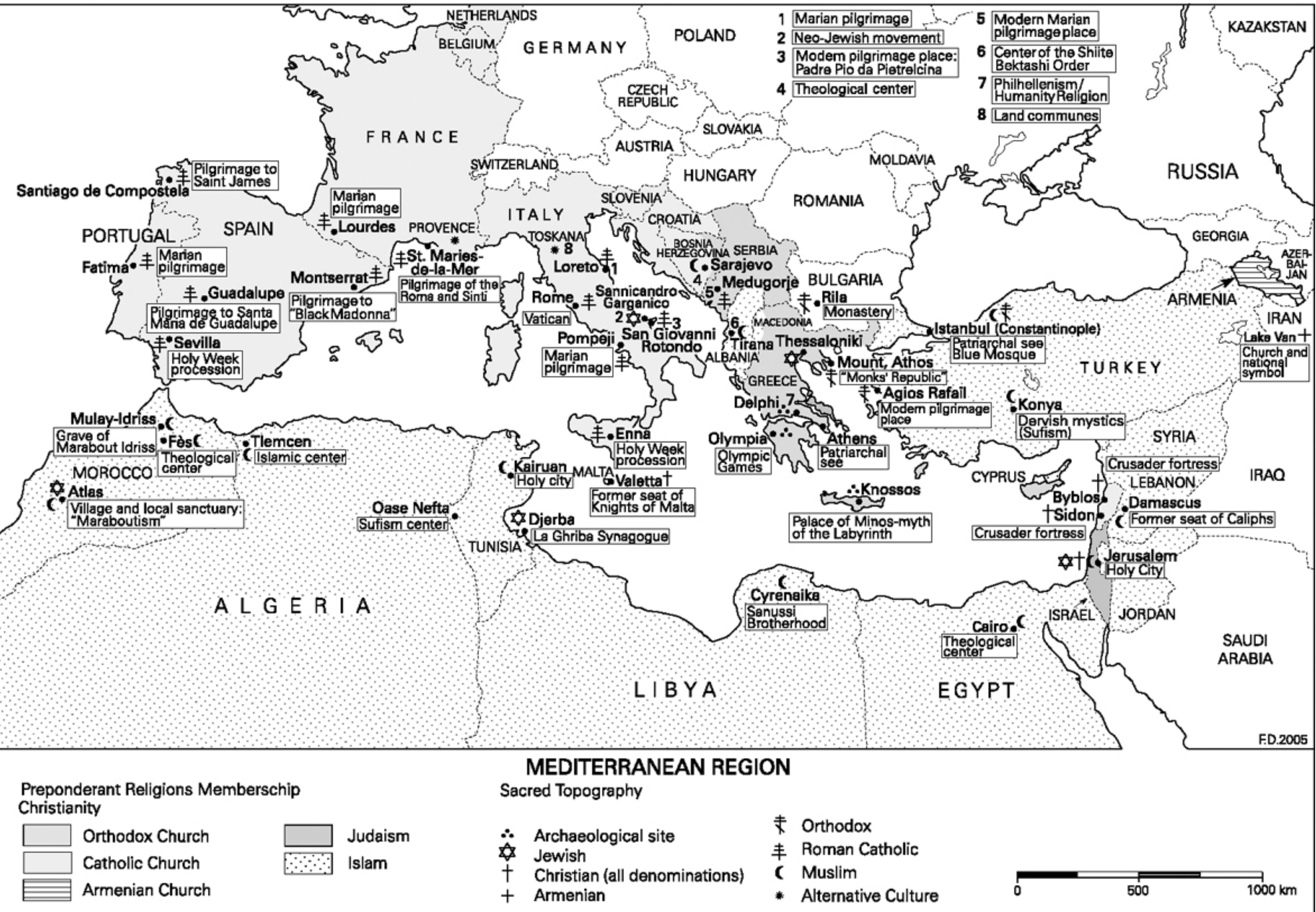
The members of the Mediterranean cultures—regardless of their social class—are deeply convinced that history has done them a 'bad turn.' They feel themselves to be objects, rather than subjects, of their own past: history, over the course of the centuries, has turned out to be a 'hostile' and 'treacherous' force, whose aftereffects extend to the present and the future. Political 'destabilization' and socioeconomic 'peripheralization' end by forming the two main components of a historical syndrome that Mediterranean societies interpret as an unavoidable consequence of defeat, making itself felt in all areas of social activity, including religious behavior.

2. *Dominant religions and minorities in the Mediterranean region:* a) Although the data from the respective national censuses are not always reliable and up to date, one may begin with the figure 400 million for the population of the greater Mediterranean region (see map), and divide it according to religious membership as follows:

Intersection of Three World Religions

The Mediterranean region, then, is the point of intersection of three 'world religions' (M. Weber): Christianity (Catholics and Orthodox), Islam (Sunnites and Shiites), and Judaism. As in scarcely any other region of the world, these three religious communities here come face to face. Their cultural memory has been stamped especially by the following 'great occurrences': the repeated conquest of → Jerusalem by Arab rulers, as well as by Western European crusaders (637 by Omar, 1099 by Godfrey of Boullion, 1187 by Saladin), the separation (schism) between Western Church and Orthodox Patriarchate (1054), the occupation of Constantinople by the Ottomans (1453), the persecution, expulsion, or forced Christianization of the (Jewish) *Marranos/Conversos* and the (Muslim) *Moriscos* after the Reconquista in Spain (from 1492) and Portugal (from 1496), the battle of Lepanto/Naupaktos between the allied Christian forces and the Ottomans (1571), and not least of all, the current bloody wars with their primary ethnic political character and secondary religious coloration in the Near East (Lebanon 1975ff., Israel 1948, 1967, 1973) and in the Balkans (→ Bosnia 1991ff. and Herzegovina, Kosovo, 1998).

b) The coexistence of these three religious communities was never unproblematic, but neither did it consist exclusively in conflict-charged confrontations. In the cities especially, Christians, Jews, and Muslims met, and social and religious relations among individuals and groups often transpired in a spirit of tolerance and mutual respect. The many multicultural


MEDITERRANEAN REGION
Preponderant Religions Memberschip
Christianity
Orthodox Church
Catholic Church
Armenian Church
Judaism
Islam
Sacred Topography
Archaeological site
Jewish
Christian (all denominations)
Armenian
Orthodox
Roman Catholic
Muslim
Alternative Culture
1 Marian pilgrimage
2 Neo-Jewish movement
3 Modern pilgrimage place: Padre Pio da Pietrelcina
4 Theological center
5 Modern Marian pilgrimage place
6 Center of the Shiite Bektashi Order
7 Philhellenism/ Humanity Religion
8 Land communes
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
GERMANY
POLAND
KAZAKSTAN
FRANCE
CZECH REPUBLIC
SLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
RUSSIA
ROMANIA
SLOVENIA
ITALY
CROATIA
TOSKANA
BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA
SERBIA
GEORGIA
AZER-BAI-JAN
ARMENIA
IRAN
BULGARIA
MACEDONIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
TURKEY
SYRIA
IRAQ
CYPRUS
LEBANON
ISRAEL
JORDAN
SAUDI ARABIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
PROVENCE
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
MALTA
LIBYA
EGYPT
Santiago de Compostela
Pilgrimage to Saint James
Marian pilgrimage
Lourdes
Fatima
Marian pilgrimage
Guadalupe
Pilgrimage to Santa Maria de Guadalupe
Sevilla
Holy Week procession
Montserrat
Pilgrimage to "Black Madonna"
St. Maries-de-la-Mer
Pilgrimage of the Roma and Sinti
Loreto
Rome
Vatican
Sannicandro Garganico
San Giovanni Rotondo
Pompeji
Marian pilgrimage
Sarajevo
Medugorje
Tirana
Rila
Monastery
Thessaloniki
Mount Athos
"Monks' Republic"
Agios Rafail
Modern pilgrimage place
Istanbul (Constantinople)
Patriarchal see Blue Mosque
Lake Van
Church and national symbol
Konya
Dervish mystics (Sufism)
Delphi
Olympia
Olympic Games
Athens
Patriarchal see
Knossos
Palace of Minos-myth of the Labyrinth
Crusader fortress
Byblos
Sidon
Crusader fortress
Damascus
Former seat of Caliphs
Jerusalem
Holy City
Mulay-Idriss
Grave of Marabout Idriss
Fès
Theological center
Tlemcen
Islamic center
Atlas
Village and local sanctuary: "Maraboutism"
Kairuan
Holy city
Enna
Holy Week procession
Valetta
Former seat of Knights of Malta
Oase Nefta
Sufism center
Djerba
La Ghriba Synagogue
Cyrenaika
Sanussi Brotherhood
Cairo
Theological center
0
500
1000 km
F.D.2005

and, at the same time, pluri-religious cities of the Mediterranean region can be characterized as places of amicable proximity rather than as dangerous pockets of conflict. This 'aggregate model' prevailed well into the twentieth century, in Constantinople/Istanbul as well as in Casablanca, and then in Smyrna/Izmir, Beirut, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Djerba, Tunis, Venice, Trieste, Sarajevo, and Thessalonica. It rested on the fact that the distinct groups lived in different urban quarters (segregation), married only within the group (endogamy), and adopted clearly defined public spaces and roles (merchants, artisans, urban nobility).

National States

c) The formation of the national states, most of them only in the twentieth century, was based on the principle of one people and one religion in the territory of the state. Until well into the twentieth century, in the distinct areas of the Mediterranean region, this model occasioned forced and even violent, politically maneuvered homogenization and resettlement. With the help of population exchanges (as between Turkey and Greece after the First World War, and on Cyprus after 1974), by expulsion (e.g., of the Jews in the Maghreb after the founding of Israel, 1948), by violent 'cleansing' (as in → Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Kosovo), by genocide (as of the Christian Armenians in Turkey, 1920–1921), by the → Shoah (as in the case of the Jews in Greece during the National Socialist occupation in the Second World War), the elimination of ethnic and confessional opposition was intended to be realized within a national territory.

With the 'nationalization' of the societies and cultures of the Mediterranean region, the multicultural and pluri-confessional structure of numerous territories was dismantled or even destroyed. This frequently violent



The Christian Mediterranean countries, whether Catholic or Orthodox, comprise the region of the great processions. Holy Week, feasts of saints, and especially city patrons, or, as shown here, devotion to the Madonna—the whole year through there are occasions that call for statues, images, or symbols to be borne about by and through the local community. The Feast of the *Madonna delle*

ethno-religious 'vestibule cleansing' impinged upon the urban context, with the result that many Mediterranean cities have now lost a coexistence of cultures and religions (for example in Thessalonica, Tunis, Smyrna/Izmir) that had been cultivated for centuries.

d) With the immigration movements since 1960, first in France and later in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, many spaces of a chiefly industrial urban character have been profoundly transformed, as the majority of the new arrivals are from the Islamic Maghreb (Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco). Now new multicultural and pluri-confessional cities have appeared, such as Marseille, Toulon, Montpellier, Perpignan, Milan, Turin, Genoa, and Lisbon. These current forms of multicultural and pluri-religious coexistence in the urban context are basically different from those of the old model. In place of segregation, separation, and endogamy, undivided living areas are the order of the day, as well as (the start of) ethno-religious cultural mixtures (creolization) and exogamy, phenomena hardly imaginable in the multicultural and pluri-confessional cities of the past. Here the migrants are different from those of the United States, who cultivate their culture and religion in specific ethno-religious agglomerations and urban quarters—in → 'ghettos' and 'urban villages.' But this difference does not mean that the Mediterranean region could host no immigrant settlements with their own respective cultures. Such concentrations of migrant populations do occur, as a rule in the city peripheries (Fr., *banlieue;* Ital., *periferia urbana*), but also in the non-redeveloped and therefore architecturally degraded zones of historical centers (such as Turin's San Salvario quarter, the poor quarters of Genoa and Marseille, or the depot quarter of Milan). They form very heterogeneous social spaces, hosting not only immigrants of diverse ethno-religious extraction, but also native members of the lower classes. Within a single city quarter, then, one may observe daily practices, ceremonies, rituals, festivities, from so many cultural backgrounds and religious traditions that, with reference to the Mediterranean region, it would be in order to regard the distinct immigrant cultures as components of a 'collage.'

Precisely on grounds of the immediate spatial proximity of ethno-religious groups so different from one another, the 'aggregate type' currently prevailing in the Mediterranean region affords sensitivity for cultural differences. This sensitivity is not, however, any guarantee that the 'politics of recognition' (Charles Taylor) makes it any easier for the culturally and confessionally 'other' to succeed in Mediterranean societies.

3. The *basic forms of religious behavior in the Mediterranean region:* Despite such confessional multiplicity, certain common forms of religious behavior can be observed in the Mediterranean region.

Demonstrative Character of Religious Practices

a) What strikes the foreign observer is the demonstrative character of religious practices. Some experts have therefore applied a 'psychologizing' terminology of 'extrovertedness' in speaking of Mediterranean piety or devotion. These specific manners of behavior that are so impressive, especially to Middle Europeans, in both the Christian and the Islamic or Jewish Mediterranean area, come to expression especially during occasions of a public kind, such as pilgrimages to a holy place, the feasts of city patron saints, or processions. Participants in such productions demonstrate, to God or to a saint, their dedication, loyalty, and gratitude, in the form of generous gifts (called *ex voto* in the Catholic Mediterranean area) or by way or rhetorical presentations, panegyrics, and poetry, and through acrobatic exercises, as

Galline (Ital., "Madonna of the Chickens") is held in the Bagni quarter of the Southern Italian town of Scafati (Province of Salerno). Every year on April 11, the procession with the statue of the Madonna, together with a little group of musicians (in Ital., *banda*), gets under way at sunrise. On the head and at the feet of the devotional statue, chickens, doves, and, as in the picture, even a peacock are balanced (attached?), which, miraculously, do not leave the hallowed image, and at the end of the route, are sold at auction on behalf of the Madonna (read: her church). Toward evening, the church feast becomes a bacchanalia: all through the night, the *tammuriata* is danced—a dramatized version of the *tarantella*—mainly by homosexual men, and participants drink wine. The proximity to ancient Mediterranean fertility rites seems unmistakable, and yet the ritual is first and foremost a testimony to piety as it is practiced today. (A. Pisacreta and Hubert Mohr)



Beyond the coast is another—as seen from Europe—Mediterranean: the Islamic. Since the end of the seventh century, the Mediterranean area has been divided in two: the North African Maghreb countries have a stronger orientation to the East and South than to the North. Political Islamism provides headlines in Algeria and Egypt today, and their members proclaim, in French, on this graffito from the Algiers Kasbah, that 'soon an Islamic state' will come into being. A new phenomenon has arisen in Algeria: in 1989, the Islamic-oriented *Front National du Salut* (Fr., "National Salvation Front") party was founded, but, after its first electoral victory in 1992, was promptly outlawed—a problematic decision that has led to an extremely bloody civil war, one still being fought today. Over the foreign image of a 'veiled woman,' the picture is a subliminal testimonial to the fears on the part of the Northern Mediterranean states—especially France, where it has been exploited by the *Front National* of a Le Pen—of an 'inundation' by radical Islam. On the other hand, the particular example of Algeria shows that the religious option, even in the Levant and the Maghreb, is by no means negligible.

well as other displays of courage and strength. These manifestations of piety are planned and executed in such a way that their accomplishment cannot be overlooked by others: the ones performing them wish first and foremost to win social recognition of their community by their religious behavior. Piety in the Mediterranean area, then, cannot be understood as 'interiority': it belongs rather to the latent or overt *'struggle for acknowledgment'* that distinguishes the everyday existence of individuals and groups, and which also, on that account, signs religious practices across the board. In large measure, it possesses an 'externally governed' character. In a framework of public and 'externally governed' forms of Mediterranean piety, the religious and secular sphere so manifestly merge and overlap that, in the concrete context in question, Durkheim's famous split into sacred and profane loses its meaning. In the tri-confessional Mediterranean area we behold, in a unique and inimitable manner, the psychological and spatial unification of procession and rock concert, pilgrimage and souvenir booth.

Honor

b) A 'struggle for recognition' is, at the same time, a *'struggle for honor.'* This feature is especially true of Mediterranean societies, in which religious values and practices blend with those of a code of honor—a quasi-juridical system, guaranteed by custom, of norms, rules, conventions, and institutions, with a claim on social morality in the respective diverse religions. Here we might only recall the extraordinary value attributed to virginity that plays such a key role in Mediterranean societies, both in the moral conceptualizations of the three 'world religions,' and in the definition of female premarital honor. In such societies, the 'culture of honor' is so dominant, right up to the present, that the 'externally governed' piety prevailing here can be regarded first and foremost as a component of the strategies of activity that every individual must apply in order to preserve and guarantee personal honor, as well as the honor of one's own family and kinship group, before the 'public' (see Dodds 1966). Such religious practices, therefore, expressly founded on emphatically demonstrative behavior, are endowed in societies of honor and shame like those of the Mediterranean region with an eminent socially explosive power. The cultivation of reputation, 'façade,' and 'mask' possesses

an out-and-out existential importance and meaning. By way of active and purposeful participation in public religious 'events,' the position and status of the agents can either be confirmed or altered. In the eyes of Mediterranean persons, the honor complex represents an efficient and rational control, and a defense mechanism against hostile actions that endanger the respectability and reputation of individuals and groups (→ families, kindred, clan, lineage). This 'externally governed' piety, precisely as it is closely bound up with such a system of social norms and institutions, is a counter-measure against any social defeats, degradations, and humiliations that may come upon those involved at any time. But this analysis makes it clear that the motif of the 'historical syndrome' serves for more than the interpretation of 'great occurrences.' The members of Mediterranean societies translate that motif simultaneously to the micro-level of local communities and personal social relations that do not directly belong to the private sphere.

Patron-Client Relations

c) Mediterranean societies are characterized by the *patronage and clientele structures* imbedded in all social areas. Collective consciousness in the Mediterranean region, then, is inscribed with the conviction that society is neither a *polis* nor a *civitas*, nor again a *communitas* (Gk., 'city'; Lat., 'city,' 'community'), but rather a generalized system of patron-client relations. That system can be defined as a complex of hierarchical and personalized relationships, inasmuch as performances and counter-performances of an asymmetric nature are exchanged. Thus, the patron needs the client less than the client the patron, since it is the patron who possesses more power, prestige, influence, and wealth. Excepting only family, near kinship, and friendship, patron-client relationships are regarded as the sole reliable relationships in the public area, and they prevail in the secular as well as in the religious sphere. In the eyes of Mediterranean persons, neutered—that is, de-personified—structures, such as, for example, state and bureaucracy, have shown themselves to be the tools with which a 'foreign' or 'distant' elite represses them. Even in the legitimization of patron-client relationships, then, the notion prevails of 'history as the enemy,' to be borne and tolerated, and that notion can be regarded as the ideological and discursive basis of the historical syndrome examined above.

Priests

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the → *priest* is ascribed the role of a patron in the Christian Mediterranean area. He is the ecclesiastical official, and thus the person with power, and he mediates performances of the most varied kind in favor of his clients. The pastor or chaplain of a brotherhood, for example in Sicily, on Malta, and in Spain, like the other town or city notables, is regarded as an important mediator of personal favors, which must be honored with counter-favors.[3] Priests are not always liked, but they cannot be avoided when one would receive the patronage and favor of the supernatural powers.

The patron-client relation regarded as the most efficient in the area of religion, in Christian Mediterranean societies, is the relationship between the believer and the patron saint. The patron saint, like the priest, assumes the role of a person maintaining bonds between God and the human being. A special role in the patronage system is played by Saint → Mary (in Ital., *Madonna*; Span. *Virgen,* Gk. *Panagia*), and, as Mother of God, she is attributed extraordinary intercessory qualities.

Throughout the Christian Mediterranean area, their is a tendency for people to turn to the saints directly with their own petitions. The basis of this behavior lies in the fact that the clergy, frequently, are not acknowledged as a moral instance: in such societies, then, it is possible to be both religious and anticlerical. The Christian Mediterranean patronage-system is concretized most clearly on patronal feast days (→ Veneration of the Saints), when the most suitable opportunity is available to balance out favors received from the supernatural patrons by return gifts and testimonials of reverence.

Processions

The → *procession* is the high point of the patronal feasts in the Mediterranean area, especially among Catholics. This event is usually regarded as the ideal occasion for demonstrating the 'transactional devotion' of the clientele in the form of dedication and publicity. Dedication is shown by taking an active part in the procession, for example by bearing the saint's litter, or by presenting the saint with gifts, money, candles, *ex voto*s, or fireworks, demonstratively in the sight of the other participants in the procession. Publicity is achieved by the clients' exalting the out-of-the-ordinary qualities of the saintly person being honored with speeches and other vocal declarations in the course of the festivities. A high degree of familiarity attaches to the exceedingly demonstrative practices of promotion held in the Andalusian Holy Week (in Span., *Semana Santa*). The most impressive examples of client promotion in a patronal feast is of course found in historical documents, from times in which processions still presented a genuine problem for public order. An example would be eighteenth-century Palermo, when patronal feasts were still celebrated under the leadership of the guilds.

Marabouts

d) But the schemata of thinking bound up with the patronage system are no monopoly of the Christian Mediterranean region. Both in the Islamic societies of North Africa and the Near East, and in the Jewish societies, similar collective thought-content is in evidence, along with structural features vis-à-vis the shaping of relationships between saints and believers. The most distinctive phenomenon here is that of the *maraboutic belief*, which has spread from its specific Maghrebian and especially Moroccan milieu, all the way to the Islamized regions south of the Sahara, as for example, to Senegal. A 'marabout' (also called a *sidi* or *mulay*) is a 'holy man,' honored on the basis of his extraordinary or traditionalized hereditary charismatic qualities. A distinction can be made between historical or mythological 'holy men,' and living ones. Believers unequivocally prefer the latter, as their opportunities for activity fan out more broadly. As a rule, the living marabout is at once the guardian and administrator of a sanctuary, and leader of a religious brotherhood. Such 'saints' are not simple mystics who have withdrawn into world-renouncing asceticism; in an extreme case, they assume an important position in local tribal politics.

The importance of 'maraboutism' has presumably dwindled somewhat in today's Morocco, owing to the reinforcement of the monarchical central power. However, 'maraboutism' can without any doubt be regarded as a constant of the Moroccan social structure of recent centuries: every autonomous community (city, village, clan, tribe) has always had its own holy man. Some authors even speak, in this connection, of a 'maraboutic hegemony,' that reached its pinnacle in the nineteenth century.[4]

In North Africa, 'maraboutism' represents a specific conception of religion, which, in explicit or implicit fashion, rests on the personalization of the mediating relationship between God and the human being. There are no direct, practically abstract relationships between supernatural power and human beings, as original Islamic doctrine teaches that there are; rather, these relationships are personalized through mediating practices on the part of 'holy men.' Thus, the marabout represents the typical 'mediator' between clients and God as the 'actual source of patronage.'

Similar 'transactional' manifestations of piety are also observable in Judaism, as, for example, in the places of pilgrimage in the Moroccan Atlas, or at the "synagogue of the wonderworking foreigner" (La Ghriba) on the island of Djerba.

Agreement in the Christian, Islamic, and Judaic Mediterranean area does not, then, make religion appear only as a paradigm for current collective thought-content with regard to the patronage system. The 'generalized' character of patron-client relationships throughout the Mediterranean area testifies to the fact that religion has been infiltrated and reinterpreted by the patronage system—which has penetrated both the secular and spiritual spheres of that area throughout the societies of Christian, Islamic, and Jewish tradition. In terms of the deposit of social history, this system is older than these three religions. The idea that relations between saints and believers have taken the form of dyadic, asymmetrical patron-client relationships obviously goes back to pre-Judaic, pre-Christian, and pre-Islamic forms of the social organization of Mediterranean societies.

1. Herzfeld 1987, 64f.
2. Wallerstein 1989, 137ff.
3. Boissevain 1980.
4. Laroui 1977, 139f.; Berque 1978, 281ff.; Gellner 1969, 320.

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→ *Antiquity, Catholicism, Europe, Late Antiquity, Veneration of the Saints, Islam, Judaism, Procession*

Christian Giordano

Meister Eckhart

1. In 1326, a complaint was lodged against a nearly seventy-year-old Dominican, by a long respected superior of his order, who was twice the occupant of the famous chair in Paris. When he died shortly thereafter, the judgment was made public. Declared a heretic, he was soon all but unknown. Only five hundred years later was the situation reversed: Eckhart was now the exemplar and martyr of modern piety, which posited 'God in me' in place of the prescribed God. This assessment confirmed the judgment on 'the' Church: the Inquisition was the 'true' face of institutional religion, damning the spiritual person as representative of a 'modern' individual piety. The origin of this ambiguity merits examination.

God Becomes a Human Being

2. Eckhart's *principal teaching* is crystallized in the pronouncement: "It means little to me that the Word became flesh for human beings in Christ, that person different from me, unless it also [became flesh] in me, that I, too, were God's son."[1] The ancient Church Fathers had offered similar ideas, but Eckhart grasps the doctrine of the birth of God in an unusually radical fashion: God must 'necessarily be driven' into persons who have abandoned their 'I,' and all things besides.[2] Every human being who lives entirely 'from God' is himself or herself the Son and no one else. The Incarnation ('God's becoming flesh') occurs at every time, in every place. Holiness is grounded not on doing, but on being. In his Latin works, Eckhart argues philosophically, and in the language of traditional theology. In the German sermons, his formulation becomes more and more incisive. Something in the human being is like unto God, and uncreated: the radiant beam of the soul, "free of all names and naked of all forms, one and simple as God."[3] In the beam of the soul, God is present "blooming and green, with his whole divinity": here he encradles his Son, and here "all things are one," as in the concealed dark of the Godhead.[4]

3. The bill of accusation charges Eckhart with wishing to know more than necessary, and perplexing the hearts of simple folk. His pupil Tauler laments that the Master has engendered 'poisoned persons,' because he has been misunderstood. Because of his censure, Eckhart's reception was scant and ambivalent. As late as the seventeenth century, he ranked not as a mystic, but as a preaching monk, who inordinately cultivated philosophy. As a philosopher, he found new honor in late Romanticism and in idealism (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries). He met the desires of the Romanticists for a 'religious philosophy,' to place against the unbelief of the Enlightenment. The power of his feeling, and the profound and sensitive quality of his speculation, went counter to the rationalistic age. Hegel's school looked on his mystical speculation as the opening phase of the development of the 'German spirit,' whose completion was to have been accomplished by Hegel himself. What was decisive was the concept of the 'German mystique,' coined by Hegelian Rosenkranz in 1831, whose principal, to this day, is seen to be Eckhart. The 'German mystique' is set over against a cold scholasticism, called 'un-German,' of orthodox ecclesiality. As the neo-scholastic Denifle, loyal to Rome, rediscovered the Latin works, he compared Eckhart with Thomas Aquinas, and concluded that the former had been a 'confused thinker,' who confounded the creaturely with the godly. This judgment

The "German Spirit"

added force to Eckhart's association with anti-clericalism and → pantheism, German temper and 'Germanness,' which association was later used in Nazi propaganda. Alfred Rosenberg (1938) styled Eckhart as the incarnation of the 'new, reborn Teutonic man.' At the same time, the year 1936 marked the beginning of the publication of Eckhart's Latin and German works. Furthermore, the piety of inner disposition prepared the ground for comparisons initiated by Rudolf Otto (1926) with Eastern spirituality. Eckhart's discourse of the oneness of the human person with God, and of the 'unfathomable abyss' of the Godhead, predestined him as the partner in dialogue, indeed as the guarantor, of a mysticism transcending age and culture. Thus, Eckhart can even become the anonymous Buddhist, or Hindu yogi. Marxist medievalism, on the other hand, made him the nonconformist, leftist and progressive, inspirer of plebeian movements of social revolution. Philosopher Ernst Bloch sees him as the representative of a utopia of social criticism, in a context of the breakthrough to anthropocentrism, and to a human self-fulfillment immanent to the world. Psychologist Erich Fromm takes him as the inspiration of his best-seller *Haben und Sein* (1980). But the master also remains the exemplar and model of the (Catholic) Christian of the future, who keeps true to the Church. If Germanist Alois M. Haas sees Meister Eckhart as the normative figure of the spiritual life (1976)—*in* the Church, once more (and not *against* the Church)—he is seeking to release him from a 'false society,' and win him back for the Church as the 'master of living' of a mystical piety. Into recent times, all unorthodox thinkers have claimed him for themselves. Historians of philosophy such as Kurt Flasch and others discover the *Meister* (from Lat., *magister*, 'teacher') as a philosopher, and founder of a new metaphysics (philosophy of divine childhood, or of Christianity, metaphysics of incarnation, metaphysics of the Gospel), and rehabilitate the Latin 'master of reading.' The popular image of Eckhart, meanwhile, whether in church or New Age milieus, continues to take its orientation in the German-speaking mystic and 'master of living' who corresponds more immediately to the growing need for individual religious experience.

Interiority

1. LW, 3:101-102.
2. DW, 5:187.
3. DW, 1:40-41.
4. Ibid., pp. 250, 288f., 380f., 389, 490; DW, 2:470ff.; DW, 3:17f.

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→ *Esotericism, Mysticism, Scholasticism*

Annette Wilke

Memory

Anthropological Basis

1. The psychological function of remembering is of far-reaching anthropological importance. It is the cognitive basis for the acquisition of speech and thought, of judgments and plans, and the backbone of any construction of identity. Many of our virtues as well as our vices rely on memory. It nurtures love and gratitude as it does revenge. Anticipation and recollection, the principle of hope and the principle of recall, alike have their premise in memory. It is a further quality of the basic anthropological condition that human beings not only have their memory as an organic substrate in their limbs and head, but have also externalized it in objects and artifacts, rites and practices, arrangements of time and space. In interplay with these deposits, memory develops and wins that social and communicative character that is an essential mark of the cultural memory as contradistinguished from the neural functions. As an essential part of trans-generational communication, culture rests on experiences and techniques of the social, inter-human stabilization of a shared memory. With the objectification of the cultural memory through symbolical media, the chances of stabilizing and broadening it are at hand; but there also exists the danger of estrangement, distance, and dispossession. Materially objectified memory content runs the risk of being separated from communication and severed from living memories. An example would be → monuments that are created as supports for memory, but infrequently turn into monuments to forgetfulness.

Individual, Collective, and Cultural Memory

2. a) *Individual* memory has a psychological basis and is the subject of the cognitive and neurological sciences. Psychologists distinguish three kinds of memory: episodic, semantic, and procedural. *Episodic memory* serves to store autobiographical incidents which have personal relevance and emotional value (such as a journey abroad or a car accident); *semantic memory* stores general facts of knowledge (such as the multiplication table or the succession of the popes); *procedural memory* stores bodily skills (such as riding the bicycle or playing the organ).

b) A *collective memory* arises from shared experience, as is the case in a generation, a family, a school class, a church community, or a travel group. The common memory arises in such groups through face-to-face interaction and communication. The members of these groups share a common horizon of reference, which they rehearse in acts of informal recollection and more formal commemoration. (As an example, we may think of concentration-camp survivors, who meet regularly at the places of their suffering.) The theoretician of collective memory was the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945), who demonstrated the intimate relationship between memory and group connection. Once this connection dissolves, memory collapses, as well. Characteristic of collective memory,

therefore, is its limited temporal range. It is not, as a rule, transferred to the following generation, but fades with the members of the group in question—a problem of the first order for newly arising religious communities. One exception is the family in which a collective memory extends at most over three generations that exist simultaneously and form a group of interaction and communication. If means and media are created for transporting common memories across the magical threshold of three generations (which is at most a hundred years), collective memory is transformed into a *cultural* one.

c) Collective memory is distinct from *cultural memory*. The latter is supported by material media and repeated practices. While the individual memory is expressed in acts of intentional or spontaneous memory (*mémoire volontaire et involontaire*), a trans-generational collective memory can only be established by power, will, and commitment via acts of formal recall and ritual reenactment. Foundations of and occasions for such recall and reenactment are available spatially, in the form of monuments and burial places (→ Cemetery; Funeral/Burial), but also of buildings and street names—as well as temporally—in the form of cyclically recurring dates of celebration and commemoration (Reformation Day; → Christmas Eve). The distinctions among individual, collective, and cultural memory must not, however, distract from the fact that all forms interact in the same person.

Commemoration of the Dead

3. Cultural memory has its anthropological foundation in the *commemoration of the dead*. The burials of members of the clan, the establishment of cemeteries, the obligation to hold in memory the names of beloved ones, and to sustain for one's ancestors a reverent memorial, are cultural universals. The distinct forms of devotion to the dead are variations of a culturally regulated practice of memory, which, on the one hand, provides mourning with a rhythm, and, at the same time, contributes to the pacification of the souls of the dead, guarding against their perniciously interfering in the life of the community. In ancient → Egypt, where the 'eternalization' of individual names was the center of the cultural project, the annual 'Lovely Festival of the Valley of the Desert' was celebrated. Here the families of the departed gathered at the graves of their members, holding a festive meal in proximity and communion with the dead. The same custom survives in Islamic Egypt today. → Eating and → drinking is an elementary form of community establishment and development; at the grave, this convivial practice turns into a ritual unification of the living with the dead (→ Cemetery). The → Lord's Supper is itself celebrated with bread and wine, a ritual memorial meal that establishes the community of, first, the disciples, but then of all Christianity, on the foundation of a sensuous commemoration of the person of Christ.

The observance of *pietas* (Lat., 'reverent fidelity'), the duty of descendants, the reverent recall of the deceased, is the duty of the living: the maintenance of the glory of the dead, with a view to the continued existence of the departed in the memory of posterity. Fame is a secular form of self-eternalization, and has much to do with self-presentation to an audience. In ancient Egypt, pyramids, temples, and graves were addressed not only to the gods, but also to posterity, and thus served also for an eternalization in the memories of posterity. In ancient Greece and Rome, the vision prevailed that the poets were the best media of the glory of the living and the dead, and that their heroic songs and praise far surpassed in duration and effectiveness even impressive monumental memorials such as arches and pyramids that had been raised to manifest their grandeur.

The Media of Cultural Memory: Orality and Literature

4. Since stability of long duration is a criterion to distinguish cultural from collective memory, for the constitution of recording → media is of the greatest significance. Their function is to retain the memory content that is important for the group's identity, and to store it for continuous re-use. The invention of writing, of course, profoundly transformed the character of cultural memory, radically extending the capacity for its storage and indefinitely lengthening its time horizon.

In *non-writing cultures*, the central vehicles of cultural memory are virtuosi especially trained for their task: the ancient bards and rhapsodists, the medieval troubadours and minstrels, the shamans, and the West African griots (→ Oral Tradition). These experts bear the responsibility for seeing to it that the tribe's tradition, which is vital for the identity of the group, passes to the next generation without being impaired or lost. They avail themselves of various 'arts of memory'—mnemonic techniques, including objects such as knotted cords, rhythmic supports via drums, verse, linguistic formulae, icons, patterns, and graphic reinforcements. The most important resource of any physical mnemonic technique is repetition. This function is enhanced by → feasts and festivals, which, in their regular recurrence, provide occasions for repeated multi-medial performances of tradition, at the same time publicly incorporating the tradition as part of the community identity—while mnemonically renewing and thus stabilizing it—in every action of the performance.

In *literate cultures*, the problem of → tradition—that is, the problem of the transmission of the cultural endowment to the next generation—posed itself in an altogether new fashion. While writing radically broadens the opportunities for recording, its form of recording—by way of material vehicles—entails the danger that what is conveyed may petrify, be dis(re)membered from the living circulation of knowledge, and thereby become strange and deprived of relevance and reference. If writing is to stand in the service of cultural memory, and the latter not erode by reason of undirected expansion, forms of refocusing the tradition must be developed. These forms must guide the selection of what has been put down in writing, and guarantee its cultivation and enculturation. This function is performed by *canonization*, a process and formal institution of selecting one set of texts as especially worthy of being handed down, out of the mass of writings at hand, by combining this set in a sanctified textual corpus (→ Canon). The textual corpus is invested with an aura of truth and authenticity, which ensures that by becoming the firm nucleus of a cultural tradition, it will be constantly re-read and re-interpreted. Canonization includes two forms of tending and cultivation: that of the text and that of the meaning of the text. The former (→ Text/Textual Criticism) ensures that nothing from the textual corpus be added, subtracted, or changed. It is the basis for an unchanged conservation. The latter involves commentary. The tending of the meaning of the text produces commentary and → hermeneutics, it develops the work of interpretation, to guard against the tendency that the text become strange and meaningless over the course of time (→ Literature). Textual preservation and the cultivation of meaning are two distinct forms of organizing and sustaining cultural memory. In cultural practice, however, these are far from being mutually exclusive. To give an example: → Judaism knows the Talmudic doctrine of the Two Torahs, the one written and the other oral, both of which Moses received from God on Sinai. While in the written revelation of the Torah, the Five Books of Moses, every letter is fixed by divine

revelation, this doctrine has it that the *meaning* of the text was revealed in the oral Torah; the unbolting of that text, as it happens, is the assignment of an ever-open commentary, continuing from generation to generation in the form of an oral conversation. A similar complementarity (and competition) of written and oral tradition was conceived in Christianity at the Council of Trent (1545–1563). There the Protestant principle of *sola Scriptura* (Lat., 'by Scripture alone') received its Catholic corrective in the inclusion of an oral tradition accompanying the written, scriptural vehicle and binding it to an authoritative chain of descent.

But literature and orality are related to each other in yet another way than the dual form of canonized text and (quasi-) oral traditions of interpretation. The Jewish liturgical practice of reading the whole of the Torah once each year, in weekly segments, at divine service in the synagogue, is another example of the fusion of 'textual' and 'ritual' coherence (J. Assmann 1992) of script(ure) and performance.

Primary and Secondary Religions

5. The question of media is of key importance for the constitution of cultural memory. It was not the invention of writing, but the much more specific cultural decision to entrust to this medium the core of a tradition that will confer identity, that has led to the formation of what are called 'secondary religions.' Secondary religions are distinguished from primary religions by the fact that they are founded on canonized texts. Once the seminal religious revelation is concentrated in a corpus of authorized sacred texts, the entire organizational structure of a religion is shifted. In such cases, the decentralized network of local devotions and regional rites is replaced with a single, normative text. The text that becomes the key vehicle of a religious revelation, and tradition homogenizes the reception of that revelation. With this medium, the secondary religion is severed from its sacred topography and from the regional traditions that have grown up around it. This detachment is what makes it transferable across time and space: now it is capable of mission, which likewise presupposes a form of transferability. It is true that some local cults of primary religions have also persevered through migration and colonization; as a rule, however, these have become syncretistic by having adopted elements of the new environment. By contrast, secondary religions are characterized by the fact that they preserve their tradition intact and unchanged over the course of centuries—with the help of the canonized text—in the environment of a foreign culture. They construct norms of purity, which they uphold by mobilizing counter-forces against the natural tendency of adaptation, syncretism, and hybridization.

'Contra-Present' Memory

6. In the climate of post-modernity, norms of purity are under suspicion of fanaticism, and, accordingly, 'hybridization' has been promoted to a new cultural value and program. The strong point of secondary religions, however, is not compromise and change but the preservation of tradition and identity over against the hostile forces of an alien environment. This emphasis on pure preservation of tradition is important for minority communities in a → diaspora situation. A 'counter-present' (G. Theissen) memory is established that prevails against the current and mainstream system of values and belief of the hegemonic culture. The medium of writing has not only contributed to a concentration and sharpening of religious tradition; it has also opened a cultural opportunity for the 'counter-voice.' The biblical prophets, who found no hearing with their obstinate contemporaries, received from God

the injunction: "Go now, write it before them on a tablet, and inscribe it in a book, so that it may be for the time to come as a witness forever" (Isa 30:8-11). Where contemporaries are callous, a report set down in writing can still have its effect on their descendants, and thereby occasion a new kind of independence, by endorsing values and norms independent of the calculations of the opportunistic rulers of the present. In other words, the separation of political power from religious or philosophical truth that has been so vital for the development of Western culture would not have been possible without the medium of writing. Walter Benjamin's concept of 'mindfulness' [*Eingedenken*] has transferred the counter-present memory into the horizon of a politically committed philosophy. By secularizing certain elements of Jewish memorial culture, this mindfulness focuses, in 'anamnetic solidarity' (J. B. Metz), on the injustice and unresolved state of the victims of history, and thereby, in some sense, forms a collective correspondence to → Freud's therapeutic work on the deposit of the repressed.

Forgetting, Repressing, Forgiving

7. For any practicing Jew, Yom Kippur is a caesura—the day on which, after a phase of ten days of fasting and penance, personal moral faults are annually blotted out of the book of God's records. In this cultural context, human activity is remembered neither in inter-human relations, nor by posterity. Instead, remembering and forgetting are centrally imbedded in the memory of God, and this in twofold way: as remembering in the Book of Life, and as forgetting in the Book of Condemnation. In the book religion of Judaism, memory is bound up with writing, and forgetting with erasure.

Forgetting, as a rule, occurs via selection. By focusing on seminal events of the past, the forgetting of other events is necessarily implied. Selection is determined by what satisfies the needs and demands of a respective present. This selection, however, must be constantly updated. It is constantly guided by the requirements of a specific construction of meaning. *Repressing*, on the other hand, comes into play when dealing with events that are connected with shame and guilt. The relationship between guilt and memory is particularly complex: while the perpetrator's motivation to remember approaches zero, the motivation to address the issue is very high for the victim whose case is presented in juridical, social, or ethical contexts. For personal moral → guilt, the role of admonisher is adopted by → conscience. On the collective level of culture, it is → literature today that repeatedly reminds society of what it would so much prefer to forget. The Hebrew → Bible is an extraordinary example of a text that has founded an identity on the memory of the people of Israel's own guilt. By contrast with the memory of revenge, which is based on one's iniquities and the guilt of others, this impulse is self-critical, and bears on the norms of purity mentioned above, that are to be attained and maintained only in constant confrontation with those temptations of the environment that Jews comprise under the caption of 'idolatry.' Only rarely does a nation exact of itself, in self-indictment, a commemoration of the victims of its own transgressions. Thus, one will seek in vain for commemorations in the United States of the Indian tribes it has annihilated, or memorial plaques to the dead and mutilated of the atomic bombs detonated over Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Sontag 2003). German commemoration of the → *Shoah* is a novelty in the cultural history of memory. Such a commemoration can be equally important and difficult, for instance when a nation can recover its justice by means of a recollection of its injustice (Young 1993). The Shoah and the crimes of the National

Socialist regime represent, to be sure, an outrage of guilt, and thus it has led both to a traumatization on the side of the victims, and to apathy and atrophy of the memory on the side of the perpetrators. Despite a multiplication of memorial initiatives and attempts, there is still a great distance to cover before reaching a balanced appreciation, and adequate commemoration, of this historic trauma.

Amnesty

'Forgetfulness' or pardon, however, is not to be associated only with neglect and injustice. It also bears on an occasion for a fundamental renewal of relations. From ancient times, peace treaties have always included a comprehensive injunction of forgetting all guilty acts of the past war. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the formula for this point was 'amnesty and oblivion,' and was tantamount to prescribed, decreed forgetting. This 'forgetting' clause in peace treaties places both sides under the obligation of renouncing ascription of guilt, or punitive measures, for misdeeds in the past war. In this juridical framework of a reciprocal contract, 'forget' is tantamount to 'forgive.' After two World Wars and the Shoah, the legal formulation of amnesty and oblivion no longer possesses an unrestricted validity. After World War II and the Holocaust, the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague has determined that all 'crimes against humanity,' especially in the form of genocide, are excluded from any 'judicial pardon' ('amnesty').

Cultural Memory in the Present

8. The future of cultural memory is tied to the technology of storage, that is, to the archive and conditions for its media. Today, the claim to a *longue durée* of cultural memory is compromised by the material conditions for storing information, especially when dealing with digital data. Nowadays, the media such as newspapers, → films, radio, and → television take over the retrieval function and act as agents of recall, selecting materials from the enormous stocks of the archive and presenting them from time to time and in appropriate form. → Museums, with their picture galleries and their vast historical exhibits, but also the stage and the concert hall, as well as school and Church, are institutions that act as mediators and instigators of cultural memory. In democratic societies cultural memory gradually becomes disconnected from political and religious institutions, which means, among other things, that the duty of rote learning recedes into the background and more and more attention is paid to aesthetic forms of presentation. The function of the counter-present memory, which consists in reminding society of what it would prefer to forget, is today no longer performed by religion alone, but increasingly by art and literature, as well.

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→ *Canon, Literature, Meaning/Signification, Media, Monument/Memorial Places, Museum, Oral Tradition, Text/Textual Criticism, Tradition*

Aleida Assmann

Metaphysics

Sense of Being Human

1. The word 'metaphysics' was originally coined simply as a result of the order of certain writings of Aristotle as they were kept in libraries, where some appeared *metà ta physiká*, 'after the [writings pertaining to] nature.' But they form a unit, inasmuch as they all represent a 'first philosophy,' or inquiry into being as such. They investigate being's fundamental determinations, divisions, and the mutual relations of the latter. As they especially inquire into 'the beginning,' they also pose the question of God in the ancient sense.

In the stricter sense, then, 'metaphysics' denotes a discipline that has taken shape in the course of the history of European philosophy. In a broader sense, all philosophical or speculative religious systems of concept and meaning can be understood by the word 'metaphysics.' In the European philosophical traditions, catalogues of questions have been composed that a metaphysics should have to answer, pertaining to: being as such, and thereby, as well, God, world, soul, determination or freedom, and their interrelations. Formally regarded, the object of metaphysical investigations is that of questions about 'the first and the last,' or the unconditional in the relationship between world and human being.

Metaphysical systems, as speculative thought, lay claim to an across-the-board interpretation of the human being and her world (or reality). Thus, they are religious not only when they draw their formulations and argumentations from the tradition-content of a positive religion such as Christianity, but also, potentially, when they supply bestowals of meaning within modern philosophical systems that call for a certain worldview and activity on the part of human beings, and prescribe the same. Not only do religions imply and produce metaphysical systems, but the latter can modify religions, and enter into competition with them—that is, they can have the effect of founding them. Granted, the task of → religion is not limited to speculative response to 'key questions.'

The multiplicity of metaphysical systems cannot be presented here; thus, what is in order is concentration on the formal aspects of the phenomenon. 'Metaphysics' can denote (1) the conscious speculative direction of certain questions that refer to the 'meaning,' the 'unconditional,' of human reality, (2) the concrete response to these questions in terms of content; and (3) metaphysics can be understood as an indication of the inescapability

of these questions, in the sense of a 'metaphysical need'[1] on the part of the human being, and hence (4) indicate implicit forms of metaphysics, for example in the form of myths, narratives, philosophies, and also religions.

2. In the history of ancient philosophy, from the pre-Socratics to Plato, Aristotle, the Stoa, and Plotinus, metaphysical questions were not only differently formulated, but also just as differently answered with respect to content. In the wake of the Christianization of ancient thought, from ancient theology (patristics), to medieval scholasticism to modern times, metaphysical answers have not only taken up the questions of ancient philosophy and logic, but are indebted to biblical stipulations as well.

Thus, in European history of religion, metaphysical investigation has played a great role in the reciprocal influence of Greek traditions of philosophy and the traditions of the scriptural religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam). Finally, there has developed a particular philosophical and theological discipline of metaphysics, as well as positions of a criticism of metaphysics,[2] that, in turn, go back to the traditions of ancient sophistry and skepticism.

Is Metaphysics European?

3. The designation 'metaphysics' is transferred from a modern European view to past and foreign religions, to the extent that the latter imply independent series of answers to sets of metaphysical questions. Thus, attempts can be made to develop the respective metaphysics of Chinese Daoism, Indian Upanishads, or cosmogonic myths. But even the anti-metaphysical position of Pali or Zen Buddhism can be demonstrated,[3] with particular regard to the speculative content, or the renunciation of such, respectively, in the propositions on world and human being in various religions.

Metaphysics without a Discipline?

4. In current philosophy the ability to answer metaphysical questions is disputed; however, such attempts seem to win new hearing under the heading of 'questions of meaning,' as inescapable questions posed by humanity. Is the import of Asian and other non-European meaning content, such as the return of myths and teachings of wisdom, the current expression of 'metaphysical needs'? If speculative systems, and ultimate, unambiguous answers are no longer accepted, then the renaissance of the aesthetic and the narrative come into their inheritance, and hold metaphysical questions in their consciousness in a different philosophical form. The old metaphysical themes and questions are given new raiment, and are brought into association with the reception of myths, the adoption of Asian philosophies and 'mind techniques,' and scientific interpretations of the world. Not even the criticism of the great traditions of metaphysics and their positive answers can elude the explosive power and importance of the questions.[4] Thus, the virulence of the metaphysical questions comes into view not only in a reference to 'mythical wisdom' and 'mystical visions,' but also in the skeptical and aporetical concepts of current philosophizing.[5] Nor, in the treatment of series of metaphysical questions, does current philosophy accede only to a religious heritage, but it also engages a competition with the familiar responses of the positive religions.

But the levels of discussion have shifted. Metaphysical questions concern not only the elite elements of the philosophically trained, and of religious specialists, who must find a logic in their system, but, at the hands of the mass media, universal schooling, and the book market, find propagation in the culture of the masses, and become problems of the individual quest

for meaning. The popularization and pluralization of metaphysical themes, questions, and answers, can therefore be interpreted as a reflex of the general 'democratization' of proposals of meaning.

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→ *Aristotelianism, Criticism of Religion, Enlightenment, Esotericism, God/Gods/The Sacred, Platonism, Religion, Scholasticism, Science*

Jürgen Mohn

Middle Ages

The understanding of the Middle Ages by later ages in Europe has passed through a number of phases. Even the term 'Middle Ages' is a modern convention. Enlightenment thinkers tended to use the expression 'the dark ages' to refer to this period, in order to set it up as a gloomy foil, making the light of the new era shine all the brighter. In the confrontation of the French Revolution of 1789, both the revolutionaries, on the one hand, and the nobility and the Church, on the other, laid claim to the Middle Ages. The Nobility and the Church, in their campaign for a restoration of their "Holy Alliance" found in that era legitimation of the order they wished to uphold, e.g. monarchy by God's (read, 'the Church's') grace, and pious obedience to authority. The revolutionaries saw the Middle Ages as proof of the state of tutelage in which the Church had too long tried to keep the French, and from which they would now deliver their nation by dismantling aristocratic privilege and expropriating church properties. The valor of the French people, in the face of what the revolutionaries described as Church intimidation, was seen in their creativity and industry in the construction of very fine church buildings and described as the development of France's own art-religion, arising as soon as anxiety about the end of the world, encouraged by the Church, had passed with the passing of the first millennium.

Nearer to our own times, the imperialists of the nineteenth century saw their own ideas reflected in the Crusades and set out to colonize under the cross. The National Socialists in Germany understood their rule as the ful-

The fifteen-hundredth anniversary of the baptism of the Frankish King Clovis was celebrated at Reims in 1996. According to tradition, King Clovis was baptized a Christian in 496. This date is taken by most schoolbooks as marking the beginning of the Christian Middle Ages and is also understood to mark the birth of France. This claim not only gives the present-day nation a sense of continuity, but also makes the secular state a Christian people. At the 1996 festival, one could observe the use of the past for the present. While the Pope's presence lent the event international attention, French laws had changed the idea behind the festival so that it became a demonstration against immigration. People demonstrated against immigration by Muslim French from the Maghreb, who they asserted were not French, because they had not been baptized as Christians, according to the tradition initiated by King Clovis. (Christoph Auffarth)

fillment of a medieval dream, thus naming it the 'third' and 'thousand-year' empire (*Dritte Reich*).

Other periods, instead of identifying themselves with the Middle Ages, have emphasized their difference and separateness from that period. This emphasis can lead to an appreciation of medieval music and art as exotic, or to a view of the social and political structures of the Middle Ages as simply foreign. The latter view was expressed in connection with the Industrial Revolution (starting in 1800; → Industrial Society), which saw a great caesura (J. LeGoff) between themselves and the world of the Middle Ages.

In the face of these diverse views of the Middle Ages, we must be careful to avoid certain illusions. One of the most common and deceptive is that of the Middle Ages as a period of monolithic unity between → Church and state, firmly governing a homogenous and inflexibly structured society. This fiction does not take into account the opposition of *imperium* (empire) and *sacerdotium* (priesthood), Emperor and Pope, competition and conflict between whom would sooner suggest a fundamental dividedness in Western Europe. However, neither of these poles of power was a reality, but consisted more in claims to power than actual power. Although Pope Gregory VII in *Dictatus Papae* ("prescriptions of the Pope"; 1075) and Pope Innocent II (1215) called for papal monarchy, the local churches had a considerable degree of autonomy, arranging questions of priestly office and episcopal sees with the local nobility and their dependants. There was no homogenous, centralized system of education for priests by means of which their activities could be reliably controlled. Instead, the local nobility and the community decided the question of who might appoint priests or bishops, known as the investiture controversy. There was not even a particular need to turn to Rome for salvation, as this could be also be secured on a local level through the intercessions of the city or region's patron saint.

At the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) Pope Innocent III took steps to change this situation and shape the Catholic Church into a homogenous and orderly unit, with a monarchical structure and its own 'police,' the Dominicans. The Church, in his view, was to function in opposition to the 'sunderers,' i.e. schismatics, namely the Eastern Church (→ Orthodox Churches), the 'heretics' in Southern France (→ Heresy), called Cathari, and the → 'heathen,' i.e. all non-Christians. Innocent III also proposed that only the Roman Church had authority over individual salvation, and only priests who had been ordained directly by Rome could administer the sacraments. Despite all of these efforts, the laity insisted on being permitted to elect their own priests, so that the Church stayed in the village and was never successfully transferred to Rome. In reaction to further efforts at centralization, the national churches formed, especially in connection with the → Reformation.

Access to Salvation

With the close of → Late Antiquity, the opportunity to achieve salvation by living a holy life in the community of Christians became unavailable to the laity. In the Middle Ages, it was ascetics, monks and nuns whose 'salvific labor' could win salvation for themselves and also for the laity, who were thus in a certain position of dependence. As salvation was not considered purchasable, when non-ascetics gave monks and clerics the surplus value of the work this was not seen as payment but as an act in a 'generalized economy of → gift.' As a result, however, wealthier laypeople could gain certain advantages, such as a burial place near the altar or the sepulcher of a saint. They could also have their names inscribed in the Book of Life, a book kept by the church or monastery on the basis of Rev 20:12, so that their memories might live on with that of the monks as the names were incorporated into the monastic Mass.

The Crusades opened up direct access to individual salvation for the laity, which they could achieve through their own deeds. For example, participating in a crusade sufficed to secure the plenary remission of sin. Innocent III reacted by wooing the laity with the teaching of a temporally limited hell, one that led to heaven, namely, purgatory. Purgatory, rather than hell, could

be reached by the laity if they cast themselves upon the 'salvific institution' of the Church, whose priests cultivated their souls through the sacraments, such as Confession, the Eucharist (→ Lord's Supper/Eucharist), and Last Rites.

An Apocalyptic Epoch

Internal and external calamity motivated the Church to define itself in contrast to various enemies. This effort consisted of a long process on the part of the Church as a 'persecuting society' (R. Moore) but was implemented as a means to ward off disaster.

The sense of impending doom was exacerbated in the high Middle Ages by the invasions of the Mongols (1241) and by the Plague (1346–1350), which killed as much as two-thirds of the population of Europe. Fear and blame were directed toward lepers, heretics, Jews and witches by those facing mass death and who interpreted the situation as the work of the Devil, presaging the end of the world. The specific relations of blame were investigated by the Inquisition, which sought to discern who from the above-named groups had perpetrated which devilish work specifically, and to decide how they should be punished so that society might be purified and saved from catastrophe.

The coming of the Reformation actually intensified this type of social control, although it did so according to new criteria for the identification and treatment of 'outsiders.' Only in the seventeenth century—but then very rapidly—did the fear that the work of the → Devil was to be found behind every misfortune and disease abate (K. Thomas).

This late period of apocalyptic anxiety (→ Apocalypse) was, then, a contrast to the lively, vital, and variegated early Middle Ages.

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→ *Late Antiquity, Christianity, Francis of Assisi, Monarchy/Royalty, Monasticism, Papacy*

Christoph Auffarth

Migration

1. Migration, the spatial mobility of individuals and groups, represents, after deliberate extension (→ Mission), the most important factor in the spread of religions. Although we meet the nineteenth- and twentieth-century movement of individuals and population groups in hitherto unheard-of numbers, the fact must not be overlooked that, even in prehistoric times, human beings traversed land and water routes into other spaces and onto

other continents (for example, Aryan immigration into Indian space). Migrations, in pre-modern as well as in modern times, have comported the conveyance of goods, handwork, lifestyles, and religious notions and practices. In consequence, adaptations to new conditions occurred, and manners of life and religious traditions were often fundamentally altered. In cases in which the migrating group has not been absorbed into society at large, but has maintained its cultural peculiarity and religious identity, migration leads to the formation of local traditions. Thus, migrations have decisively contributed to the multiplicity of (principal) religious traditions in a variety of ways.

Theories of Migration

2. Even in antiquity, the migration of a people was a declaration of both the oneness and the multiplicity of human cultures and religions. The model most used in the twentieth-century study of demography and the migration, to cite causes of international migrations, is the push-pull model. Push factors—like scarcity of work, hunger and need, persecutions, or war—drive persons to emigration from their homeland. Pull factors—like the opportunity of freedom of religious practice, or the availability of employment and chances for education—represent positive attractions and can be the occasion of an immigration. The distinction between involuntary versus voluntary immigration is too schematized, however, to be able adequately to embrace both the multiple economic and sociopolitical grounds, and the individual motives of a migration. Each life situation contains different drives, upon which a reaction ensues, with greater ('proactive') or smaller ('reactive') opportunity for one's own decision (Richmond 1994). Reactive migrants are displaced persons and refugees; proactive migrants are workers, persons drawn by the presence of family members, and emigrants.

Migration Movements

3. Migration is a phenomenon to be met always and everywhere. The global expansion of colonialism, and better technology for the movements of traffic, however, further promoted the phenomenon from the mid-nineteenth century onward, so that since then a powerful increase in intercontinental migrations can be observed. Sixty to sixty-five million Europeans emigrated abroad, some seventy percent of them to North America. The number of Asian contractual workers that emigrated to Africa, North and South America, and the Caribbean is estimated at about three to four million persons. Further, by 1834 some ten million Africans were taken to the New World as slaves (→ Afro-American Religions). In the second half of the twentieth century, the purpose of the migration movements has changed: *Europe* has become a place of asylum and domicile for millions of refugees and emigrant workers, from Asia, Africa, and the Near East (→ Asylum). Along with the immigrants, extra-European cultures and non-Christian religions came to Europe, and essentially altered the religious landscape. Even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century, practically no religious minorities (except for the Jews) existed in Europe. However, owing to an immigration conditioned by elements of colonial history, and by economics, a plurality of religions and cultures have appeared on the scene (→ Pluralism). Thus, social tensions and conflicts have arisen that are blamed on the cultural and religious 'otherness' of the 'foreigners.' This exonerates the 'native population' from the obligation of questioning the societal distribution of power and resources, as it is immigrants who are blamed for any untoward conditions.

Migration and Religion

4. Empirically researched examples indicate a two-faced trend for immigrant religions: on the one side, it can be observed that, in the new environment, special religious orientations and connections are lost, and an adaptation to the culture and religion of the 'pulling' society ensues. This phenomenon can occur as early as the immigrants' first generation, but tends to be more evident in the second: assimilation, and the wish for integration and acceptance, can lead to the perceived obligation of cultural and religious particularity. At the same time, the danger of loss of tradition can lead precisely to the production of new, accentuated interest in one's own cultural usages, and one's own religious content and practice. In the foreign situation, religious connections shift from a latent level to the 'surface,' and are consciously perceived. However, cultural and religious exercises do not continue unchanged: certain aspects are emphasized, others extensively neglected. For example, are a vegetarian lifestyle, arranged marriages, or a religious symbol on the forehead essential or expendable components of South Asian religions? Far from the Indian subcontinent (see map at → Diaspora), different answers have been given to this question, leading to intergenerational conflict and divisions in the immigrant groups. In a minority situation, religions may see their distinct religious membership in a new light, and ethnic and religious elements such as the male Sikh's turban, or the Muslim woman's veil, may become a mark of identity, and a contested symbol where social policy is concerned. Since a legal battle in 1976, Sikhs in Great Britain have been permitted to ride motorcycles without a helmet and in a turban, while Islamic girls are not permitted to wear a veil in the state schools of France. Political and cultural openness on the part of the 'pulling' society, together with a readiness for compromise on the part of the immigrants, are important in order that a peaceful coexistence may be possible in a multi-religious and multi-ethnic society in the age of globalization and economic migration.

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→ *Diaspora, Ghetto/Ghettoization, Identity, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Tolerance*

Martin Baumann

Millenarianism / Chiliasm

Etymology

1. 'Millenarianism' is derived from the Latin *mille* ('thousand') and *annus* ('year'), and denotes the expectation of a 'thousand-year reign.' 'Chiliasm,' with the same meaning, is derived from the Greek *chílioi* ('thousand'). The

original theological concept was taken over from other disciplines, and bound up with various kinds of expectations of 'end and revolution' in religious and social movements.

Millenarianism as a Christian Expectation of the End

2. In the history of Christianity, millenarianism can be understood in terms of Rev 20:2,7, as the expectation of a final earthly age, in which Christ, with his own, will govern the world, bringing the fulfillment of the Church and the fettering of evil. On its threshold stand fierce battles, whose beginning is recognizable through signs, and at whose end the returning Christ will emerge as Victor. At the end of this age comes the Last Judgment.

In this connection three questions arise:

- How literally are the proclamations of the Last Age to be taken?
- When does this Age begin?
- Can Christians contribute actively to its inauguration?

a) The first question was a bone of contention even in the ancient Church. Millenarianism or chiliasm denoted the positions that take the prophecies of the Hebrew Bible prophets literally, and reject, for instance, the notion of the resurrection only of souls. At a later time, this thinking became the universal opinion of the Western churches, but repeatedly faded in the face of its symbolism, so difficult to imagine. The result, from time to time, was an attempt at an allegorical interpretation, in the sense of the inward development of the individual person and/or of humanity. The speculations of Italian abbot Joachim of Fiore (1130–1202) stirred wide attention. He describes three steps in the development of human kind, which he designates 'reigns,' and which he links with, respectively, the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and a coming "Eternal Gospel." The first 'reign' is that of the Father, and matrimony, the second that of the Son and the priesthood. The 'Third Reign,' which he announced for the year 1260, would be that of the Holy Spirit and the monastic state. No ecclesiastical hierarchy would be needed any longer, inasmuch as, endowed with a 'spiritual intelligence,' human beings could themselves understand the inward meaning of the divine word. An angel-pope, or 'Leader,' would lead them to this condition.

b) The question of the proximity and possible dating of the dawn of the Last Age concerned Christianity after its disappointment in its early expectation of Christ's 'Parousia,' in the first century. Christianity appealed especially to Jewish doctrines on the ages. These doctrines appealed, among other things, to the vision recorded in the Book of Daniel, of the four successive reigns and their ultimate destruction (Dan 2; 7). According to these and other stage-schemata, it was possible to divide the world into three, four, five, seven, or twelve ages. The present was made the final or penultimate age, always with the Millennium impending. The shorter the remaining time spans, the more current the concrete notions of the Millennium.

In the fifth century, → Augustine identified the Millennium proclaimed in Rev 20 with the present age of the Church. The defeat of evil had already occurred, with the birth of Christ. No further age was to be awaited: the Second Coming of Christ was to be followed immediately by the Last Judgment, and therewith the end of all ages. At the same time, Augustine rejected a literal interpretation of the number "one thousand." God alone knew when the Last Judgment would arrive (*City of God*, 20, 30). This model prevailed in the Western church of the Middle Ages, and was taken over by the main currents of the Reformation as well. It offered the churches the opportunity

to counter enthusiastic tendencies of the expectation of the Millennium, and at the same time to open up a horizon of hope and expectation.

Pre-Millenarianism vs. Post-Millenarianism

A literal interpretation of Rev 20 and similar loci thereby became the privilege of the free-church groups. Thus in anglophone contexts the distinction arose between pre-millenarianism and post-millenarianism. The former denotes a literal exposition of Rev 20: Christ would come 'before' the (still awaited) Millennium. Post-Millenarianism denotes the adoption of the Augustinian schema: the Second Coming of Christ would mark the closure of the (already present) Millennium.

c) A main reason for the reserve of church theology vis-à-vis too literal a biblical interpretation of this locus lay in its experience with radical groups that were of the opinion that one could and should assist the dawn of the Millennium by force and violence. These positions emerged with the followers of Joachim of Fiore, especially in the Franciscan Order. From about 1250 onward, they represented a radical criticism of the existing Church, which they relegated, together with secular power, to the Reign of Evil, and interpreted their own age as the threshold of the Millennium, the latter to be associated with a reform of the Church. Similar conceptions are to be found in the fifteenth century, with the Taborites, and in the age of the Reformation with, for instance, Thomas Müntzer and the Anabaptists. Thus, millenarianism offers a basis for revolutionary Christian ideologies, which seek radical change in political and societal (including ecclesial) structures.

Transfer to Non-Christian and Secular Movements

3. The term 'thousand-year reign' indicates a connection between millenarian conceptions and secular ideologies of modern times. The same holds true for Joachim of Fiore's concepts of the 'Third Reign' in → National Socialism, and of the Leader (in Ger., *Der Führer*; in Ital., *Il Duce*) in German and Italian Fascism. The history of such adoptions reaches far into the past. Comparing it to the mass political movements of the twentieth century, Norman Cohn describes the 'militant, revolutionary Chiliasm' of armed religious movements in the Middle Ages, which intended an imminent 'shattering and renewal of the world.' At the focal point, holds Cohn, stands the notion of a chosen people of the oppressed overthrowing a world tyranny, renewing the world, and thus producing a just world on earth. In this sense, anthropologists and sociologists transferred millenarianism to → charismatic movements in areas of political and social tension. These movements often arise in consequence of colonial or postcolonial dependencies, and in the interstices between traditional culture and the modern world (→ Colonialism). Apart from belief in one's own election, the most important characteristic of this millenarianism, too, is the conviction of the immediate imminence of the 'changeover.' Even the Iranian revolution of 1979 was described with this terminology (M. Riesebrodt).

Against these backgrounds, current discourse concerning a 'millennium' is conducted in connection with the dawn of the third millennium (e.g. in pronouncements by the Pontifical See), especially as an attempt to appraise the tensions proper to the expectations of a new age in European history of religion, and to integrate these and their criticism of the Church into a 'thousand-year Church year.' By contrast, millenarian groups such as, for example, → Jehovah's Witnesses, will scarcely identify with the 'jubilees' of a Christian temporal reckoning.

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→ *Apocalypse, End/Eschaton, Fundamentalism, Time, Utopia*

Christoph Bochinger

Minorities

Definitions

1. 'Minorities,' in political and social discourse, has a twofold meaning. For one, in a normative sense, the concept indicates the relationship between majority and minority, in which relationship the democratic pluralistic principle is to be maintained. For another, employed descriptively, the concept indicates social requirements in dealings with concrete minorities. This sense depends on the respective usage of the concept, and to what extent both usages overlap. The *colloquial* use of the term means first of all merely a numerically smaller group, independently of its social connection and its status. In *ordinary political speech*, the word 'minority' characterizes groups that are outnumbered in the democratic (parliamentarian) decision-making process. As parliamentarian opposition, the minority represents a relatively stable group, although exchangeable (political minorities). Precisely in the effort to become a majority, 'active minorities' (W. Dirks) are indispensable for a democracy. As a *descriptive concept*, 'minorities' are disadvantaged social groups. Generally, these are such groups as, on the basis of criteria determined by the majority, are marginalized, or made to feel marginalized. These groups can be constituted by, for instance, the homeless, the handicapped, or even foreigners. The criterion of objective and/or subjective disadvantage in society is valid also for such groups as actually constitute numerical majorities (e.g., women, black Africans and Indians in the Republic of South Africa). These groups, as well, are frequently designated as minorities. A quality of resistance to law attaches to the concept of minority that the United Nations Commission for Human Rights defined in 1950: "only those non-governing groups of a population who demonstrate stable ethnic, religious, or linguistic traditions, and wish to retain them, traditions clearly distinct from those of the rest of the population." In a framework of individual human rights, discrimination against members of such a minor-

ity on grounds of attributes determining its minority status is prohibited. Basically, the minority is conceded the right to maintain its traditions.

Ethnic and Religious Minorities

2. After the rise of the national states in the nineteenth century, the concrete circumstances in which ethnic and religious minorities live, whether of autonomy or of repression, were determined by the majority. This constellation repeated itself as, in the course of decolonialization, the erstwhile colonial powers created new 'minority problems' by way of arbitrary boundaries, collecting diverse national and religious ethnic groups in a single state (e.g., Christian minorities in Sudan). Since the collapse of the states of real socialism, which had controlled their ethnic and religious minorities with a rigorous centralism, a comparable phenomenon has now been taking place in many new Eastern European states.

Protection of Minorities and Religious Freedom

Any minority objects to discrimination and repression, in an awareness of its own national, cultural, or religious identity. The members of a minority enjoy protection not as constituting a people, with the classic right of a people to self-determination, but basically only in a framework of acknowledged individual human rights. Since 1919, a guarantee of the rights of groups has indeed been discussed in international conferences on human rights, as the old League of Nations called the world of postwar states to a defense of their minorities. However, these rights can be guaranteed in the meantime only through international accords. Furthermore, democratic and institutional measures for the protection of political minorities, such as decentralization, federalism, the removal of exclusive clauses in the voting law, restricted veto rights for minorities, as presuppositions for a general protection of minorities, turn out to be in scant supply. A status that will be constitutionally assured is of key importance for religious minorities.

Acceptance of Minorities

3. Of course, institutional acknowledgment of the duty to protect minorities says little about the acceptance of a minority on the part of the majority. In particular, the image of those minorities relegated to the margins of society is most often stamped by a stigmatizing structure of prejudice. It ascribes to minorities altogether negative characteristics across the board, often such as result from the concrete circumstances of the life imposed on them. By way of example, we may cite the bigoted picture of the greedy Jew, which continues to betray an → anti-Semitism lurking in many minds. This picture was essentially created by the imposition of the occupation of moneylender on the Jewish minority of the Middle Ages. Gypsies and Turks, today, as well, are victims of defensive, devaluating prejudices that seldom have anything to do with the real life situation of the persons thus stigmatized. The decisive element is rather a psychosocial one, one that comes all the more intensively to expression as the minorities are perceived in their 'strangeness' (skin color, religion, language) as a *foreign* vis-à-vis. An attitude of rejection feeds on diffuse feelings of fear of the strange, as well as, often enough, on a feeling of one's own inferiority. This attitude of rejection can actually provoke aggression against the minority.

Resentments of this kind become acute, the moment constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the practice of religion threatens to become a demonstration, or is perceived by the majority as so threatening. The 'veil dispute,' aroused by the injunction that Muslim women wear a veil, shows this;

and it shows how sensitive and tendential a laicist society can be with regard to any demonstrative blurring of the separation of religion and state (→ Laicism).

Behavioral patterns of this kind evince the permanent urgency of a responsible interaction with religious minorities, on the part of the whole of society. Demands all too unilateral, on the part of the majority, for a readiness to 'integrate' are misunderstood by the ethnic minority as a demand for their assimilation, so that their resistance seems a duty to their own identity. The result is often a reinforced resistance to any openness to the majority. Then, when the minority declines even minimal efforts at integration—any conflict-free coexistence with the majority—a definitive segregation may be in the offing. Society collapses into its distinct parts.

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→ *Apartheid, Diaspora, Ghetto/Ghettoization, Migration, Pluralism, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Veil*

Hans-Georg Lützenkirchen

Miracles

Miracles are a basically ambivalent element of religion, as they are both expected to occur or be believed in as a part of religious life and are also liable to arouse criticism and skepticism. Miracles occur outside the course of everyday existence, provoking both belief and unbelief.

Miracle Narratives

Narratives about miracles serve to substantiate the activity of an otherwise invisible God in the world, whom faith and piety require to be willing and able to intervene in a crisis or to demonstrate various divine attributes. Miracle narratives also serve as models, which help individuals to interpret their experiences and to make sense of disappointing attempts to benefit from a miracle, such as prayers for healing.

One miracle narrative appears in visitors' guides to Delphi, where people in antiquity traveled from all over the world to consult the oracle. On the site, there are large blocks of stone scattered erratically about. This feature is not very surprising, since the shrine lies immediately below a limestone cliff. According to the narrative, however, the presence of these stones can be explained by a miraculous event, which took place in 287 BCE when an army

of marauding Gauls attacked the undefended shrine. Suddenly, two 'white maidens' covered the attackers with snow, and at the same time they heard the whirr of an arrow being shot from out of the temple. The enemy bolted in panic, leaving the temple treasures untouched. The Greeks were of course relieved to see the enemies flee, but questioned one remaining would-be attacker, who explained that Athena and Artemis had blocked the invaders' way, and Apollo had killed them all with his arrow. The Greeks themselves had noticed nothing but the early onset of winter, perhaps an odd noise, and pieces of rock falling, just as they noticed every year. But these phenomena became a miracle, by which the gods had rescued the shrine—after all, the enemy had disappeared, and Delphi had been spared.

Therefore one could say that miracles are, first and foremost, stories about the power of a certain god who overcomes, for example, the work of a demon or the power of some other god. Sometimes the stories are collected, as with the reports of miracles in the vestibules of temples to gods of healing which can be seen in the Greek Epidauros.

Types of Miracles

Various types of miracles can be distinguished: (1) Miracles of *healing from a disease*, including raising people from the dead, even when there is "already a stench" (John 11:39). (2) A cure implemented by a *battle with an evil spirit* usually leading to an exorcism in the course of which the evil spirit must be threatened and expelled. (3) Miracles of *provision* as in the feeding of the five thousand, when the physical needs of a person or group are met with divine abundance. (4) Miracles involving *superhuman feats* of a divine person (*theios aner*) such as demonstrating the ability to fly, to walk on water, or to be in two places at once. (5) Miracles which show *power over nature*, such as the calming of a storm, the transformation of water into wine, or a bleeding relic. (6) There are also *punitive miracles*, by means of which those who do not believe in miracles or in the god who performs them are punished, usually in some extreme form, which understandably motivates the persons concerned to believe in the reality of the miracle and be healed. Their difficulties make the point that those who wish to benefit from the other five types of miracles must not call the reality of the miracle into question.

Limitation and Mystery

The fact that miracles are exceptional and are not available to everyone establishes their value and explains the craving for them. There are limitations on miracles in that not everyone can work them, and that they are not to be performed indiscriminately (cf. Matt 4:1-4). The value of miracles is further protected by restrictions on publicizing them made by the wonderworker. After the wonderworker's death, miracle reports multiply, but a connection to the miracle worker, for example through his or her bones, clothing, or image, can still facilitate the longed-for miracle. But even then access to divine power is not common or easy—one must make the pilgrimage, sometimes bringing back a precious relic or bottle of holy water to be used only in emergencies.

Miracles and Legitimacy

Miracle narratives follow certain patterns, which include attributions of power to extraordinary persons and the development of miracle legends. Recognizing the legendary nature of these narratives but wishing to maintain belief in the possibility of miracles, the Catholic Church has established a juridical process of canonization by means of which such extraordinary persons can be declared holy. There are certain rules in place for this process. (1) It

cannot begin less than fifty years after the person's death, so that personal friendship can hardly continue to play a role. (2) The person must have performed at least two miracles that have unambiguously occurred *contra naturam* (Lat., 'against nature') and can therefore not be explained away as the results of natural causes. An *advocatus diaboli* (Lat., 'devil's advocate') looks for defects in potential saints, so that their canonization, if and when it occurs, can be accepted as carefully considered and legitimate. Thus the person's miracles are also officially established as legitimate.

In Judaism, as in Protestantism, only God can perform miracles. Although God can appoint human beings to perform miracles as his ministers, the persons remain in their status as creatures and do not earn a special status as a result of their agency. All of the members of the congregation are considered holy, but none is able to take on divine attributes. God alone works miracles. Therefore if a miracle occurs, its legitimacy is hardly questionable for the community concerned.

Demythologization

In the nineteenth century, the natural sciences challenged the Church's support of the reality of miracles with the belief in eternal and unchangeable laws of nature. This challenge threatened the very idea of a personal God who interacts with the world. The conflict culminated in irreconcilable positions. For scientists who held that only phenomena that could be tested and repeated experimentally were real, belief in miracles was proof of the basic irrationality of religion. Religious apologists reacted by focusing on those particular miracles, which contravened the laws of nature, and claiming these as unambiguous demonstrations of the activity of God in the world.



When Catholic Croatia declared its independence from 'atheistic' Yugoslavia in 1991, there was an apparition of the Virgin Mary. This event was an addition to a series of apparitions which had taken place in the little town of Medjugorje

Attempts to negotiate this conflict have taken various forms. The Catholic process of canonization now requires medical affidavits to be filed when a person alleges to have been miraculously healed of an incurable disease by the candidate for sainthood. In this manner, scientific evidence is respected, but the possibility of a miracle is not eliminated. Theologically, Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976) sought to solve the problem by ascribing belief in miracles to an antiquated worldview, inappropriate for modern Protestants. He claimed that miracles must be demythologized if Christianity, with its biblical accounts of miracles, is to remain credible in a modern age. For him, then, the miracle of Jesus's resurrection was to be understood not as an actual physical resurrection from the dead, but as the human → Jesus having died in the expected manner as a result of crucifixion, but the divine Jesus having 'risen again' in the preaching (*kerygma*) and faith of the community, so that he can be said to live on.

Debate about the reality or factuality of miracles is senseless. Scholars have revised the concept of reality to include constructs belonging to certain communities but not necessarily recognizable to others. Further, if we maintain the conclusion that miracle is a narrative genre with its own form history, then belief in miracles is a 'social fact,' which cannot be candidly and realistically refuted, or proved. Instead, it is the task of the academic study of religion to examine miracles as social facts in their historical contexts, to analyze their social functions, and to seek to grasp the diverse ways in which miracles are perceived.

starting in 1981. (→ Vision/Auditory Experience; map in → Mediterranean Region). The town soon became a favorite place of pilgrimage. While the official Church reserves its judgment, a group of Italian pilgrims, mostly women, can be seen here waiting for the next apparition. The paper that can be seen in the photograph provides reports of the earlier miracles and other apparitions of Mary elsewhere in Europe and also serves to prepare readers for what they may expect to see. After hours of waiting, the impression of having seen at least something mounts, so that the endless waiting, the assembled chairs, the necessary patience are all allowed to fulfill their purpose. (Christoph Auffarth)

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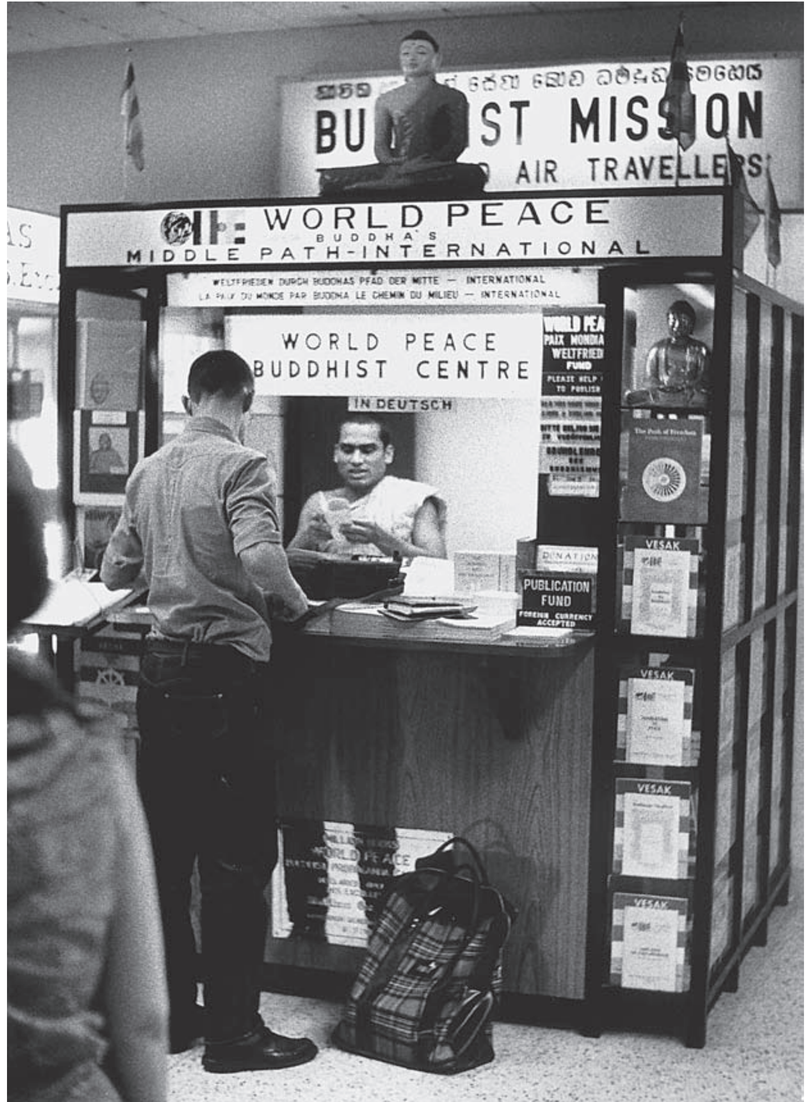
→ *Criticism of Religion, Nature, Relics (Veneration of), Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Veneration of the Saints*

Christoph Auffarth

Mission

1. *Mission Impossible* (USA, 1996; direction, Brian De Palma)—a film on a troop of agents on a reprisal 'mission'; MISSION—cosmetic lozenges from Vichy; The Sojourner Mission (of the little Martian robot). 'Mission' has many meanings today—all except that of a 'sending.'

'Sending' would be the literal translation of the Latin word *missio.* With respect to Christian mission, the term derives from the words of Jesus in Matt 28:18-20. While the word 'mission' itself does not occur in the biblical



The words 'Buddhism' and 'mission' are not often mentioned in the same breath. This stand at the Colombo airport in Sri Lanka seeks to attract the attention of travelers with mottos running across the top of the booth. A monk is available for information, in Hindi, Tamil, English, and sometimes other languages. Contributions to cover printing costs are gladly received. Not a few tourists come to Sri Lanka for the sake of an acquaintance with a Buddhist culture. True, it usually contradicts the self-image of modern Buddhists to 'missionize' without it being requested of them. After the model of their founder, Buddhists usually leave the first step to interested parties. The airport booth represents a somewhat more aggressive step on their part. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

text, it stands in Luther's Bible in several headings, as over Matthew's text in the last chapter of that gospel, just cited—the missionary commandment or order. That phrase sounds military, and, as we know, missionaries often enough conducted themselves just as if they had been wild troops of the Lord on a campaign of reprisal against paganism. Mission and European colonial expansion are closely tied. It is a matter of good tone, and politically correct, to cite mission and → colonialism in the same breath, and this gives the word a negative connotation. Mission today invariably conjures up associations like hunger for power, the annihilation of religions, the destruction of cultures. And indeed, Christianity has often enough contributed to the collapse of cultures in its battles against other religions and systems of belief. Christian 'mission' has therefore become a buzzword with the public. Of course, as the history of mission is scarcely only a history of saints, "just

as little is it a history of naïve or evil persons who colonized souls so that the imperialists might have an easy time of it."[1]

Theology of Mission Today

2. If we first consider the Christian exposition of the call to mission, we are struck by the fact that the emphasis is on the biblical foundation of the eschatological meaning of the Cross and Resurrection. Mission is intended to convince, rather than force, by way of communication, in reliance on the healing power of the Gospel. Mission is preaching, instruction, medical attention, irrigation, and farming. It is neither the raw propagandizing of that which is Christian, nor the exclusive foundation and organization of the Church among non-Christians. The modern understanding of mission means "neither putting down other beliefs and convictions, nor making absolutist claims, nor bringing a 'higher culture.' Instead, mission attests the Gospel, and trusts that its power will prove itself healing and salvific in each given context."[2]

A Historical Example: the Canadian Jesuit Mission in the Seventeenth Century

3. If we turn away, for once, from the horrible deeds of mission in the South America of the Conquista, and direct our gaze to the missionary activity of the → Jesuits in the seventeenth century in Canada, we are struck by the fact that the modern understanding of communicative mission has early roots and problems. The Jesuits, who emerged from Montreal in 1625, and gained increasing influence in the region of the Hurons, were at first not understood by the Indians as representatives of a superior colonial power—here we see the difference in cultural contact with nomadic peoples on the one side, and peoples with developed states on the other. The missionaries sought out the tribes in their forests, as they were not to be reached through a local, centrally organized mission station. An important presupposition for this kind of missionary contact was the learning of the language. The Jesuits early recognized that serious attempts to convert this Indian people would have to be made in a context of a control of their idiom. Now, it was unproblematic for them to make themselves adequately understood in many areas of daily life; but it was another matter to convey an understanding of the conceptions of Christian faith. It turned out to be impossible to communicate abstract concepts of the dogmatic teaching of the faith such as → guilt, → sin, or grace. There was no other way out of this dilemma: as often happened elsewhere, the children of the 'heathen' would have to be taken from their families by force, and reared completely as Europeans, so that they would now be assimilated culturally as well as intellectually. The Jesuit missionaries in Canada opposed this attempt to broaden the religious mission to a cultural one (*mission civilisatrice*, Fr., 'civilizing mission'). Thus, they restricted their work of conversion to a series of formal acts, such as baptism, communion, or confession.[3] Their attempt at a communicative proclamation of the Word failed. Now the Jesuits could only share their presence with persons who approached, in the simplicity of their customs, the ascetic ideals of the Order. But does not this outcome ultimately turn the missionary situation upside down?

4. While the early missionaries were still sent into the world as pioneers of the faith, and became leading figures in the young churches that later arose, they understand themselves today as temporary helpers and experts, who take up their activity at the invitation of particular churches. This change also reflects a transformed understanding of mission, which today is tied into the overarching structure of help with development. To some extent, modern mission theologians today even ask what they can learn, with

respect to the rapid increase of non-Christians, regarding evangelization in their own country from their 'brothers and sisters' abroad.

Missionary Science

5. Missionary science—usually part of systematic or practical theology—understands itself as scholarly reflection on and assistance to the encounter of the Church with persons who are foreign from a religious and cultural viewpoint. Settled in the framework of Evangelical theology, it is a very recent science, introduced as an independent discipline by Gustav Warneck (1834–1910). Warneck was the first to hold the chair of this branch of theology, beginning in 1896, in Halle (Germany).

1. Günther, Wolfgang, "Auf den Ausdruck Mission verzichten?," in: Gemeindedienst für Mission & Ökomene (Internet publication of the Evangelisch-lutherisches Missionswerk in Niedersachsen), 1997, see http://bs.cyty.com/elmbs/guenther.htm (accessed August 2005).
2. Ibid.
3. Bitterli 1976, 113ff.

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→ *Christianity, Colonialism I and II, Jesuits*

Gerhard Schlatter

Modernity / Modern Age

Determination of Concept and Contexts

1. As a neologism derived from the adjective 'modern' (Middle Latin, *modernus*, 'new,' from *modo*, 'right now'), 'modernity,' became a broadly familiar catchword around 1900 for avant-garde revolutions in literature (applied to naturalism by Ernst Wolff in 1886, and broadened by Hermann Bahr in 1890 to include the post-naturalistic currents) and art as an expression of an epochal new departure. *Moderne* (Ger., 'Modernity') was listed in the Brockhaus dictionary as early as 1902, as an "embodiment of the most recent social, literary, and artistic directions" (vol. 11, 952). In recent decades, it is true, 'modernity' is still applied as a term for aesthetic efforts at innovation, but it has predominantly had another career: stimulated by the discourse of sociology, philosophy, and historical theory, it serves as a concept for the macro-period marked by the effect of 'enlightened' thinking. In Europe and America, this period can be reckoned as beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, with the industrial and French revolutions as the epochal events. Chief characteristics that are emphasized are autonomous reason, operating in the end-means calculation as motive force

for scientific technological progress, and the accompanying social conversion: a 'progressive,' expansive → industrial society, a growing 'democratization,' social differences diminishing or becoming 'finer' (P. Bourdieu), extended education opportunities, a dwindling importance for traditional ecclesiality, new autonomy in individuals, and modernizations in lifestyle. A withdrawal can be observed from the older, and more recent, optimism of an unstoppable improvement of the human being and the world by way of a Western, 'civilized' use of reason (as continued in the earlier American modernization theories). Today the emphasis is rather on the paradoxes of complex, coexisting processes of transformation, for example with respect to the dimensions of differentiation, rationalization, individualization, and 'domestication' (Hans van der Loo and Willem van Reijen). The limits of 'instrumental' reason are demonstrated by ecological risks, growing social inequality, and persistent military threats.

Religion between 'For' and 'Against'

2. In the face of the undifferentiated use of the umbrella concept of the 'modern age,' a warning must be offered vis-à-vis certain semantic divisions—against the inflation of an emphatic Pro and a belligerent Contra. This caution is important precisely with respect to the religions, where an enmity to modernity across the board continues to obtain, often with a biting attachment to the 'divine truth' of key religious propositions, and resistance to 'libertine' thought and action. This stance is accompanied by a continuing acceptance of particular modernizations in (industrial) society—'yes' to technological progress, 'no' to sexual emancipation. Modern civilization's understanding of science and the world, the emergence of an 'obstinate' use of reason, individual autonomy, and subjective competence in activity, did indeed often provoke religious communities to a 'yes or no'—thoroughly discussed in recent debates in → fundamentalism—but was also frequently integrated into delicate and painful processes. The (fearful? fruitful?) interlacings and reciprocal effects of Christianity and the modern age have been too long considered only under the aspect of 'secularization' ('worldlification'), with the accent on the diminishing influence of traditional ecclesiality.

Protestantism

→ *Protestantism* is still regarded as the forerunner and motive force of modernity. From the viewpoint of the history of culture, effective impulses are being exposed:

- Luther's theology as a presupposition of → Enlightenment thought (most thinkers of the Enlightenment represented a moderate deism);
- The Calvinist teaching of predestination, as the basis for a professional ethic marked by an inner-worldly asceticism, became the constitutive component of the modern capitalist spirit and of modern culture (Max → Weber's thesis; → European History of Religion).
- Biblical exegesis in the form of historical criticism, in Protestant theology, reaching Rudolf Bultmann's concept of 'demythologization.'

But the relationship of Protestantism to the modern age spans a spectrum from broad acceptance (often subsumed under the concept of a 'cultural Protestantism'), to a predominantly 'productive relation of tension' (J. Viering), to 'fundamentalistic' opposition (especially virulent in the United States, whence fundamentalism has its name, in revival movements, and in evangelicalism).

Catholicism

The negative relationship of *Catholicism* to the modern age is often explained in terms of the neo-Scholastic anti-modernism of Pius X, who in 1907 published a new catalogue of modernism's 'errors' (the decree *Lamentabili Sane Exitu,* complemented by the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis,* where 'modernism,' 'agnosticism,' 'immanentism,' and an unrestrained search for reform are reproached). Thus, *modernism* belongs to a 'Catholic Enlightenment,' to whose currents belong, among others, reform Catholicism, liberal, and leftist Catholicism, which were concerned for a (partial) rapprochement with the modern age, and, to a certain extent, issued in the *aggiornamento* of the Second Vatican Council.

Non-Christian Religions

The relationship of the *non-Christian religions* to the conspicuous aspects of 'modernity' spans, since the first encounters with the phenomenal forms of 'Western' modernity, a spectrum reaching from enthusiastic acceptance of 'modernity,' and a radical departure from religious tradition(s), to a → reception of certain elements in an appeal to their own non-Christian roots (e.g., reform Hinduism, with its appeal to the Vedas in the reform communities of the Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj), to a 'fundamentalistic' rejection and opposition.

Postmodernity—End of the Modern Age?

3. A series of complete changeovers in the second half of the twentieth century are interpreted as foundations of a new era, often labeled 'postmodern' or 'postindustrial.' Among them fall the revolutionary impetuses of scientific and technological, communicational, and epistemological turns. Catchwords include the revolutionary impetus of informational and genetic technology, 'reflexive' modernization, radicalized turns of 'individualization' and 'pluralization,' and farewell to the 'grand narratives,' with a transition to a plurality of heterogeneous linguistic play. Another will be a distancing from modernity's aesthetic experiments in favor of a double codification—of elite vs. popular—and an extreme pluralism of style. It is disputed whether, at the turn of the twenty-first century, certain basic patterns of the modern age are (should be) thrust forward and radically extended, or whether we have reached an 'end of the modern age.'

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→ *Disenchantment/Reenchantment, Enlightenment, Fundamentalism, History, Industrial Society, Postmodernity*

Michael Klöcker

Monarchy / Royalty

Fascination with Another World

Although functioning monarchies are very rare, the lives of royal families keep fascinating people. Even when royalty are the objects of scandal, they are regarded with a certain envy. We tend to project our dreams of an ideal life onto royal families. Whatever their lapses, they remain idols, as did Lady Diana, estranged wife of the heir to the British throne, who was fondly remembered as the 'Queen of Hearts' after her fatal accident in 1997.

Sacredness of the King or Queen

In modern societies with democratic institutions, the death of the head of state may be an emotional event, but the citizens all know that his or her position will be filled by someone else according to certain set protocols within a short time and the work of the state will go on. However, in monarchical societies, the death of the king or queen calls the entire social order into question and constitutes a trauma to the entire group. Anxiety on this count is the source of the tradition of wishing long life to the king or queen and the abhorrence of regicide.

One way in which societies of this type 'protect' their monarchs from instability or death is through myths about how God protects the 'sacred' king of queen. Such myths also distance the monarch from everyday political problems and encourage the view of the monarch as exceptional. This same purpose could also be served by religious legitimation of the monarch's coronation, for example by the Pope—an act, which was often a dearly purchased condition for effective rule for the German emperors.

Insignia and Gestures of Reverence

The holiness of the king or queen is made visible by way of external signs such as wearing a crown, sitting on a throne, being surrounded with mighty beasts, impressing the public with monumental architecture, and maintaining distance from others by means of stairs or other persons positioned between the throne and the 'audience' (→ Symbol/Sign/Gesture). Certain gestures are also used to demonstrate reverence for the monarch, such as kissing the feet, bowing, and gift-giving.

In many cases the signs and gestures rendered to the king or queen are the same as those rendered to God, so that an identification of the two is encouraged. God is portrayed as a king, holding the globe of the earth, guaranteeing the life of his whole people with his own life, while the earthly king is treated as if he were omniscient and almighty.

Kings have sometimes invented their own sets of gestures and insignia to portray themselves to their subjects. One favorite image is to identify oneself with the sun, although the well-known case of the French 'Sun King' is probably highly exaggerated.

The holiness of the king has also sometimes been supported through claims to divine power. For example, French kings claimed that their coronation conferred the ability to cure a certain skin disease—scrofula, which became known as 'the king's evil.' Each court historian's report between the eleventh and the nineteenth centuries heaped further pressure on the following kings, who knew they must show an ability to heal diseases, but often could not. The problem was solved by granting supplicants alms, rather than healing. The association of monarchy with holiness was maintained as long as the early → Middle Ages, however, when only kings and nobles could be declared saints.

The Waiting King

The discrepancy between exalted religious claims and human frailty, between → charisma and incompetence, between plans for reform and premature death, can cause disillusionment with actual kings during their reign, and provoke a thirst for the return of a mythologized king from the past who constitutes a transpersonal → collective representation. This legendary king is believed to be waiting, hidden across the sea or on a mountain, for the fated moment.

There are several historical examples of this phenomenon. In Jewish apocalyptic literature, the last mighty king lies where he fell in battle, on Mount Megiddo (Hebr., *Har Megeddon*; cf. Rev 16:16). German sagas of the Empire tell of King Frederick hidden and waiting in the *Kyffhäuser*, who, in keeping with his name (*Fried* 'peace,' *Reich*, 'empire') will return to rule the Empire of Peace. Even the Catholic clergy nurture dreams of an 'Angel Pope.' The Islamic Shiites await the hidden Imam Mahdi who will combine religious authority with the might of rule and government (→ Iran). The apocalyptic Messianic expectations of the religions of the Near East may be seen as the background or motive of many of these legends (→ Apocalypse), which may be both projected into the beyond or used for real political power. Other cultures as well have similar myths, which act as a bulwark against despair.

Sacred Realm and Sacred Rule

The sacralization of rule through the sanctification of the king has also played an important role in the theory of how religion emerges. Taking as his point of departure a rather curious report from Roman antiquity, James George Frazer (1854–1941) saw the beginning of belief in God in the deification of the king. The Roman myth of the golden bough reports that kings in Aricia were each chosen for only one year, at the end of which they would fight and lose a deadly battle with their successor. Accordingly, only slaves could become kings, as they were the only people who could be put forward for human sacrifice, which in this society was part of being the king. This rite, according to Frazer, is a 'survival' of an earlier time and spread across the world. Frazer held that the 'primitives' still had a sense of natural realities, of cause and effect, which they sought to exploit through magic, while people of the 'intermediate era' sank into the illusion of religion. This degeneration was vitally linked to the institution of kingship, according to Frazer. The theory is that deceased kings were exploited by priests and made into tyrannical monarchs or gods, which served to preserve the priests' own power. Although his writings on the religious aspect of kingship in various cultures are interesting, his views have been criticized for their basis in a gross oversimplification of religion and for the assumption that religion is illusory (see Smith 1978).

Sacred monarchy can more accurately be understood as a type of governing institution. It is by no means a universal stage in the 'development' of culture. Other forms of government can exist in cultures of similar age and neighboring regions, while sacred monarchy can still be found in Africa today.

Typical elements of sacred monarchy are: (1) derivation from a line of ancestors extending back to an original mother goddess; (2) limited power on the part of secular authorities whose work is construed as the terrestrial portion of a monarchical rule which embraces the whole cosmos; (3) protection and ritual testing of the seed for the next crop in cases where an agricultural society must fear for its material well-being. One can also say of sacred monarchy in general that it serves to protect the whole people from the threat of destruction, as long as this function is not undertaken by other

→ collective representations. When the role of the king is even partially desacralized, the acceptance of the necessity of monarchy for the protection of the people disappears, but can be re-established through increasing (re-)sacralizaton.

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→ *Charisma, Democracy, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Papacy, Theocracy*

Christoph Auffarth

Monasticism

Monastic Life

1. Monks (from Gk., *monachos*, 'one who lives alone' or 'lives unusually') and nuns (from Lat., *nonna*, 'nun,' originally from 'baby talk' for a child's nurse) are religious → specialists in the framework of a social environment that belongs to the same religion. They usually cultivate a community life in poverty, obedience, and sexual abstinence. Monks and nuns live their religion radically, and are highly regarded for this lifestyle by society, which often contributes to their material maintenance. This last is true especially for hermits (from Greek, *eremos*, 'solitary,' 'alone'), who withdraw, either by themselves or in colonies, into uninhabited regions. Monastic existence serves the individual seeking religious 'perfection' (i.e., a gradual or step-by-step 'perfecting'), and the effect on other persons is secondary; the decision to adopt this way of life is usually voluntary. Involvement in non-religious activity ranges from full renunciation of physical → work, and acceptance of maintenance by outsiders even for elementary needs, to master artisanry in even secular economic pursuits. Although monks almost always have contact with their human environment, they have a special role in society. They emphasize their role by special attire, style of hair and/or beard, rites of initiation (frequently with a name change), renunciation of material things, and a specific behavior regulating relations with the laity. The life of a monk is nearly always preceded by a period of trial (the 'noviceship,' or 'novitiate'). Violations of the rules are punished by the imposition of a penance—according to a fixed catalogue—or even, in certain circumstances, by total exclusion from the community. In nearly all religions, monks and nuns are the vehicles of → mysticism.

Christianity

2. The hermits and monks of the East (Egypt, Syria, Palestine), first mentioned in the third century, stand at the origin of *Christian monasticism.*



At the foot of the Buddhist sanctuary in Bodhnath (Katmandu/ Nepal), two Tibetan monks perform acts of Tantric cult before a divine image. Their textbook is a ritual manual (*tantra*) that consists of a sheaf of unbound oblong sheets kept tied up in cloth. In Tantra, the application of cultic formulae (*mantra*) and various sacred objects (a diamond scepter, bells, butter lamps, vessels of rice, etc.) is established with miniscule precision. It is less a matter of honoring a god than of a meditation, at which the contradictions of the phenomenal world are to be vanquished through the symbolism of the sacred objects, and by spiritual amalgamation with the divine image. Thus, the diamond scepter (*vajra*) symbolizes the male principle, and the bells (*ghānta*) the female, which the Buddha of Origin (*Vajradhāra*) of Tibetan Buddhism (*Vajrayāna*) joins in himself as representative of the redemption. (Elmar Stapelfeldt)

They justified their lifestyle as the imitation of Christ, which they saw in flight from the world and the overcoming of worldly needs. They were the contrast to, and model of, the early Christian communities. Eremitism soon became a movement, leading to the establishment of cenobite (from Gk., *koinos bios*, 'common life') communities. Monks living as hermits are today more of an exception.

One of the earliest monastic communities was that of Egyptian Pachomius (d. 347), who was the first to formulate rules for monastic life: common abode, work, and prayer, uniformity in food and clothing, and a strict ascetical behavior. With the seventh-century Islamic conquest of the Near East, monastic life in that region disappeared almost entirely. In the Eastern Roman Empire, on the other hand, Christian monasticism gradually spread. Powerful large monasteries, from Greece to Russia, became political, cultural, and economic centers, as, to an extent, they still are today. The Rule of Benedict of Nursia, founder of the Christian Benedictine order, composed around 540 and named for him, became the model for many monastic communities in the West, which gradually organized into → orders, named for their founders or places of foundation.

In the seventh century, by reason of its multiple relationships to royalty and to the nobility, monasticism became an important force in all areas of social and administrative life. From the beginning of the ninth century, orders originally conceived as lay communities gradually became clerical ones, actively concerned with theological matters. Monasteries became the medieval centers of spirituality and culture (libraries, translations, architecture, education of the nobility). By reason of their discipline, and the specialization of their monks in their proficiencies, orders active in the economy (e.g., the Cistercians) attained unanticipated influence and effectiveness. Although monks are expected to live in poverty personally, certain monasteries amassed enormous wealth. Criticism of this 'secularization' and command on the part of the monasteries in general, and those of the Roman church especially, extended throughout the Middle Ages up to

modern times. Reformer Martin → Luther, an Augustinian monk, notably joined his criticism to a rejection of justification by works. True, he made room for a monastic life (without 'perpetual vows') as an occupation or calling, which have made Protestant monastic orders possible in the middle of the twentieth century.

The classic Catholic orders continued to exist after the Reformation, while, in Protestant regions, monasticism fell off almost completely. The → Jesuit Order, founded (1534) in a framework of the Counter-Reformation, by Ignatius Loyola, who was especially close to the popes, became Catholicism's intellectual elite. Under Napoleon, and in the time after 1815, monastic orders were suppressed, and all activity was forbidden them, or restricted to works of charity. Throughout almost all Europe, absolutist rulers dissolved the monasteries. But a revival, and renewed expansion, began as early as the nineteenth century, and still prevails. At present, monastic movements are active in many Christian confessions. Their spectrum extends from efforts to return to ancient Christian eremitism (Monastery of Mount Athos in Greece), to world-oriented movements with ecumenical purposes and a strong participation on the part of the laity (Taizé).

Buddhism, Jainism, Islam

3. In *Buddhism and Jainism*, monks exercise more of a key role than they do in Christianity. They are often the only specialists ('priest monks') that can satisfy believers' religious needs. Characteristic forms of the monastic life range from that of the ascetic mendicant and itinerant monk in → India, to that of temporary entry into a monastery as a stage in the life of a male, to the formation of monastic states (e.g., → Tibet). Monasteries are either materially compensated for their religious services (Japan), or maintained by lay societies affiliated with them. Even today, the monasteries of Burma and Thailand are central locations for the preservation of tradition and culture. In *Islam*, the Sufi brotherhoods cultivate a lifestyle that is most comparable to monastic ideals (→ Sufism). Sufis constitute a marginal group, practicing or inclined to mysticism, and are often regarded with mistrust by orthodoxy. Replacing the tendency to a bureaucratic organizational monastic form in other religions, Sufism is governed by a → master-pupil relationship.

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→ *Asceticism, Buddhism, Order/Brotherhoods, Mysticism, Specialists (Religious), Sufism*

Stefan Rademacher

Money

1. Money is still a scientifically disputed phenomenon, and it has no generally recognized definition. Etymological derivations of the names of various kinds of money indicate cattle as an original unit of value (e.g., Lat., *pecunia*, from *pecus*, 'cow'), and thus the sacred origin of money as a substitute for the sacrifice of a bull, which was pictured on the coin. This possible origin, with its magical and mythical associations, can scarcely be recognized any longer in modern money, which has become an economic category and instrument of developed rationality. In the economic theory of money, with its value concepts, money seems to be an unproblematic technical facilitation of the exchange of goods. In other social sciences, however, money is viewed problematically, in the holistic societal context, as conditioned by culture and as altering culture.

Monetary Theory

2. Three groups of monetary theories can be considered as explicating this element of the economy. (a) *Theories of money as goods*: here, monies are primarily considered as goods of value (for example, gold, coins; 'metallism,' as early as Aristotle; classic economists since Locke, Marx, and others); (b) *theories of convention and nominalism*: monies are regarded as signs, having no intrinsic value, and accorded conventional value by agreement or by state decree (as early as Plato, Thomas Aquinas; also Locke; in the twentieth century, Knapp, for example); (c) *functional theories*: the value of money is that of a means of exchange, of a means for the preservation of other, intrinsic values, and as satisfying the need for liquidity in a market economy (Smith). Ethnological investigations into extra-European forms of money, such as feather money (e.g., Oceania), stone money (Micronesia), seashells (e.g., snail shells; Africa, China, India) relativize explanatory concepts in terms of the economy. Functions of money as a means of exchange and a norm of value are today rejected by economic ethnology as ethnocentric errors, as they veil the political nature of money.

Today it is the function of payment that is seen as money's primary function. Money originated within state communities, not in (international) trade. Archaic means of payment are still used today, in the persistence of a non-economic debt between transaction partners—which obligation, however, is regarded as a positive social one, and which contributes to the reproduction of a community of solidarity (H. Znoj). The obligation rests on status, → prestige, kinship, or political authority, and is sacralized and sanctioned by an imbedding in sacred ceremonies, ritual laws, and magic. This 'relationship of obligation' determines pre-state → exchange of gifts, as well.

In modern monetary conventions, on the other hand, transactions remove debt. Socialization ensues upon the state institution of the central bank. Accordingly, it is not acts of exchange, but relations of debt that found the function of money, as well as possibly indicating the religious origin of the banking system.

3. Economic research into the emergence of money substantiates its origin in the form of circulating gold and silver coins around 600 BCE in Greece. The development of money is seen in connection with the emergence of states, of trade, of a social division of labor, and of capitalism (Marx, Simmel). Laum (1924), who explains the development of money

as tied to the sacrificial duties of public worship in Greece, sees the first form of money in the sacrifice of worship, the sacred exchange between God and human beings. Considered in the overall societal context, however, a religious meaning of money shows that it is not a matter of an inherent religious attribute. Instead, the religious quality of money lies in the sacrificial ritual, and social obligations. Marx, in his analysis of capitalism (1867), understands money as a modern fetish, that has become independent—that has developed a power of its own over human beings. The Marxian critique of the money fetish was then broadened to a general theory of understanding (Adorno and Horkheimer, Sohn-Rethel, Müller). According to Adorno, the fundamental principles of abstract thought are an expression of that anonymous manner of organization of societal labor in which money, and finally, capital, is produced by way of exchange. Psychoanalytic research (Freud, Roheim, Abraham) sees a connection between money and psychic structure, and sees money as a substitute for feces. The infantile exchange between mother's milk and the child's feces stands as a prototype for exchange, for the relationship between goods and money, and for the multiplication of capital (W. Harsch).

4. The fetishization of money, reflected in the history of the critique of money, has its roots in antiquity, and became a fast component of *Christian teaching*. The social opposition of poverty and wealth is ethicized in the Bible, where material need stands over against the spiritual wealth of the poor. The moral renunciation of money was not transferred to the Jews, who were not affected by the Church's prohibition of usury (→ Interest), and who thereby came to be seen as the main representatives of the monetary system, and later of capitalism (→ Anti-Semitism).

In *non-Western religious traditions*, money is not the object of this open stigmatization. It is introduced in religious sacrificial rituals (→ Sacrifice), for example as a kind of 'afterlife currency' in the veneration of the dead: in China, a seashell is laid in the mouth of the corpse. Frequently, monetary objects are used exclusively in religious sacrifice, so that religious paper money produced explicitly for ritual purposes is without purchasing power in China and Southeast Asia.

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→ *Capitalism, Economy, Exchange/Gift, Interest, Poverty, Sacrifice*

Karin Kathöfer

Monotheism

1. Monotheistic conceptions of God, whose point of departure is the existence and activity of one God, have dominated the religious understanding of Christian and post-Christian Europe for long centuries. In view of the multiplicity of other, especially polytheistic, religions, however, which premise a plurality of deities, monotheistic forms present a special case in religious history. They are not actually what seems from the Western standpoint to be the obviously 'normal' one. The current situation in Europe and North America posits this state of affairs impressively. In the 1970s, the increase in the number of departures from the Church could perhaps still be the subject of the debate over 'secularization,' and interpreted as the basic question of the future of religion (what was meant, naturally, was the future of Christianity!); in the meantime, however, the popularity of a plethora of → new religions has documented a broad spectrum of the most varied notions of gods, goddesses, and other beings understood as supernatural. The monotheistic religions of Judaism and Christianity have been stable for centuries in Europe, and Islam has become very important in terms of numbers since the migration movements of the 1960s and 1970s. These three traditions therefore mark not a plural, but only a predominantly monotheistic religious landscape. But in the meantime they do present part of a many-faceted constellation of religious currents themselves, within which monotheism no longer even comes close to being the only and obvious option for notions of God. To boot, the deduction of universally valid ethical norms from the notion of a creation produced by the one God, whose continuation or perfection this God has committed to the co-responsibility of the human being (→ Cosmology/Cosmogony), is seldom characteristic of new religious movements. The shift of the overall religious constellation in the West has already had clear practical effects on society, by way of this manner of alteration of moral conceptions and of foundations of behavioral maxims.

History of the Concept

2. The word 'monotheism' is a neologism, first found (1660) with English philosopher Henry More. It began as a contrasting concept to the already rediscovered (by Jean Bodin, 1580) term 'polytheism,' which originally goes back to Philo of Alexandria. Bodin then used the word 'polytheism' to characterize the European tradition. Subsequently, 'monotheism' was introduced, in discussion and speculation in the history of religions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for the subject of the origin of belief in God. From then on, the emergence of monotheism was explained in either of two ways. One explanation consisted of the framework of evolutionistic models—that is, as the apex of a two- or more-membered chain of development (e.g., animism/totemism/fetishism to polytheism to monotheism; see → Evolutionism). The other explanation diagnosed it in a model running in the opposite direction, the 'decadence theory,' where *primitive monotheism* would have been the original religious situation of humanity—gradually being lost, however, by reason of human weakness, or else being corrupted into polytheism by the interests of power politics.

Both theoretical constructs were bound to a frankly higher estimation of monotheism vis-à-vis other forms of religion. This estimate, again, had con-

siderable effect on (mainly theological) ordering and discussion of historically identifiable forms of monotheistic notions of God. Thus, for example, Jewish and Islamic religious polemics, along with modern European criticism of religion, cast doubt upon the justification of the Christian self-definition as a monotheistic form of religion, with reference to the dogma of the Trinity, and to the veneration of Mary and the saints. In the other direction, Christian theologians conceived the figure of Jesus of Nazareth, interpreted as the Messiah and the Son of God, as the fulfillment, in salvation history, of earlier, Jewish monotheism.

The Historical Roots—Egypt

3. a) This reciprocal relativization of the originality and priority of the other respective concepts of monotheism has therefore become important for the reconstruction of controversial *historical connections* among distinct monotheistic religions. Thus, one hypothesis held that the roots of biblical monotheism were grounded in the Exodus traditions of the monotheistic revolution of Egyptian Pharaoh Amenophis IV (Akhenaten). Incidentally, the most prominent representative of this model of the interpretation of history seems to have been Sigmund → Freud (*Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion*; see Freud 1939). At the same time, this theory was seen, by Christian theologians especially, to cast very serious doubt on the independence of the Jewish tradition of monotheism, that would have had no need of such models and catalysts. The point of departure for current research in the religious history of Israel is that monotheistic conceptions of God were the upshot of a centuries-long process of development. Scarcely any importance continues to attach, then, to the assumption that Akhenaten's monotheism was adopted by Moses or other protagonists of the Exodus group in Egypt, and then further transmitted in the 'occupation of the land' in Palestine.

Iran and Zoroastrianism

b) Another example of a problematic construction of historical lines of connection between two religions categorized as monotheistic is the controversy over *Iranian influences* on biblical monotheism. The historical scenario is the materialization of a great empire, extending from the whole Near East to central Asia, under Achaemenid Cyrus (the Great) and his successors, from perhaps the middle of the sixth century BCE. The occupation of Babylon by the Persians in 539 thus not only signals the end of the trauma of exile for the Jews, and the beginning of a restoration of Jerusalem and the temple, but also implies a reference to various Persian kings in the books of (Second) Isaiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah. This reference is connected there with the motif of the monotheistically worshiped God of heaven. These statements are unambiguously monotheistic, but are referred to the God of Israel and a Jewish perspective. They were then invoked as a key of interpretation for apparently comparable Iranian textual passages. Thus they served as a bolster for the broadly accepted thesis of the monotheistic image of God in the Iranian religion called, after its legendary founder, → Zoroastrianism. Meanwhile, in fact, research on ancient Iran has produced evidence that polytheistic conceptualizations of God are at the basis of the ancient Iranian and Achaemenidean forms of religion. However, as long as the point of departure went according to the pattern of the biblical texts of a Zoroastrian monotheism, this pattern could work in reverse—'discovered' as an amazing analogy for the Jewish understanding of God, and this view

seemed only to suggest the question of influences in the history of ideas with respect to demonstrable cultural contact between Jews and Persians in this time. The discussion of this problem of influence accordingly followed the course of similar interests and controversies, such as the debate over the Egyptian origin of biblical monotheism.

In the context of this example, however, there is a piquancy in the remarkable development from polytheistic to monotheistic notions of God traversed by Zoroastrianism—a Zoroastrianism falsely regarded for the Achaemenidean era as an analogy for Judaism—after the Islamization of Iran, and in India, especially since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in contact and competition with the Christianity of the British colonizers. Furthermore, the *Parsi* can be reliably considered ancient monotheists, based on findings in Iranian studies that date their oldest ritual texts, traditionally ascribed to 'prophet' Zarathrustra, in the first, possibly even the second, millennium BCE. Entirely on the pattern of the argumentations observed for the exemplary case of Israel, then, the conclusion can be drawn, without difficulty, from the quite early date of Zoroastrian monotheism, to the greater historical importance and originality of this religion in comparison with competitive religions such as Christianity. In North America and Europe, this recourse to the notion of a good monotheistic creator God of heaven (together with a dualistic concept of ethics and a polished ritual practice) make Zoroastrianism an astonishingly interesting religion for converts—despite the fact that, according to orthodox teaching, conversions to Zoroastrianism are actually forbidden.

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→ *Christianity, God/Gods/The Sacred, Egypt, Islam, Judaism, Polytheism, Zoroastrianism*

Gregor Ahn

Monument / Memorial Places

Public Commemoration

Monuments and memorial places are sites of public commemoration, understood as a matrix of activity, through which social groups express "a collectively shared knowledge [. . .] of the past, on which a group's sense of unity and individuality is based."[1] The group that organizes the commemoration inherits earlier → meanings attached to the event and site, as well as adding new meanings. Their activity is crucial to the presentation and preservation of commemorative forms and sites. When such groups disperse or disappear, commemoration loses its initial force, and the site may fade away entirely.

Public commemoration is therefore a process with a physical location—a site of remembrance—and a life history. It has an initial, creative phase; followed by a period of institutionalization and routinization. Such markings of the → calendar can last for decades, or be abruptly halted. In most instances, the date and place of commemoration fade away with the passing of the social groups that initiated the practice.

In the modern period, most commemorative events have a spatial representation and a geographical emplotment. Memorials or monuments are places visited on particular times in the calendar. Such dates are usually marked distinctively and separately from the religious calendar. There has been some overlap, though. Armistice Day, November 11, in countries remembering the end of the 1914–1918 war, is close enough to the Catholic feast of All Saints on November 2; in some countries with a large Catholic population, the two days occupy a semi-sacred space of public commemoration. The day marking the end of the Second World War in Europe, May 8, is also the Saint's day of → Joan of Arc. Those engaging in commemorative acts on that day may be addressing the secular celebration or the Catholic one; some celebrate the two together, either in churches, in public places, or in cemeteries.

Commemoration is an act arising out of a conviction, shared by a broad community, that the moment recalled is both significant and informed by a moral message. Moments of national humiliation are rarely commemorated, though here too there are exceptions of a hortatory kind. "Never again" is the hallmark of public commemoration on the Israeli Day of Remembrance for victims of the Nazi persecution of the Jews (→ Palestine/Israel). Where moral doubts persist about a war or public policy, commemorative moments are hard to fix. That is why there is no date commemorating the end of the Algerian War in France, or the end of the Vietnam War in the United States. There was no moral consensus about the nature of the conflict; hence there was no moral consensus about what was being remembered in public, and when was the appropriate time to remember it.[2]

Monuments and Political Power

Much of the scholarly debate about monuments and memorials concerns the extent to which they are instruments of the dominant political elements in a society. One school of opinion emphasizes the usefulness to political elites of public events and sites establishing the legitimacy of their rule.[3] Some such events are observed whoever is in power—witness Bastille Day in France or Independence Day in the United States. But other events are closely tied to the establishment of a new regime and the overthrow of an older one: November 7 was the date in the calendar marking the Bolshevik

revolution and establishing the Communist regime in power in Russia. That date symbolized the new order and its challenge to its world-wide enemies. May Day similarly was a moment when labor movements, and Labor parties in power, publicly demonstrated their place in history.

This top-down approach proclaims the significance of commemoration as a grammar of national, imperial or political identity. Anzac Day, April 25, is celebrated as the moment when the Australian nation was born. It commemorates the landing of Australian and New Zealand troops as part of the British-led expeditionary force sent to Turkey in 1915. The fact that the landing was a failure does not diminish the iconic character of the date to Australians. It is the day, they hold, when their nation came of age.[4]

This functionalist interpretation of commemoration has been challenged. A second school of scholarship emphasizes the ways that public commemoration at particular memorial sites has the potential for dominated groups to contest their subordinate status. However much political leaders or their agents try to choreograph commemorative activity, there is much space for subversion or creative interpretation of the official commemorative script. Armistice Day on November 11, was, for different groups, a moment for both the celebration and the denigration of military values. Pacifists announced their message of "Never again" through their presence at commemorative ceremonies; military men used these moments to glorify the profession of arms, and to demonstrate the duty of citizens, if necessary, to give their lives for their country in a future war. The contradictions in these forms of expression on the same day were never resolved.[5]

This alternative interpretation of the political meaning of commemorative activity emphasizes the multi-vocal character of remembrance. From this point of view, there is always a chorus of voices in commemorations; some are louder than others, but they never sound alone. De-centering the history of commemoration ensures that we recognize the regional, local, and idiosyncratic character of such activities.

There is always an element of contestation in the configuration of monuments and memorials. The meaning of the site or object is never fixed, and those whose lives were directly touched by the events surrounding the memorial tend to have a proprietary attitude to it. It is 'their' monument. But what of those without a direct link to the circumstances surrounding the site, or those who use it for their own political advantage? Monuments are sites of negotiation, rarely concluded, between those who mourn in an immediate sense and those who appropriate the site in other ways and for other ends. The building of a memorial at the World Trade Center in New York City after the attacks of 2001 is a case in point.

The Business of Remembering

Commemoration is and always has been a business. Monuments and memorials cost money; require specialists' services; need funding and, over time, re-funding. There are two kinds of expenditure we can trace in the history of commemoration. The first is *capital expenditure*; the second is *recurrent expenditure*.

The land for such sites must be purchased; and an appropriate symbolic form must be designed and then constructed in order to focus remembrance activities. The first step may require substantial sums of public money. Private land, especially in urban areas, comes at a premium. Then there are the costs of architects' fees, especially when a public competitive tender is offered inviting proposals from professionals. Finally, once the symbolic form

is chosen, it must be constructed out of selected materials and finished according to the architect or artist's designs.

When these projects are national in character, the process of production is in the public eye. National art schools and bodies of 'experts' have to have their say. Standards of 'taste' and 'decorum' are proclaimed. Professional interests and conflicts come into play. Much of this professional infighting is confined to national commemorative projects, but the same complex stepwise procedure occurs on the local level too, this time without the same level of attendant publicity. Local authorities usually take charge of these projects, and local notables can deflect plans towards their own particular visions, whatever public opinion may think about the subject.

Most of the time, public funding covers only part of the costs of commemorative objects. Public subscriptions are critical, especially in Protestant countries where the concept of utilitarian memorials is dominant. In Catholic countries, the notion of a 'useful' memorial is a contradiction in terms; symbolic language and utilitarian language are deemed mutually exclusive. But the Protestant voluntary tradition has it otherwise. In Protestant countries, commemorative projects took many forms, from the sacred to the mundane: in Britain there are memorial wards in hospitals, memorial scholarships in schools and universities, alongside memorial cricket pitches and memorial water troughs for horses. In the United States and in Australia there are memorial highways. The rule of thumb is that private citizens pick up most of the tab for these memorial forms. The state provides subsidies and occasional matching grants, but the money comes out of the pockets of ordinary people. The same is true in Britain with respect to a very widely shared form of public commemoration: the purchase of paper poppies, the symbol of the Lost Generation of the First World War. These poppies are worn on the lapel, and the proceeds of the sale go to aid disabled veterans and their families.

Taxpayers almost always pay for recurrent expenditure for commemorative sites. War cemeteries require masons and gardeners. The Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission looks after hundreds of such cemeteries all over the world. The cost of their maintenance is a public charge. Private charities, in particular Christian groups, maintain German war cemeteries. Once constructed, memorial statues, cemeteries, or highways also become public property, and require public support to prevent them from decomposing. They are preserved as sites of commemorative activity.

Much of this activity is directed towards inviting the public to remember in public. The public must therefore be guided towards particular sites of remembrance. Some of them are near their homes. In Britain and France there are war memorials in every city, in every town, and in every village; it is there that Armistice Day ceremonies are held annually. Churches throughout Europe of all denominations have memorial plaques to those who died in war. Special prayers were added to the Jewish prayer book to commemorate the victims of the Nazis in the Second World War, and later, those who died during active service in the Israeli army.

Remembrance in local houses of worship or at war memorials required that the public travel a short distance from their homes to sites of remembrance. But given the scale of losses in the two world wars, and the widely dispersed cemeteries around the world in which lie the remains of millions of such men and women, the business of remembrance also entails

international travel. Such voyages start as pilgrimage; many are mixed with tourism.[6] But in either case, there are train and boat journeys to take; hotel rooms to reserve; guides to hire; flowers to lay at graves; trinkets and mementos to purchase. In some places, museums have arisen to tell more of the story the pilgrims have come to hear and to share. There too money is exchanged along with the narratives and the symbols of remembrance.

This mixture of the sacred and the profane is hardly an innovation. It is merely a secular form of the kind of → pilgrimage, for example, that made San Juan de Compostela in Spain the destination of millions of men and women in the middle ages who came to honor the conventionally designated resting place of the remains of one of the original Apostles (→ Santiago de Compostela). Pilgrimage to war cemeteries is public commemoration over long, sometimes very long, distances. In 1999 thousands of Australians made the journey to Gallipoli, on the border between Asia and Europe, to be there for the dawn service on April 25, (as we have already noted) the day of the Anzac landing in 1915. Where does pilgrimage stop and → tourism take over? It is impossible to say, but in all cases, the business of remembrance remains just that—a business.

Ritual

Public commemoration is an activity defined by the gestures and words of those who come together to remember the past. It is rarely the simple reflection of a fixed text, a script rigidly prepared by political leaders determined to fortify their position of power. Inevitably, commemoration overlaps with political conflicts, but it can never be reduced to a simple reflection of power relationships.

There are at least three stages in the history of rituals surrounding public commemoration. The first we have already dealt with: *the construction of a commemorative form*. But the life history of monuments includes two other levels that need attention. The second is *the grounding of ritual action in the calendar*, and *the routinization of such activities*; the third is their *transformation or their disappearance as active sites of memory*.

One case in point may illustrate this trajectory. The date of July 1, 1916 is not a national holiday in Britain; but it marks the date of the opening of the British offensive on the River Somme, an offensive that symbolized the terrible character of industrial warfare. On that day the British army suffered the highest casualty totals in its history; on that day a volunteer army, and the society that had created it, were introduced to the full terrors of twentieth-century warfare. To this day, groups of people come to the Somme battlefields to mark this day, without national legislation to enable them to do so. Their rituals are locally defined. In France, November 11 is a national holiday, but not in Britain. Legislation codifies activities, the origins and force of which lie on the local level.

Public commemoration flourishes within the orbit of civil society. It is not so vigorous in countries where dictatorships rule; Stalinist Russia smashed civil society to a point that it could not sustain commemorative activity independent of the party and the state.[7] But elsewhere, local associations matter.

And so do families. Commemorative ritual survives when it is inscribed within the rhythms of community and in particular, *family life*. Public commemoration lasts when it draws on overlaps between national history and family history. Most of those who take the time to engage in the rituals of remembrance bring with them memories of family members touched

by these vast events. These family connections enable people born long after wars and revolutions to commemorate them as essential parts of their own lives. For example, children born in the aftermath of the First World War told the story of their family upbringing to grandchildren born sixty or seventy years later. This transmission of childhood memories over two or sometimes three generations gives family stories a power which is translated at times into activity—the activity of remembrance.[8]

This framework of family transmission of narratives about the past is an essential part of public commemoration. It also helps us understand why some commemorative forms are changed or simply fade away. When the link between family life and public commemoration is broken, a powerful prop of remembrance is removed. Then, in a short time, remembrance atrophies and fades away. Public reinforcements may help keep alive the ritual and practice of commemoration. But the event becomes hollow when removed from the myriad small-scale social units that breathed life into it in the first place. At that moment, commemorative sites, monuments and memorial practices can be revived and re-appropriated. The same sites used for one purpose can be used for another. But most of the time, commemorative forms live through their life cycle, and like the rest of us, inevitably fade away.

This natural process of dissolution closes the circle on the life history of monuments and memorials. That cycle arises out of the needs of groups of people to link their lives with salient events in the past. When the particular need vanishes, so does the glue that holds together the social practice of commemoration. Then collective memories fade away.

We have reached, therefore, a quixotic conclusion. Public commemoration through monuments and memorials is both irresistible and unsustainable. Time and again people have come together in public, at particular memorial sites, to seek meaning in vast events in the past and try to relate them to their own smaller networks of social life. These associations are bound to dissolve, to be replaced by other forms, with other needs, and other histories. At that point, the characteristic trajectory of public commemoration—creation, institutionalization, and decomposition—comes to an end.

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→ *Calendar, Civil Religion, Collective Representations, Hero/Heroism, History, Memory, National Socialism, Tradition, War/Armed Forces*

Jay Winter

Mormons

Foundational Myth: The Book of Mormon

1. a) The Mormon Church (official name: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), founded on April 6, 1830 in New York State, can be regarded as a part of the Second Great Awakening movement in the United States. Its founder, Joseph Smith (1805–1844), claimed to have been visited for the first time in 1823 by the angel Moroni, who spoke to him of the "Golden Tablets." These, Smith averred, contained the message of the Bible in all its length and perfection. Smith indicated this message in the *Book of Mormon*, which, along with the Bible, became the second sacred book of the "Mormons." The Book of Mormon recounts the history of two emigrations from Israel to America, the first after the events of the Tower of Babel, the second shortly before the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by Nebuchadnezzar (588 BCE). Thus, an attempt is made to establish a direct connection between the people of Israel and the original inhabitants of America, who, however, are expressly not today's Indian peoples. Only the revelation of the Golden Tablets afforded the opportunity to reestablish the 'true Church.'

Foundation of the Church

b) The publication of the Book of Mormon in 1830 was accompanied by the founding of the Church, which, from the beginning, was strongly hierarchically ordered, with prophetical legitimization, and which called for a strong commitment on the part of its members. At first, attempts failed to find a permanent location for the church, now grown to several thousand members. An additional obstacle was the violent death of Joseph Smith in 1844, with the consequent problem of finding a successor. Then divisions ensued, and only three years later did the Mormons finally begin to found communities under the leadership of Brigham Young (d. 1877), around the Great Salt Lake in today's Utah.

Organizational Structure and Hierarchy

2. The organizational structure of the Mormons is a complex arrangement, consisting of two kinds of priesthood, one lower (the Aaronic) and one higher (the Melchizedekian). The structure provides that every male member, from the age of eleven, is entrusted with a lower priestly office, which can scarcely be actually exercised. At the summit of the higher priesthood stands the President, usually the eldest of the five-man *Presidential Council.* Under the Council comes the Apostolic Council, consisting of twelve

members. Unlike the Catholic Church, the number of offices excludes any practical distinction between laity and priests on the level of the community. Furthermore, in recent times, some members have discussed the question of whether and which of the offices of the priesthood should be open to women.

Teaching and Religious Practices

3. In the beginning, doctrine was strongly marked by an eschatological orientation (→ End/Eschaton; Millenarianism/Chiliasm). Today, instead, what stands in the foreground is the development and ongoing *perfection* of persons. While in Christianity and Islam the division between God and humanity, the Creator and his creation, is so insurmountable, in the Mormon belief system human beings have an opportunity for development to which death itself puts no end. In principle, then, the souls of the dead are available to redemption even in the beyond, through the solicitude of their descendants, to the extent that their exact identity can be established. This belief explains the compilation and storing of genealogies, of which several million are kept in the corresponding institutes in Salt Lake City, and are made available to interested family researchers. Many genealogies of non-Mormons are received and maintained in these collections, since a concern is possible in the future on the part of progeny.

A further particularity emerges from the fact that *revelation* through the Book of Mormon is not regarded as closed. Other, future revelations, then, are admitted with the Mormons. This guarantees that the 'teaching' can be adapted to social and political circumstances. Thus, for example, in 1978 then-President Spencer W. Kimball received the revelation that the priesthood can be received by worthy, non-white males. Discrimination against dark-skinned men, based on the principle that a black skin color was a sign that lapses had been committed in an earlier life, was thereby ended.

Mission

→ *Mission* has a special value in the community. As early as 1837, the first missionaries went to England; later, mission was conducted especially in Scandinavia. Most of those converted in Europe emigrated to America, drawn there in part by the idea that they must cooperate in the building of a 'new Zion.'

Male Mormons who feel a special commitment are to be active as missionaries in their younger years. They go abroad for two years if possible. This progressive missionary activity is doubtless one of the reasons for the rapid growth of the community. In addition, there is the obligation to marry and to exercise concern for one's progeny—also to give the many as yet unredeemed souls a 'dwelling.' At first the Mormons permitted polygamy, with an appeal to the Hebrew Bible. But in connection with the admission of their state to the United States—and vigorous discussion in the community—polygamy was abolished. This does not exclude the retention of the old order on the part of occasional 'divergents' (→ Family/Kinship/Genealogy).

In the ritual life of the Mormons, an important role falls to the rites of the → life cycle, → baptism, marriage, 'sealing' (even of the dead), and the call to the office of priest, which in part (marriage and sealing) must take place in the Temple, from which non-Mormons are momentarily excluded. Otherwise, religious life is strongly family-oriented. Essential commandments, binding for all members, are a monthly fast day, and continual abstinence from intoxicants (alcohol and drugs) as well as from tobacco, and coffee or tea. One of the daily religious duties is → prayer.

Situation Today

4. Today, with nearly 9,600,000 members worldwide (1997), Mormons constitute one of the larger religious communities of the United States. Their lengthy concentration on Salt Late City as the new Zion, meanwhile, has receded into the background. In order to guarantee all Mormons the opportunity of living their religion, more than thirty new temples have been built since 1980. Having another source of revelation than the Bible (the Book of Mormon) makes cooperation with the other Christian churches difficult.

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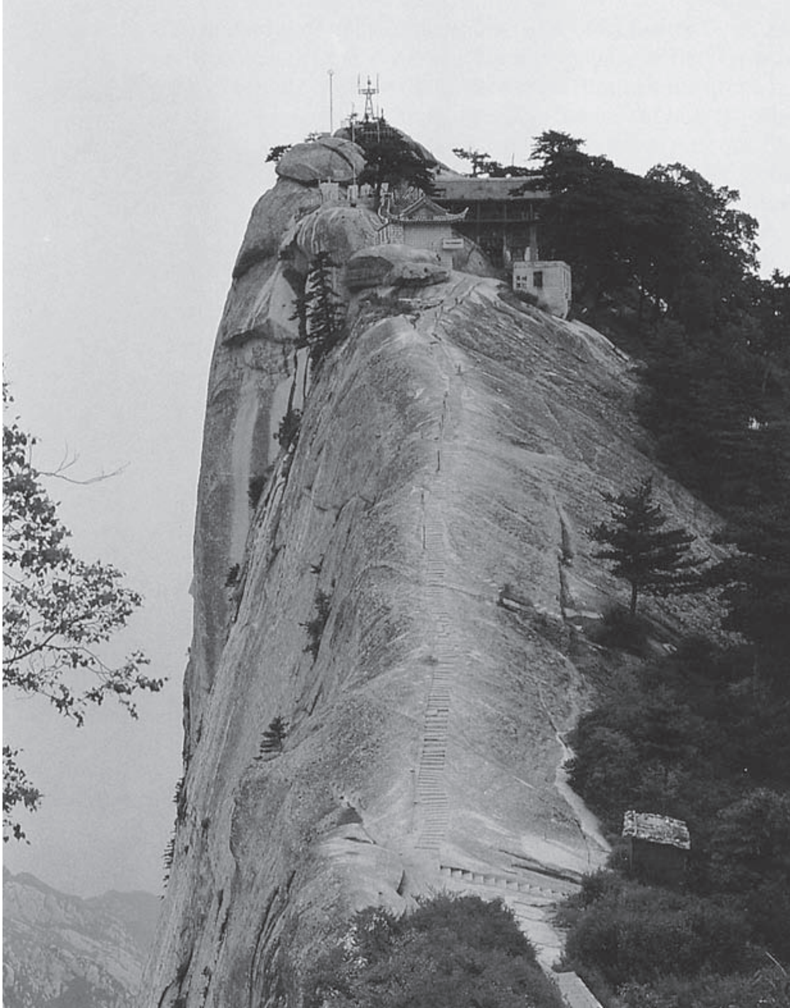
→ *Book, Hierarchy, Mission, New Religions, Revelation*

Jutta Bernard and Günter Kehrer

Mountains (Five Sacred)

Traditionally, the five sacred mountains of China are:
- the Songgao, or Peak of the Center, in Henan;
- the Taishan, or Peak of the East, in Shandong;
- the Hengshan, or Peak of the South, in Hunan;
- the Huashan, or Peak of the West, in Shenxi;
- the Hengshan, or Peak of the North, in Shenxi (not to be confused with the Hengshan in Hunan; see map in → China/Japan/Korea).

While the Songgao represented the Emperor, and thus the center of the Empire, the other four mountains lie on the periphery of Old China, and 'border' the four directions of the sky. Located on them are a multiplicity of temples, mostly Daoist. From a devotional viewpoint, the mountains were relevant in two ways: they were places of the cult of the Emperor, as well as abundantly frequented places of pilgrimage for the normal believers. The official imperial cult, in which the mountain gods were offered the 'great sacrifice' (*tailao*), in the form of an ox, a sheep, and a hog, died out with the Empire. At the same time, the mountains are still visited today, usually by older pilgrims fulfilling a vow with a pilgrimage of thanksgiving for, e.g., the healing of a disease—a tradition attested in China for at least two thousand years.



The narrow, steep path leading from the Temple of the Dragon King to the gate of the Golden Temple, at the entrance to the area of the peak, is called, graphically, the "Comb of the Green Dragon." It symbolizes the dragon on whose back one can ascend from the mountain peak to heaven as an immortal.

The Mountains in the Cult of the Ruler

2. The five sacred mountains are first mentioned around 100 BCE. Toward the end of the age of the Striving Kingdoms (481–211 BCE), an older system of four sacred mountains (without the peak of the Center) was replaced, so as to be able to be set it in relationship with the philosophical concept of the five 'transforming phases.' The basis of this system was the idea that, to each of the five phases of transformation (they can replace one another, and thus are not the same as the Greek 'elements')—earth, wood, metal, fire, water—to these, then, one of the five colors can be assigned, as well as certain qualities, such as sweet and sour, and one of the five directions of the sky—north, south, east, west, center. The older four mountains, occasionally called 'watch mounts,' originally bounded the region of China. Their names were given to the four mightiest feudal princes, upon whom as liege lords it was incumbent to defend the kingdom. They were the 'lengthened arm,' or tool, of the gods of the mountains, who, as the supreme instance—in return for sacrifices received—were to ensure the borders. Thus, on the originally four, and later five sacred mountains, the spheres of the religious (the gods)

and the political (the rule of the king or liege lord, later the Emperor) met. As the kingdom spread beyond its original borders, the five sacred mountains did maintain their meaning as the most important seats of the gods, but they lost their function as guardians of the borders. Emperor Han Wudi (141–87 BCE) took formal possession of them, and consigned them to the imperial cult. The meaning of the central peak—until now the domain of the ruler—diminished, in favor of the eastern peak, the Taishan. On it, the emperors whose rule was seen as a model offered the Feng and Shan sacrifices, the former to the sky, the latter to the earth. The importance of the Taishan also rests, in part, on the circumstance that it had been believed from very early times that the souls of the Chinese would leave the Taishan to be born, and withdraw to it once more after death.

The Five Mountains in Folk Religion

3. China's most ancient written lore, discovered only in the twentieth century—that of the oracular bones—attests a mountain cult. Thus, the kings of the Shang Dynasty (c. 1550–1050 BCE) offered a sacrifice to Mount Yüe when they hoped to receive from it the favor of rain and a good harvest. First and foremost, the mountains were sacred ground, which ordinary persons trod at their own risk.

All mountains, great and small, have gods and spirits. When the mountain is high, the god is great; when the mountain is small, the god is small. When one treads the mountain without the necessary precautions, one will surely suffer harm. Some will fall victim to acute diseases, be wounded by weapons, grow rigid with fright. Others will perceive strange sounds, see will-o'-the-wisps and shadows. High trees can be uprooted without the wind blowing; cliffs can plunge downward without cause, and strike and kill persons. (Ge Hong, 283–343, in his *Baopuzi* ["Master Who Grasps Simplicity"]).

Only on days designated by the oracle as favorable, and after long fasting, may one consign oneself to the mountains, for example to seek ingredients for the windlasses of immortality. One must be armed with powerful amulets, and a mirror, for spirits may at times take on a human form and deceive persons, but in the mirror they show their true form: a god will maintain his human form in the mirror, while spirits and demons will appear in it as monsters. Despite all risks, hermits have always sought the isolation of the mountains, to seek contact with the gods, in shelters, monastic dwellings, or remote systems of caves, all of which represent the earthly counterpart of the paradises of the sky, and to devote themselves completely to their religious perfectibility.

In terms of the little we know of it, the pilgrimage institution seems to have succumbed to the Cultural Revolution of 1966–1976. The Daoists who dwelt in the monasteries and temples of, for example, Huashan were driven from the mountain. In the early 1980s, however, a good half-dozen of the earlier inhabitants returned, and, with them, younger monks trained in Beijing or Sichuan. Some of the old buildings were renovated or entirely reconstructed. Many, it is true, no longer have a religious function, now serving only for tourism. No detailed information is currently available regarding the pilgrimage network; however, it would seem that, just in recent years, smaller groups, mostly of elderly persons, once again go on pilgrimage to the sacred places on the mountains.[1]

Mountains as Sacred Places

4. Mountains play an important role in many religions. They are the places of the gods, as with Mount Olympus of the Greeks, or preferred places for communication between gods and human beings—such as Sinai, on which Moses received the tablets of the law from YHWH. A mountain can also be the mythic center of the world, the 'world axis' (in Lat., *axis mundi*), binding earth with heaven or sky at the earth's midpoint, as with the Hindus' World Mountain Meru, around which sun, moon, and stars revolve, and on whose various 'levels' the gods dwell according to their rank.

On the one hand, mountains can be regarded positively in their mythological character. With the Chinese they are the visible concentration of the primordial cosmic energy *Qi* on the surface of the earth. At the same time, for example, Luther's fundamental world-image reflected an original harmonious, flat world, with mountains the 'warts and boils' that had appeared only after the Great Flood, and that had represented the collapse and demise of a paradise world. Symbolically, from the second century BCE, the Chinese have seen mountains as, for instance, bronze censers, whose fantastic ranges are populated with winged immortals. They kindled ecstatic meditation. "How elegant, this fine-tooled pot, in the form of a steep mountain! Above it is like Huashan, [below] it is held in a bronze saucer, within are aromatic materials [incense], red fire, and black smoke. Without, it is elegantly chased on all sides. Above, [the smoke] blends with the dark clouds. I contemplate the ten thousand beasts engraved on the surface. Thus, my seer's gift surpasses that of a *li lou* [legendary person with extraordinary vision]."[2]

For the purpose of exalting human beings nearer to the gods, artificial mountains were erected as well, in various cultures, such as the Sumerian-Babylonian temple, with its multiple 'stages' (*zikkurat*), or the Middle American graded pyramids (*teokalli*), or the Javanese temple complex of *Borobudur.*

1. Andersen, Poul, "A Visit to Hua-shan," in: Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie 5 (1989-90), 349-354.
2. Inscription on a censer of the first century BCE.

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→ *China/Japan/Korea, Daoism, Landscape, Nature, Orientation, Place (Sacred)*

Stephan Peter Bumbacher

Mourning

Concepts and Foundation

1. Grief in the stricter sense is a universally human, psychophysical reaction—a painful feeling of separation and loss, coupled with specific bodily stimulation (weeping, wailing). In the broader sense, it includes complex social reactions—including, especially, ritual forms—and actions specific to each culture, vis-à-vis social or physical death. This twofold meaning is readily perceived in the *English* expression 'bereavement.' Generally, the word denotes the reaction to the real or symbolic loss of a meaningful object. But two aspects of the response can be distinguished: *grief* as the stereotypical physiological and psychological reaction of biological origin, and *mourning* as the conventional behavioral pattern dictated by the customs and usages of a society.

In *German usage*, *Trauer* ('grief,' 'mourning') denotes a complex reaction to the loss of a person or object, to a separation, or to the loss of a role. Sigmund → Freud's psychoanalytical viewpoint emphasized the distinction between normal grief, pathological grief, in which strong guilt feelings prevent a normal development of grief, and melancholy, a severe endogenous depression. For Freud, *Trauerarbeit* (Ger., 'work of grieving') meant the interior psychic process that follows a loss and is directed toward the lessening of the pain of grief. Here the subject usually manages gradually to 'detach' from the loss of the object of relation. Freud's material of observation, however, and the theory of grief emerging from it, were too Eurocentric, individual-centered, and introspective, so that it would be completely unintelligible for members of non-European and traditional cultures, in whose communities mourning means a social and religious duty to the deceased of carrying out certain mourning rituals and practices. In the original meaning of the German word *Trauer,* which comes from the Old High German *truren,* 'to let the head sink,' it is not a feeling, but the gesture that is determinative.

Rites of Mourning as 'Mourning Universals'

2. In many cultures, ritual mourning can be structurally divided as a three-phase → rite of passage, in which a rite of separation, a rite of marginality, and a rite of aggregation can be distinguished.[1] Rites of mourning are often apotropaic (from Gk., 'warding off') in nature, calculated as they are to protect the living from the power emerging from the being of the deceased. In the sense of a psychic oneness of humanity, one may speak of 'mourning universals'—meaning behavior and manners of experience in grief that can be found in all cultures, and, accordingly, must be investigated as a 'total social phenomenon' (M. Mauss). In this general sense, grieving can be apprehended as a basic figure of human behavior.

3. a) In most cultures, mourning is very closely related to religion. The Bible, for example, attests manifold structures of grief experience and behavior, which, like the ancient mourning varieties of the Greeks and Romans,[2] have functioned as models in the West. The biblical person grieves 'from head to foot,' and 'from inside to the outside.' Among the many biblical usages of mourning the dead, the following are particularly impressive.

- covering the head with ashes or earth (1 Sam 4:12; 2 Sam 1:2; Neh 9:1; Exod 27:30; Rev 18:19);
- casting oneself down and turning about in the dust (Mic 1:10; Exod 27:30); sitting in ashes (Jonah 3:6);

Comparative Presentation of Behavioral Grieving and Rites of Mourning

Individual Experiences of Grief and Behavioral Grieving	*Collective Assimilating in Rites and Practices of Mourning*
Impairment of Vital Functions	
– Anorexia	Food taboos, fasting
– Sleep disturbances	'Watching,' 'waking' (abstinence from sleep) the deceased
– Decreased libido	
– Loss of interest in life	Sexual taboos, repose from work
Disturbances of concentration and memory	Name taboos
Weeping	Tear offering, tear decoration, tear urn
Bewailing, calling to the deceased	Mourning attendants, songs of grief
Inclination to be alone, grief immobility	Lack of sociability, isolation, seclusion, mourning attire, 'veiling'
Silence and paralysis of grief	Prohibition of speech, 'silence of grief'
Self-neglect	Grief soiling (ashes, dust), prohibition of adornment, prohibition of cosmetics, disorderly or loosened hair, beard growing
Paleness	Whitening of face/body, mourning painting, mourning colors
Self-aggression – Self-injury, 'accidents'	Grief mutilation, finger maiming, grief tattooing, blood offerings, hair or beard tearing, hair cutting, rending of garments
– Suicidal tendencies	Self-sacrifice, widow suicide
Aggression against others – Destructive rage – *Raptus melancholicus* (Lat., 'melancholy trance')	Grief destruction, customs of destruction, sacrifice of foreigners, 'scapegoating'
Diminished enjoyment of possessions	Gift of possessions
Sense of the presence of the deceased	Impetratory prayer, memorial rites, laudatio, communio, direct address to the deceased
Fear of return, feelings of threat and guilt	Rites of protection (e.g., noise, sealing off the burial installation)
Introjection, identification	Rites of 'incorporation' (endocannibalism)
Grieving process	'Grieving out,' term of grief, purification from grief

According to: Hannes Stubbe, Formen der Trauer. Eine kulturanthropologische Untersuchung, Berlin 1985, p. 337

- wearing the *saq* (hairshirt) (Ps 35:13; Isa 32:11; Mal 3:14; Jonah 3:6; Matt 3:4);
- cutting the hair (Job 1:20);
- fasting (Dan 10:3 [3 weeks]; 1 Sam 31:13 [7 days]; Matt 9:15);
- wailing (2 Sam 3:33-34; 1 Macc 9:20-21; Jer 22:18, 34:5);
- rending of garments (Gen 37:34; 2 Sam 13:19; Job 1:20, 2:12);
- consoling with sympathy (John 11:19).

A special occasion for grieving in the Hebrew Bible was the loss of Jerusalem (Isa 66:10; Neh 2:1), since with it was lost not only the homeland, but the central sanctuary as the place of God's revelation, where one could sacrifice to God, call upon him, and serve him.

Like the Christianity that arose from it, Judaism developed figures and myths of consolation, to support collective as well as individual mourning, if not indeed to make it possible: a Messiah is awaited as the coming consoler of the grieving (Isa 61:2-3). In the New Testament, victory over grief and weeping is based on hope in resurrection (1 Thess 4:13-18).

Rabbinical Judaism

In Judaism, there are precisely defined prescriptions for mourning, as well as precisely defined phases of mourning, all compiled in the Talmud. The *first phase*, lasting, as a rule, for one day, is called *Aninut* (Heb., 'time of despair'), in which mourners express their painful feelings of grief, rending their garments in the region of the heart (*krijah*). Mourners, for whom now particular mourning restrictions become effective, recount the events surrounding the death to their community and to that of the deceased, and are taken under the direct care of the local *ḫevra kaddisha* ('holy fraternity'), which exists specifically for this purpose. It regulates the entire course of the mourning until after the interment, which must take place within twenty-four hours of the occurrence of death. At the burial—just as later, daily, during the year of mourning in the synagogue—the mourner intones the *Kaddish,* a moving ancient Aramaic prose-poem.

The *second phase*, that of the *Shiva* (Heb., 'Seven'), begins with the return to the home of the bereaved. After the meal of mourning, consisting of bread and boiled eggs, the mourner sits for seven days on mattresses or on a low chair. For the members of the community, it is a legal obligation to provide for the mourner, bringing nourishment. In this period of time, much is regulated as in the ordinary (religious) day (phenomenon of the 'inverted world'[3]), such as behavior with blessings, prayers and feast days, work restrictions, rules for food and drink, marital intercourse, and clothing, cosmetic, and hygiene restrictions. A special prohibition is that of the joyful study of the Torah.

After the *Shiva* begins the thirty-day *third phase* (*Shloshim*) of grieving, in which the mourner is gradually reintroduced into daily life. Mourners may neither cut their hair nor shave, may wear no new clothes, may attend no parties, and may not marry.

The ensuing eleven-month *fourth phase*, which completes the year of mourning (*Shana,* 'Year'), is observed only for deceased parents. At the end of the first year of mourning, the *krijah* is finally replaced with a new piece of cloth.

In Orthodox communities, these complex and exacting rites are still practiced today.

Islam

b) In Islam, after the demise of a Muslim, readings from the Qur'an (preferably the sixth sura) accompany the washing of the corpse and its deposition in the bier. In Arabic countries, the lament for the dead, and a kind of dance of death (with the striking of one's face), often by hired 'mourning wives,' play a special role. The ensuing prayer of grieving, recited in the mosque, is a community obligation. For the first forty days after the burial, the feeding of the poor, seated grieving, and religious readings are required, and certain mourning restrictions must be observed. Thus, no circumcisions, engagement ceremonies, or marriages are celebrated. The time of mourning frequently ends with a 'grief *hamam*' (Turk., steam bath). The steam bath and the ensuing scraping of the skin are meant to wash away the pain of mourning.[4]

Grieving Today

Until around 1960, the *feeling of grief* was a totally neglected field of investigation. Scientific disinterest was based especially on the methodological and semantic difficulties of the concept of 'grief,' and this may also have been a reason why many psychological dictionaries and encyclopedias did not even list the concept. A further basis lies in the increasing tendency, in industrial societies, to repress this feeling and dissimulate it, as G. Gorer (*Death, Grief and Mourning in Contemporary Britain*) and A. Mitscherlich (*Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern*, 1967, with M. Mitscherlich) have shown. Thus, grief and mourning seem to have disappeared from public view. Mourning attire, in many European societies and in America, is seen less and less, even at funerals; grief is no longer 'grieved out,' the 'year of mourning' is no longer felt as binding, and remarriage of the widowed is no longer subject to any limitations. What is sometimes referred to as the 'American way of death,' as a commercialized form of → funeral and burial, and a corresponding 'prettifying' of dying and death, is ever more in vogue, even though these can occasion disturbances in the process of working through grief on the part of survivors. The present attitude toward grieving, except in traditional religious rituals, is completely 'deregulated,' in the sociological sense, and any 'ritual framework' is frequently lacking as it exists in traditional cultures and still to be observed among South American Indians or in Upper Bavaria. The growing uncertainty over how one ought to mourn was brought into connection with the growing anomie of modern society as early as Émile Durkheim, around 1900, that is, with the disappearance of generally obligatory behavior. Thus, 'normal grieving' is frequently labeled abnormal, or even a problem for psychiatry and psychotherapy. At the same time, 'great feeling' and weeping, even in public, is once more 'in' today. A 'new tearfulness' (M. Rutschky) could be observed in 1996 as a political demonstration, as Helmut Kohl shed tears in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris at the death of François Mitterand, or occurring as a mass phenomenon, with exclamations, sobbing and weeping, as when Princess Diana was borne to her grave in 1997.

1. Cf. schema in Stubbe 1985, 332.
2. Ibid., 159ff.
3. Ibid., 138ff.
4. Ibid., 130.

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→ *Ars Moriendi, Cemetery, Death and Dying, Emotions/Feelings, Funeral/Burial, Rites of Passage, Suffering, Martyr*

Hannes Stubbe

Muhammad

Biographical Notes

1. Muhammad regarded himself as an Arab prophet and statesman; he is considered the founder of → Islam. In historical studies, the year 571 (Year of the Elephant) is the generally accepted year of his birth, although data vary. His birthplace was → Mecca; he belonged to the tribe of the *Quraysh*. Other than that he was an orphan at the early age of six, nothing certain has been handed down about his childhood. He was reared by his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and his uncle Abū Ṭālib (father of the later caliph Ali).

He was viewed as bearing the mark of a prophet from his early years. In his closest surroundings were followers of monotheistic tendencies, which are supposed to have influenced him. While Islamic tradition insists that, as a child, he came into no manner of contact with the pagan cults of his environment, there are nevertheless clear indications that this was not the case. Just so, it is regarded as certain that he could read and write. Presumably on account of his poverty, the young Muhammad remained unmarried until, at some twenty-five years of age, he married Khaddja, the wealthy widow of a merchant. His bride, in whose service he had found himself, was now about forty years of age. With her he had four daughters and a number of sons, all of the latter dying at an early age. Until the "Emigration" (in Arab., *Hijrah*) to Medina, Muhammad lived monogamously with Khadija, in Mecca. After Khadija's death, he married a total of thirteen women and had a number of female slaves. Political as well as personal motives stand in the foreground of Muhammad's frank polygynic practice after Khadija's death. The political motives included support of the widows of fallen warriors. The Islamic critique itself is confronted with Muhammad's marriage with his favorite wife, ʿĀʾisha, whom he married when she was six years old, and with whom he is said to have consummated the marriage when she was nine, which would have been very early indeed even for Bedouin relations of the time. Muhammad died in 632.

Theological Notes

2. Muhammad understood himself as an Arab prophet, called by God, who, after the falsifications of the Jews and Christians, had had revealed to him, in unfalsified form and in the Arabic language, the original book of scripture, which is kept in heaven. With Muhammad, the series of prophetical revelations is closed: he is the “Seal of the Prophets.” Theologically, however, he had to enter into a compromise for some time. The majority of the population of his home city of Mecca consisted of economically powerful polytheists, and these placed the prophet under pressure. At a certain point in time, then, matters came to the revelation of the *satanic verses* (Qur’an 22:51; cf. 53:19-21), in which Muhammad struck a compromise between the ancient pre-Islamic Arabic female deities and the one and only God of the patriarchs. This compromise read, according to the sources used by Arab historians, that goddesses al-Lāt, al-‘Uzza, and al-Manāt were the ‘exalted ones,’ ‘herons,’ whose advocacy was acceptable (to God).[1] From now on they were regarded as the ‘Daughters of God.’ Muhammad’s distinct consciousness of mission later led to self-criticism, and to the confession of guilt that Satan had whispered these verses to him.[2]

Political Notes

3. There is no doubt as to Muhammad’s skill as a statesman. Through the message of a new → monotheism, he succeeded in uniting the tribes of the Arabian peninsula, wrenched asunder by vengeance and feud, and in turning the aggressive energy of the Arab clans outward—which, among other things, explains the success of Arab-Islamic expansion to the North (Syria, Asia Minor), to the East (→ Iran), and to the West (North → Africa, Spain, Sicily). Through the message of the descent of the “Mother of Books” (in Arab., *umm al-kitāb*), the → Qur’an, in the Arabic language, the Islamic prophet gave the erstwhile polytheistic Arabian tribes a new self-awareness, and packaged their lust for war and booty. With this unification of the tribes loyal to him, and the “community order of Medina,” issued after he had left his home city of Mecca and entered Medina, Muhammad laid the groundwork for an Islamic state system. Muhammad’s *Hijrah* from Mecca to Medina was in the year 622, which became the first year of the Islamic calendar. As a precaution against a possible attack from Mecca, he managed to consolidate the entire city collectivity of Medina into a union for defense and offense. What is important for the history of Islam, even to the present, are the defensive treaties (in Arab., *amān*) that the Prophet concluded with the tribes united with him that did not convert to Islam.

Muhammad’s Reception in Modern Times

4. The most significant reception of the Prophet of Islam in modern times, in the cultural area, is the contested filming of his life by a Syrian director living in the United States, Mustafa ‘Aqqad, in 1976. The production kindled acute controversy, just as, later (1988), with British author Salman Rushdie’s novel *The Satanic Verses* (→ Film II; Fatwa). In Islam’s official doctrine, no veneration of Muhammad is permitted, since, unlike Jesus in Christianity, he must not be ascribed any divine qualities. Nevertheless, the instances cited above show that a reception of the historical figure of Muhammad is not unproblematic. For the believing Muslim, Muhammad is both the Prophet and the Representative of God on Earth (*ḫalīfat Allāh fī’l-arḍ*, therefore also a political leader, who can even be styled a ‘saint.’ This is the case especially in Indo-Islam (India and Pakistan), where Hindu and Buddhist influences are therefore supposed.

The designation, formerly common in the West, of 'Mohammedans' for 'Muslims' falsifies the case. Muslims are not followers of Muhammad, but followers of God. The false designation suggests that Muslims believe in Muhammad instead of in God or Islam. In the Islamic movements of the twentieth century, young men frequently appeal to the model of the Prophet where their clothing and bodily care are concerned, in their kayal made-up eyes (cf. the film "Bab el-Oued City," by Merzak Allouache), or in the way in which they wear their beards (→ Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming).

For one component of the Islamic movements of the present, Muhammad has especially the exemplary character of a military leader and politician, even for religious murders (at the hands of such extremist terrorist movements, as, for example, the *Jihād Islāmī* or *Jamā'at* groups in Egypt, with their attempted political justification) (→ Fundamentalism). Political Islamic currents like the Palestinian *Ḥamas* movement appeal to early events from the time of Muhammad, and utilize them both rhetorically and politically, reforging them into an ideological position of anti-Judaism and anti-Zionism.

1. Cf. Paret 1957, 61.
2. Cf. ibid., 59ff.

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→ *Fatwa, Film II, Fundamentalism, Islam, Qur'an*

Assia Maria Harwazinski

Mummification

1. Mummification is far from being an exclusive phenomenon of ancient Egypt. But it is the mummies of → Egypt, along with gods with animal heads, pyramids, and the Sphinx, that have perhaps the greatest power of attraction on Europe. The word 'mummy' derives immediately from the Italian *mummia* ('mummy'), but it is originally ancient Persian, and denotes the bitumen or earth-pitch used for the preservation of a dead → body. This kind of *mummification* was an attempt to use the natural desiccation process to prevent the natural corruption of the corpse.

2. The special climate and geography of Egypt were favorable to mummification. Even in prehistoric times, covered corpses were buried in matting or animal skins in desert sand. Heat and low humidity removed water from the corpse: thus, it was mummified naturally. In the dynastic era, on the

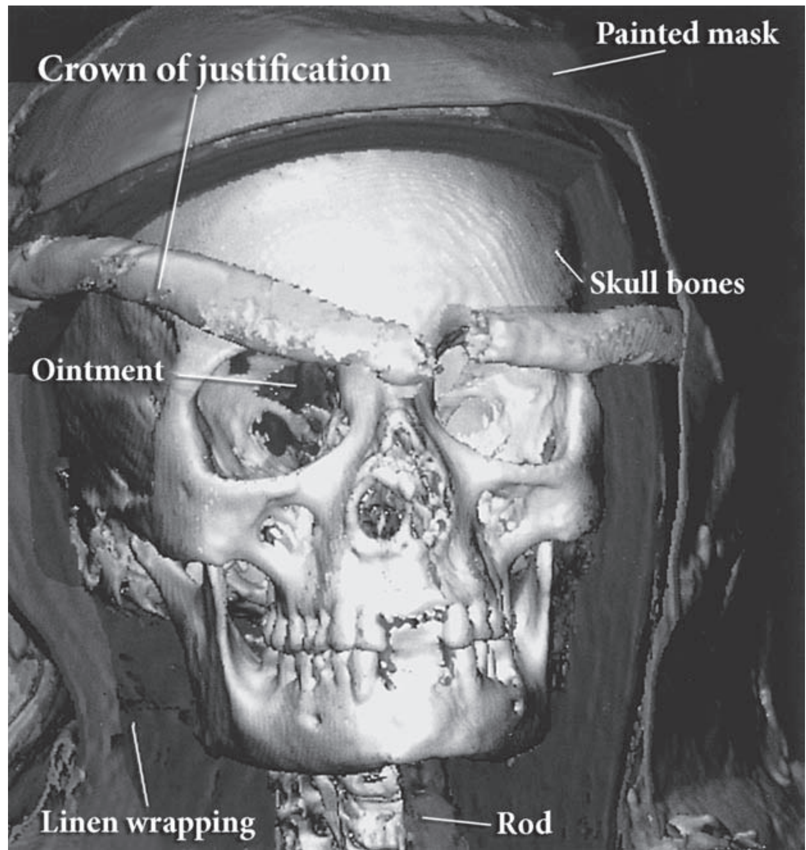
other hand, these natural preservatives of coffin and grave were no longer at hand. The ancient Egyptian belief insisted on the preservation of the body, if the afterlife was to be ensured also as a continued bodily existence. But it was not only persons that were mummified; → animals were thus preserved as well. Divinity, it was believed, could manifest itself in individual animals. In Greco-Roman times, entire species of animals, such as crocodiles (Sobek), cats (Bastet), ibexes (Thot), falcons (Re or Horus), or dogs (Anubis) were mummified in extensive subterranean animal cemeteries.

The *technique of embalming* was not regarded as important enough to be described along with the images of the gods or other representations of the beyond. Therefore, practically no traces of it are to be found in the Egyptian sources. Information on mummification is available in Greek writers Herodotus and Diodorus,[1] and it can be gathered from research on the mummies themselves. The bodies of those who had died, lying on an embalming table, were not washed where the entombment was to take place, but at the Nile or in a canal. The brain was removed with a bronze scoop, through the nose or through the opening at the rear of the head. A quantity of heated evergreen resin, beeswax, and bitumen was introduced into the empty skull, and this shortly hardened. The organs were withdrawn through the mouth, such as lungs, liver, stomach, and intestines were distributed into four canopic jars, which stood under the magical protection of the four sons of Horus. The heart alone, as the seat of thinking and feeling, had to remain in the body, or was returned to the space of the breast after mummification, or was exchanged for a stone heart-scarab, a magical substitute heart. The heart, lying in the balance at the judgment of the dead, was to testify to the correct ethical manner of life of the deceased, before Osiris, God of the Dead. The most important element of mummification consisted in the desiccation of the corpse by salt, with which the body was filled or sprinkled, for thirty-five to forty days. Treated in this manner, the texture of the body could no longer decompose. The breast and abdomen, emptied of their organs, were filled with linen or woodchips, so that the corpse could have its lifelike appearance restored. The mummified corpse was provided with protective amulets, and texts from the Book of the Dead were often folded into the great quantity of linen cloth and bindings. The mummy's head was covered with a painted mask of linen board, which on royal mummies was of gold. The face of the mask bore the traits of a deified, ageless ideal image. Only in the later Roman portraits on mummies are individual faces recognizable, which seemed to gaze upon the viewer from the sarcophagus. Some seventy days after death, the mummy was laid in one or more nested coffins. The mummy's protective covering was intended to shield it on its long, perilous journey to the worlds of the beyond. A condition for life after death was the 'mouth-opening ritual,' which reanimated the mummy. In the beyond, the *ba*, usually mistranslated 'soul,' and the mummified body could rejoin, all through the night, and the mummy would revive. Delivered from the swathing bands of its mummification, the departed person now dwelt in a renewed and reborn afterworld body.

3. With the advent of Christianity, the art of embalming died out in Egypt. The Christian Church rejected mummification as a sinful expression of human vanity, but permitted it in the case of canonized persons (→ Veneration of the Saints) and high dignitaries. In Europe, beginning in the early Middle Ages, embalming substances from old Egyptian mummies were applied as remedies for diseases. Later, mummies were completely ground up



According to ancient Egyptian belief, deities could manifest themselves in living animals. The latter were kept in temples, and supplied with special food, and after death received an elaborate burial. As in Greco-Roman times, not only individual animals, but whole species of animals were regarded as sacred, and subterranean cemetery galleries were built for them at temple locations. With the offering of a small bronze sculpture of a given animal, or its mummy, it was possible to obtain direct contact with the deity in question. Divinities in the form of a cat were reverenced as representing, especially, the goddess Bastet. Mummies of cats—like this 48.5-cm-long, linen-wrapped example from the Ptolemaic time (c. 250 BCE)—have been preserved in large numbers. (Benita von Behr)



The picture shows a virtual mummy, provided by the University of Hamburg. In the inner area of the skull are traces of ointment; the skull is also fixed with a rod. At the level of the linen wrapping, one finds the painted mummy-mask. In between, the "crown of justification" goes around the mummy's head, indicating a favorable verdict at the judgment seat of the dead.

and sold as powder in chemist's shops. In the seventeenth century, mummies became a dependable component of exhibits of rarities, and later, of museums. The ancient Egyptian belief in an afterlife has ultimately been set in parallel with a notion today that resembles it—that of mummies as the 'living corpses' of the horror film, that play on audience fears, skillfully summoning up death and the dead.

4. Mummification has always been a worldwide phenomenon. The best-known example other than that of the ancient Egyptians is the mummification practice of the South American Indian cultures. The Chimu of pre-Columbian Peru bore the dry mummies of their rulers about in solemn processions on festival days. In Egypt, too, at the beginning, only pharaohs must have been mummified; mummification, then, was the special exaltation of a charismatic person. Precisely this kind of → veneration of persons is found once more with the *socialist figures* Lenin and → Mao Tse Tung, who are be seen mummified to the present day. It is still a disputed question whether mummies may ethically be displayed in museum windows before a mass public—a fate not even the mummified man ("Ötzi") of the Bronze Age has escaped, since his discovery in the Ötztal (Alps). After all, the viewers do stand before the body of a human being, who once also numbered among the living.

1. Herodotus II, 85-89; Diodorus Siculus I, 91.
2. Amset, Hapi, Kebechsenuef, and Duamutef.

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→ *Body, Death and Dying, Egypt, Hereafter, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Edmund Hermsen

Museum

1. Since the eighteenth century, the term 'museum' (Gk., *museion,* 'place of the muses') has designated publicly accessible collections of objects, as well as the physical structures to which they have been brought. Museums arise through donation or estate legacy; through the purchase of private collections; through state appropriation of feudal or ecclesiastical property, as happened in France during the French Revolution; or through the establishment of foundations, as with the great American museums.

Museums, or the history of their collections, teach us what it was that contemporary views listed as valuable and esthetically meaningful. The objects selected, and their presentation in museum space, convey to visitors a certain connection and context for the objects exhibited. Thus, museums 'privilege' certain ways of seeing and exclude others. As cultural institutions, through the presentation of their collections, museums have the intended function of influencing the public's standards and habits of knowledge.

Collections

2. The museum as a public institution was created in the eighteenth century. The history of collections, however, begins much earlier. Thus, besides relics, the churches of the Middle Ages preserved and exhibited objects connected with worship, such as chalices, ciboria, candelabra, curtains, and so on. Secular lords collected gifts, trophies, or objects with a ceremonial, religious, or profane purpose, and exhibited them in their residences. In the first half of the fourteenth century, Italy began to manifest an interest in works of antiquity. Lorenzo de Medici and Pope Julius II gathered large collections. Owing to the influence of the humanists, corresponding collections appeared in the French and English royal courts, and then, from mid-sixteenth century onward, nearly everywhere in Europe. With the increase in the number of expeditions to distant lands, besides antiques and works of art, exotic rarities of natural history, masks, and fetishes, scientific instruments, and so on, were gathered in the 'art and wonder chambers' of European princes. The latter regarded their collections as insignia of their exalted extraction and



The three-part "Isenheimer Altar" (c. 1513–1515), by Grünewald (i.e., Matthis Gothart, known as Nithart), is one of the most important sacred images of Christian Europe. Its importance does not lie, however, in any particular amount of sacred reverence that it has received, as if, for example, it had represented the destination of a pilgrimage. It was simply a part of the high altar for the church of the Antonite monastery at Isenheim, near Colmar. Instead, its meaning lies in the artistic value ascribed to it over and above its ritual use. The current arrangement is the result of a twin secularization: in 1793, during the French → Revolution, the paintings were withdrawn from religious use, and transferred to Colmar, where they are to be found in the disused monastery church of Unterlinden in Colmar (Alsace), which since 1849 has served as a museum. It is still viewable today, for a fee, in its new location. The visitors' posture reflects this act of withdrawal from sacred use. They are relaxed, even casual, as their intent is to visit a museum strictly for its art—as tourists, and not as believers. (Hubert Mohr)

social position, and access was a favor bestowed only on certain scholars, artists, and travelers.

The first publicly accessible collection was that of the University of Oxford, which has been at the disposition of students since 1683. Foundations that have created the modern concept of museum include—as the first state foundations—the British Museum in London (1753), and the Museum Fridericianum ["Museum of Frederic"], in Kassel (1769–1776).

The turn from a courtly and dynastic policy, in the context of the French Revolution, is a key premise of the development of the Enlightenment middle-class idea of the museum. Museums ought then to serve both aesthetic experience (→ Art Religion) and the perfecting of morality—a conception that also came to expression in Wilhelm von Humboldt's plan for the New Museum, opened in Berlin in 1830 as a place of 'educating the citizen.' But the museum's growing cultural importance was also a result of the dynamic

development of the arts and sciences of the nineteenth century. New historical collections appeared, of, for instance, primitive and ancient art, as well as objects of folk art. These were now no longer regarded as curiosa, but as scientifically instructive cultural relics. The concept of the historically constructed identity of a country was simultaneously decisive for the development of these formative goals, so that museums began to be assigned the additional function of serving the self-presentation of the nation, with the presentation and multiplication of their collections. In the great museums of the nineteenth century, "the nation" becomes "at once subject and object. It offers itself a permanent hero worship, by celebrating its past under all possible aspects."[1]

'Museum Policy in Germany

An example is the edifice today called the Pergamon Museum (1906–1930), on the Museum Isle of Berlin. The three-winged installation was conceived for the housing of the Pergamon Altar—which had been transported from Turkey in 1878—for the Mesopotamian Collection. The same great work was also to afford the central interest of a "German Museum," where visitors would be expected to see both the culture of Mesopotamia and that of Greek antiquity—the latter represented by the Pergamon Altar—as if they had constituted the prehistory of German 'High Culture.'[2] The meaning and importance of museums as 'places of consecration,' that is, of places having been dedicated and consecrated, is revealed not only in the nineteenth-century typical architecture of a museum as an architecture of representation, and in the presentation of the objects exhibited in halls displayed as 'sacred spaces.' It is also revealed in contemporary commentaries. The Pergamon hall is described as "a sacred island in the ocean of modern metropolitan life,"[3] the museum building as a "worthy complement to the Acropolis in Athens," and Berlin as "one of the world's prime destinations of the pilgrimage to art."[4]

Along with representing the nation, the 'museum policy' of Germany also served the popularization of colonial politics. By exhibiting objects of foreign cultures that had previously been used in sacred connections, these objects were 'rendered profane,' and received a new aesthetic importance. This re-forming of sacred objects into objects of art as an example of colonial appropriation of foreign resources is the subject of a new marketability, with numerous buyers of Russian icons and Asian sculptures, for example.

The German case can be regarded as representative for Western countries: As of 1969, there were 673 museums in the Federal Republic of Germany; by 1988, the number had grown to 2,400. A new type of museum characterized by growing mobility and flexibility has replace the old, permanently installed nineteenth-century type. Museums are being transformed into foci of exhibition and collection; they present conferences and lectures, they show films, they produce books, and, more and more, they maintain their own shops, and their own spaces for imagination and installation. They are concerned with a mix of instruction and entertainment, as, for example, the simulation of an earthquake in the Museum of London for Natural History in 1996. At the same time, tendencies toward a 'resacralization' are observable, when, for instance, the installation of a Buddhist meditation room in a museum offers a particular content of awareness to be transmitted, instead of a simple communication of information (Hamburg Museum of Art and Commerce, 1995).

At the moment, museums are registering an increase of 2-4 million visitors annually.

1. Pomian, Krzysztof, Der Ursprung des Museums. Vom Sammeln, Berlin 1993, 70.
2. Gaethgens, Thomas W., Die Berliner Museumsinsel im Deutschen Kaiserreich, Munich 1992.
3. Wenk, Silke, Auf den Spuren der Antike. Theodor Wiegand, ein deutscher Archäologe, Bendorf 1985, 50.
4. Gaethgens, o.c., 84; 108.

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→ *Art/Aesthetics, Enlightenment, History, Materiality, Memory, Monument/Memorial Places, Reception*

Insa Eschebach

Music

Terminology

1. For antiquity and parts of the Middle Ages, music is first of all a theoretical science that brings cosmic and anthropological structures (in Lat., *musica mundana* and *humana*) into association with the acoustical laws of tonic systems. Beginning in the thirteenth century, actually audible acoustical events shifted to the center of the concept of music (*musica instrumentalis*). Modern Western musical aesthetics narrows the concept to autonomous artistic work. On the other hand, recent musical anthropology and psychology understand first of all events of sound that refer to the conscious formation of one or more of the parameters of → rhythm, melody, harmony, and tone. The concept of music as musical act also includes the production, preservation, propagation, and reception of such musical phenomena. Finally, under the concept of music, there are also spiritualized, mythic, philosophical, and theological idioms of music to consider, which in a given case can completely preclude an actual tonal event.

Places of Music in Life

2. Music, in the history of humanity, has its place in religion. It is also a phenomenon of the worlds of work, politics, pedagogy, and art, dance, and entertainment, an acoustical structuring of space (background music, *muzak* at the supermarket), advertising, film, and healing (musical therapy). At present, the styles of pop music, governed by the music industry, from 'teen hits' to techno, punctuate the cultural world of many people. Over against a passive consumption of music by the majority, stand multiple manners of active music-making (choruses, bands, orchestras, etc.).

Places, Times, and Dimension of Religious Music

3. In the history of music and religion, various *religious dimensions* of music interpenetrate. They replace one another not in the sense of a linear development of religious music, but exist in contiguity, or die away for a time, only to reappear stronger than before.

a) In the early history of music and religion, the *magical* dimension of music plays a special role. By means of particular drumbeats, or vocal or instrumental sounds, evil spirits or forces of nature are supposed to be overcome, or good spirits summoned, for the purpose of intercommunication, in order to mollify them, or to expel them by way of exorcism (as with spells for promoting fertility, love, power, protection, good hunting, and good weather). Relics of a practice involving magical sounds have recently been found among the current usages of Central Europe (e.g., bells on Shrove Tuesday costumes).

b) The *ecstatic, or consciousness-transcending, dimension* of music marks African and South American religious music, parts of Islamic mysticism, and musical areas of the charismatic and Pentecostal churches. The same description would be valid for the phenomena of Afro-American rock and pop music, with its analogy to religion—or even the techno-raves of the 1990s. Delivered from the pressures of the everyday, this dimension affords people the opportunity both for a specific experience of community, and for consciousness-altering, boundary-transcending experiences (→ Trance). As musical causes and reinforcers of trance, let us cite only the constancy and monotony of a rhythm or tempo, with or without volume changes and stresses or accents. In the *shamanic trance*, through active musical and choreographical dramatic actions (with singing and drums), the shaman initiates and accompanies a trance in the form of a journey of the soul (→ Shamanism). In the *trance of possession*, music shores up the identification of the possessed with the particular divinity being invoked, for example in Brazilian Candomblé, in which every deity is assigned a specific musical theme, tailored to her or his identity (→ Afro-American Religions). In Islamic *dhikr*—the collective public ritual of numerous orders of dervishes, from India to Morocco—singing is at once the invocation of God, and a methodical self-excitation (→ Sufism). Unlike the rhythmic trance, the varieties of *mystical absorption* (e.g., quiet, solitary, and externally motionless ecstasy) make significant use of musical activity such as the ringing of chime shells, or the singing of mantras, in the initial phase at most. During the meditation itself, there is ordinarily no music.

c) The *integrative and communicative dimension* of music becomes especially clear when divine praises are sung (or danced, to the accompaniment of rhythmic music) in common, or in a profession on the part of a cultic and celebratory community. In secular societies, → civil religion frequently generates rituals with religious analogies, which serve the formation of national community (national anthems, music at state functions, military music). In large rock and pop concerts and rave parties, loose 'cult communities of the moment' form.

d) The *pastoral and therapeutic*, and *emotional dimension* of music can be found as early as the music of David's soothing lyre as he played for Saul (1 Sam 16:14-23). Both playing music and listening to it can have a positive effect in the area of narcissistic experience. Music can stabilize one's feelings of identity and self-worth, and assist the development of experiences of emotionality in the rationalized world of the everyday. For many Europeans, religious music is associated with special memories of seasonal or biographical heights: Christmas, Passiontide, mourning, funerals. Covertly or overtly, there are religious elements in approaches to music therapy ('transpersonal music therapy' and other esoteric forms of music therapy).

e) For Judeo-Christian and Islamic cultural regions, music's *rhetorical* or *'logogenic' dimension* is determinative. Music grows out of the linguistic contract, bears the spoken word, and finally itself becomes proclamatory acoustical discourse, and language of affect. From the emphatic *recitation* of prayers and sacred scripture develop psalmody, and the special type of linguistic singing known as 'cantillation.' In Judaism, as in Islam, there have been strong pressures that would limit religious music to cantillation alone, and exclude all instruments from divine service.

f) A specifically Western element is the religious or theological appreciation of the *aesthetic and artistic dimension* of music, an appreciation that has arisen only in modern aesthetics. The autonomous play (including the purely instrumental) of the tonic art, with its independence of external religious purposes and functions, is thought of (for the representatives of the Romantic → art religion) as a revelation of the infinite, or as a prelude to a future condition of society destined to overcome human beings' alienation.

Music as Metaphor and Symbol, as Subject of Myth and Theology

4. On the literary level, music plays an important role as *religious metaphor*, and as *symbol*, in saga, folktale, myth, and in philosophical and theological literature. The sounds and rhythms of nature are brought into association with music-making by spirits. In many sacred texts and myths, the origin of music is referred to a deity, or to a primitive divine sound. According to the ancient Indian sound myth, the 'thought of creation' that is Brahma manifests itself in the rhythm and swaying of sound, and emits all of the things of the world. From a later time, we have the conceptualization of the dancing god Shiva, who produces this primitive swaying of creation by his rhythmic drumming. In ancient Greece, accepting Eastern and Babylonian traditions, Pythagoras developed the idea of a *harmony of the spheres*, by analogy with the construction of the scale of overtones or particular intervals. Out of this theory grew the simultaneous aesthetic appeal to emulate and reproduce the universal celestial harmony in terrestrial life (and in music). Plato took up this idea, and developed a musical ethos. Through the Fathers of the Church, the notion of the harmony of the spheres was handed down all the way to modern times. The great composers and musical theorists of the Renaissance and Baroque understood music as a replica of the heavenly harmony, and a gift of God to be used to the glory of the Creator (with Johann Sebastian Bach as the prime exemplar). In Romanticism, the aesthetic absorption in music is promoted to 'meditation' (Johann Gottfried Herder). This religious pretension on the part of art climaxes in Richard Wagner's theory of art's religious creation across the board, and in his opera "Parsifal." Twentieth-century sketches of a theological appreciation in the twentieth century make a different approach. Recent contributions interpret music as an expression and parable of a liberated humanity and God-willed creativity, or as an article of historical culture, in a context of faith, under the effect of the Spirit of God.

Religious Music in the Present

5. As *church music* of the various confessions, religious music is solidly and institutionally anchored in the cultural life of Western countries today. Various strands of tradition, and directions in style, coexist in church music: ancient Christian forms of cantillation, psalmody, and hymns live in liturgical songs, in the form of Latin Gregorian chant, and in new translations, especially in the Roman Catholic office of the canonical hours and in the celebration of the Mass. In German-speaking regions, congregational

singing—introduced into divine service and community life by Martin Luther—has reached all confessions. Since the time of the Reformation, it has characterized the piety of core-community milieus through hymnals. In addition, a special scene of popular contemporary Christian music (called CCM in the USA) has developed (from 'hits' to rock and 'hip-hop'). The compositions for choir and organ of past centuries, especially Johann Sebastian Bach's organ literature and cantatas, and the Masses of Franz Josef Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Franz Schubert, are assigned a predominant role, both in divine service and in church concerts. This does not exclude, of course, their contiguity with baroque music, or with moderate modern compositions for liturgical use. Over against this scene stands a sophisticated and innovative avant-garde scene, with less resonance in community life.

In so-called 'serious' music, alongside Christian mysticism (Olivier Messiaen, Arvo Part, Krzysztof Penderecki) and spiritual theology (Dieter Schnebel), we have other forms of piety (cosmo-religion, Karlheinz Stockhausen; Far Eastern, Steve Reich). During the last years we have observed a tendency to the resacralization and 'metaphysical charge'[1] of music.

Since the 1970s (with impetus from the musical "Hair," 1968), a → New Age musical scene has been developing. Meditation on 'primal tones,' gong strokes, and other sounds are practiced and propagated as a method of healing. Simultaneously, the presence of religious texts, and cult-like presentations, or else those whose purpose is trance, has grown stronger in *pop culture*.

As the twenty-first century gets under way, Christian church-music has lost its monopoly on religious music. As a result, religious music is providing scholarly research, as well as theological evaluation and religious education, with new vistas upon a broad field of manifold relations between music and religion.

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→ *Art/Aesthetics, Dance, Perception, Rhythm, Singing/Song, Trance*

Peter Bubmann

Mysteries

The Concept

1. Mysteries are 'mysterious'—it sounds banal, and suggestive of a detective story: a "mystery thriller." Nevertheless, the expression indicates an important characteristic. The topic is cults, which comprise the secret actions (rites), narratives (myths), or teachings accessible to or comprehensible by the initiated alone. There are 'private parties,' which seek to guarantee the participants special experiences. They are not exhausted by the fact of → secrecy, to be sure, though the 'secret,' the *mysterion*, aroused much curiosity. Mysteries are often conducive to the formation of groups, they unite a crowd of 'elect,' who join a deeper knowledge (eschatology, afterlife, the origins of humanity, etc.), with a highly emotional, often highly dramatic ritual experience (alone or in the group)—be it in formal religious communities (mysteries of Mithras, anthroposophy) or—as in Eleusis—informally, as vehicles of a special message or expectation of salvation: "Many are the narthex bearers, but few the Bacchae."[1] Thus, rites of admittance seem to have been specially and impressively fashioned (→ Initiation; there seems to have been no pubertal initiation, however). Indeed, a major element in the attractiveness of mystery cults seems to have been reducible, throughout, to the fact that, at least from time to time, believers could step out of their role as onlookers, and be—rather as in the experimental theater of the twentieth century—actively drawn into the (cultic) event and experience.

Finally, as well: mystery cults are a phenomenon of → European history of religion, and, consequently, are closely connected with Greek and Roman societies in antiquity, and later with → paganism's approaches to religion. A search for comparable phenomena outside Europe will yield particular traits, surely—secret societies and cults, rites of initiation and purification, sacred drama—but no comparable cultic complex. Likewise, any determination of content has turned out to be inadequate: mysteries were not, as was long believed, concerned with dying and rising gods (the thesis of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*: R. Reitzenstein, J. Leipoldt). Nor are they the forerunners of Christian feasts, although influences in late antiquity are not to be disallowed out of hand.

The Ancient Mysteries

2. The ancient mysteries were first of all *special cults* ('*Sonderkulte*') of a polytheistic landscape. Although they were celebrated in particular places (→ Local Devotion), as in Eleusis or on Samothrace, their clientele came from a wider area. If, as in the cult of Isis or Mithras, they consisted of a network of sacred places and dependent communities of worship, they reached a mobile clientele (merchants, nautical personnel, soldiers), and developed an expansive dynamics of group formation, a dynamics that surpassed traditional transmission modes of cult such as subjugation or colonization. To

that extent, the ancient mystery cults are a step along the path to universal, globally adoptable and comprehensible religious organizations. A model in antiquity itself was constituted by the "Great Mysteries" of Eleusis, probably itself a bronze-age agrarian cult, connected with the cultic myth of Demeter and Kore, and in classical times part of the Athenian state cult. The two-stage initiation took place in secret. Pariticpants had 'revealed' to them a formula (in Gk., *sýnthema*) and rites, whose public disclosure was prohibited under pain of death. The complex ritual consisted of a kind of *Gesamtkunstwerk* (Ger., 'synthesis of the arts'), in which initiands were presented with 'sacred doctrines' (*hieroí lógoi*), symbolic actions, calculated sensory and emotional alterations (night vs. light, fear vs. joy), and an apparently overpowering 'spectacle' (in Gk., *epópteia*) to conclude the second initiatory step.

The mystery cults of classical Greece can be understood as including, for example, those of the Kabiroi on Samothrace, those of Hades on Acheron in Epeiros, or those of Dionysus. But these must be distinguished from cults that found propagation with Hellenism and the Roman Empire. There were Eastern and 'Orientalizing' cults, partly imported (*Cybele/Magna Mater*—Lat., 'Great Mother'—from Anatolian Pessinus), and partly newly arisen from the situation of a multi-religious society, where old myths and traditions were adapted for the new clientele. The cults that often developed their effectiveness only in the well-advanced imperial age (second to fourth centuries CE) bear a certain vigorous imprint from their situation of competition with Christianity—and not the other way around, as was once believed (on which point see W. Burkert). Like all pagan cults, the mystery cults survived Christianization, but not the dissolution of the Roman Empire.

Mysteriosophy

3. With Plato at the latest, mystery cults became the object of philosophical reflection and speculation. Images and formulae from the language of the mysteries became independent. The Eleusinian light presentation, with its 'spectacle,' cultivated philosophical mysticism with magnetic metaphors. By way of the Neoplatonism of → late antiquity, many images and initiatory experiences (in Gk., *teletaí*) entered European history as 'mysteriosophy,' such as the Ineffable, or the union of theory (in Gk., *theoría*, 'contemplation') and practical life.

In the twentieth century, it was Rudolf Steiner who, from a point of departure in the Theosophical Society, once more undertook the elaborated attempt to call to life an 'occult science,' with his Anthroposophy, which decidedly appealed to the ancient mysteries, from Egypt to Rome (cycles of lectures *Das Christentum als mystische Tatsache*, 1901; *Ägyptische Mythen und Mysterien*, 1908). Between 1910 and 1913 he wrote four 'mystery dramas' that are still regularly performed today.

Art Mysteries

4. The ancient mysteries were religious works of holistic art, spectacles that laid claim to the believer's eye (apparitions of light, cult of Isis; dances), ear (gongs and noises, Eleusis), sense of taste (barley soup of *kykéon*, Eleusis; sacrificial meals, cult of Mithras), indeed the entire body (bath in the sea, Eleusinian mysteries; see Hermann Nitsch). Their special achievement consisted in their translation of religious messages into suggestive actions.

It is scarcely surprising, then, that mystery cults—or what were taken for such—had their own career, and in the dramatic arts especially. The stage was the place where they survived, in their fantastic shape and further development. Euripides's tragedy *The Bacchae* (after 405 BCE) marked

the image of the mysteries of Dionysus so powerfully, that, to this day, the scholarly world is unable to separate fact (the lesser element) from fiction (the greater) in this piece.

Substitutions, taken from the repertory of the cult of Dionysus, also stand at the center of the twentieth-century attempts of the artistic avant-garde to revive mystery cults in modern times. From the Munich literary circle of *Kosmiker* (Ger., "Cosmics") around 1900 (see ill. at → Antiquity), to Hermann Nitsch's "Orgies Mystery Theater," in Prinzendorf in Austria ("Six-Day Play," 1998; see ill. at → Blasphemy), the effort continues. 'Mysteries,' in this case, serve to equip an imaginative 'night-side' of classical antiquity, a paganizing 'side' on a collision course with Christianity and German classicism, adopted from the *Altertumswissenschaft* ('study of classical antiquity'; cf. F. Nietzsche, *Die Geburt von Tragödie*, Ger., "The Birth of Tragedy," 1872; Erwin Rohde, *Psyche*, 1890–1894; Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 1903; Albrecht Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 1898). Mysteries are intended as the framework, and territory of fantasy, of the drive-laden, 'de-sublimated' (in the terms of popular psychoanalysis) boundary-crossing, be it for the orgiastic 'basic excess' (Ger., 'Grundexzeß,' Nitsch) or for the 'return to the mothers'—e.g. to the cult of the Magna Mater (cf. Alfred Schuler's "Cosmics")—or be it for the 'primitive' experience of a pre-civilization (as Mark Rothko's expression has it: the modern reception of ancient myths must be "more primitive and more modern than the myths themselves"[2]).

The fascination exerted by mystery cults on those who take part in them does not, however, appear to arise first and foremost from the fact that they permit 'license for breach of taboo' (as the bourgeois prejudice would have it, and the bourgeois shock at the avant-garde suggests). Nor it is nutured not only by the sense of possessing an exceptional wisdom. Rather, their fascination emerges from the fact that they stage 'simple forms' (A. Jolles) emphatically, along with employing religious means to do so. Thus, the core rite in Eleusis consisted in showing the initiate, in the 'vision' just mentioned, a single, 'cropped off' ear of grain; the cult of Isis afforded believers the sensory feeling of bathing in purposely fetched water of the Nile; naked, Nitsch's actors are dashed with the blood and lymph of newly slain lambs and bulls, which they eviscerate barehanded; they tread grapes in vats, in traditional fashion. These are all fragments of nature, and demonstrative gestures, isolated, by means of extravagant ritual, from the natural or social environment, and charged with meaning. By means of aesthetic reduction—reinforced to the exclusivity of an *ars reservata* (Lat., 'reserved art')—a subtle archaism is celebrated, for a cultivated urban audience whom the mystery cults offer exotic 'thrills' and a sensory 'more.' Thus participants found themselves in the priviledged position of a spiritual elite, endowed with an exclusive glance at a better world.

1. Plato, Phaedo, 69c (= *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, ed. O. Kern, fragment 5). Cf. Matt 22:14: "For many are called, but few are chosen."
2. Sandler, I., The Triumph of American Painting, New York 1970, 68.

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→ *Antiquity, Drama (Sacred), Esotericism, Freemasonry, Mysticism, Secrecy*

Hubert Mohr

Mysticism

Definition

1. *Definition:* Mysticism is an umbrella concept for (1) experiences in which boundaries are dissolved—those of the subject, such as in a vacuum of thought, or in ecstasy; those of the object, so that dualities are removed; those of space, to experience the infinite in the finite; those of time, when the 'timeless, everlasting now' replaces successive time. 'Mysticism' also denotes (2) the concepts, teachings, and literary genres that contemplate, recount, or describe this immanent transcendence, or transcendent immanence. Historical, cultural, and biographical contexts mark intention, experience, and interpretation. The intensity and quality of the experience are dependent on whether the transcendence in question is unprepared, and occurs spontaneously, or whether it is induced by techniques; on whether it occurs punctually, regularly, or permanently; on whether it is perceived purely mentally, or expresses itself in strong affects; on whether it is accompanied by (para-) sensory phenomena, such as visions, or even psychosomatic alterations, including permanent marks on the body, like stigmata.

Historical Denotation

2. *History of the concept and of its reception:* a) Any attempt at a definition of mysticism must be deficient, not only on grounds of the broad spectrum of phenomena seen as mystical, but also on grounds of the historical transformations of the concept. First of all, it denotes the 'closing' (in Gk., *muein*) of the eyes and lips in the act of initiation into the Greek mystery religions, lest their secret knowledge be betrayed. In Christianity, 'mysticism' acquires the meaning of experiential knowledge of God (in Lat., *cognitio Dei experimentalis*)—especially, extraordinary 'experiences of God,' understood as a special manifestation of grace, experiences occurring in rapture, visions, and ecstasy, whose purpose is a union with God in love and knowledge (*unio mystica*, Lat., 'mystical union'). An acquaintance with Eastern teachings whose preferred theme is the one Being 'behind' all that is, in combination with Romantic medievalism, led to a universalization of the concept: it even became possible to speak of an a-religious mysticism. In Romanticism's veer from the Renaissance belief in reason and progress, mysticism became (1) a religion of emotion, of profound inner sensation, and (2) a pantheistic philosophical monism of union. The Romantic rediscovery of mysticism forms the image of mysticism in modern times, and fosters a modern individual piety. Mysticism becomes the expression of a spirituality joining East and

Beyond the Historical Religions

West, a *philosophia perennis* (Lat., 'eternal philosophy') uniting humanity in a religion beyond institution and historical transformation, a content of all that is deepest and best in the religions.

Experience before Theology

b) Romanticism's image of mysticism characterizes attempts at systematization on the part of early religious science. According to psychologist of religion William James (1902), mystical states are primarily pantheistic and optimistic; far from being knowable in words and concepts ('ineffability'), they are determined by feeling and knowledge, and therefore lead not to a 'faith' open to rational discussion; rather, they transmit subjective insights of unconditional value ('noetic quality'). James holds mystical states to be the root of all religion. For religious scholar Rudolf Otto, as well (1917, 1926), the ultimate foundation of religion is mystical. Each individual religion is 'a priori' preceded by the *primitive religious feeling* of each individual, and the object of its relation (the numinous); these are the basic data of all religion, inexpressible because they are mystical. The 'essence' of mysticism is held to lie in the preponderance of "irrational and numinous moments" as the "reference object of religious feeling."[1] Thus, 'mysticism' becomes a spongy synonym for any kind of vigorous piety. Typologizations in religious studies such as Friedrich Heiler's distinction (1919) between monistic (mystical) and dualistic (prophetical) religions, and Robert C. Zaehner's differentiation (1957) between monistic (natural) and theistic mysticism challenged Christian apologetics: Christianity is held to be characterized by its prophetical/ethical commitment, while Eastern religions deny the world: redemption by grace plays out against a self-redemption, preferably by psycho-techniques.

"In Its Source, All Is One"

c) Romantic reception retains its effect in definitions of *contemporary mysticism*, both in the form of: "a primitive religious phenomenon, in which the experience of God occurs in immediate intuition,"[2] and in the form of "a phenomenon that apparently occurs in all religions and cultures, differing, to be sure, in its forms of expression, but everywhere alike at in its core: knowing by experience that everything is somehow connected, that, in its source, all is one" (B. Borchert).[3] Dorothee Sölle, as well (1997), points up a popular understanding of mysticism when she observes that mysticism must not be judged from confessional viewpoints, but that the expression from the Upanishads "Tat tvam asi" ("You are that") joins "a fundamental experience of all mysticism into one."[4] Catholic Carmelite Bruno Borchert and Protestant political theologian Dorothee Sölle are witnesses to the current rediscovery of mysticism in church and theology, expressed as well in numerous publications, especially those on woman's mysticism. In scholarly discourse, the conviction of the existence of a 'universal mysticism' is both called into question and once more maintained.

Cultural Criticism

3. *Mysticism as counterculture:* a) Beginning with Romanticism, interest in an autonomous 'universal mysticism,' one not bound to any institution or confession, has involved a cultural criticism. Mysticism corresponded to the Romantic program of restoring a lost sense of sentiment, and of the unity of life, to the coldly prosaic Age of Enlightenment. Sölle's statement of intent goes on to say that she refuses to submit to the pressure of modern times, to the 'disenchantment of the world,' and to make science the totalitarian God. Borchert, as well, calls for a mystical attitude and culture, which would draw on an intuitive, not a logical, insight into things. What is new is Sölle

and Borchert's ethicization of mysticism as social action, in the spirit of the theology of liberation.

Criticism of Christianity

b) The rediscovery of mysticism in church circles is a 'counter-mission' to the mystical 'boom' of the anti-ecclesial → New Age spirituality. Beginning in the nineteenth century, behind the interest in an autonomous mysticism, has often stood a critical attitude toward Christianity, and the need for a piety free of dogmatic tutelage and ecclesial fetters. Support is found both in → Meister Eckhart's condemnation as a heretic, and in the 'light from the East.' The history of mysticism's reception as a culture counter to church belief on the one hand, and to modernity on the other, has an unbroken line that reaches the present day. Swami Vivekananda's address to the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago (1893) presents the Vedanta and its "idea of the spiritual oneness of the entire universe" as the best remedy for the West, fallen ill with materialism.[5] German publisher Diederichs makes Christianity responsible for the misery of the modern world, and prescribes mysticism as a therapy: in 1909, Buber's *Ekstatische Konfessionen* (Ger., "Ecstatic Confessions") appeared.[6] In his *Geschichte des Atheismus,* (Ger., "History of Atheism"; 1920–1923), Fritz Mauthner passionately proclaims the 'godless mysticism' of a liberating pantheism, as over against the formulae of the God of the Christians, formulae now revealed to be devoid of content, and opposed to the 'new God, science,' useless for questions of humanity; in their place, he appeals to 'godless heretics' like Eckhart. The hippie movement sought a society of well-being through Indian wisdom, and through the use of drugs supposed to guarantee mystical experiences. In the New Age doctrine of the new Age of Aquarius, a postmodern malaise is formulated in modern times, and a mysticism of the all-one is mixed with → esotericism and a cult of the body. Beginning with Diederichs, mysticism's orientation to the present world has gained its own: a lexicon for religion (*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed., 1960) devotes an entire article, "Neue Mystik" (Ger., "New Mysticism") to the creators of culture as the 'new mystics.'

"Universal Mysticism"?

4. The *controversy over a 'universal mysticism':* a) The common 'essence,' the coherent, transcultural 'nucleus' of all mysticism was seen by Rudolf Otto in the common subject of reference and in the common experience. Otto's concept of the → Holy remained imprisoned in the Judeo-Christian image of God, so that his 'Western-Eastern mysticism' was actually one-sided. R. C. Zaehner was also biased when it came to belief, since he undervalued monistic mysticism as not being in consonance with reality. Contemporary representatives of a 'universal mysticism' (such as Staal, among others) argue that the possibility of a common experience attaches to the structure of consciousness—something like a mind empty of thought and a psyche as an expansion of the inner world to the outside. Although this argument criticizes Otto and Zaehner, it, too, is based on the supposition that the experience itself is amorphous, and independent of cultural qualifications, and that the background in terms of a *Weltanschauung* qualifies only interpretation and enunciation: thus, it is only here that the multiplicity of mystical descriptions emerges in the distinct cultures.

b) In the late 1970s, Steven Katz began to present his ever-sharpening criticism of the notion of a 'universal mysticism.' Katz holds that insertion into a given culture and the interweaving of cultural variables and mystical

experience are determinative: there is no 'pure,' immediate experience, or 'pure consciousness.' Instead, *Weltanschauung* and social environment have already generated the experience itself, and not only its description. Nothing can be experienced that is not already 'etched in.' Mysticism is conservative, and endorsing of tradition. Jewish and Christian patterns of experience, for example, are begotten and marked by Jewish and Christian expositions of the Song of Solomon.

Against this, it is argued that a state of consciousness in which knower, known, and knowing are eliminated cannot be explained as historically and culturally conditioned. Proponents claim that such states of consciousness are documented in Hinduism, Buddhism, and with Eckhart. Mystical experiences are relatively frequent.[7] An extreme contextualism makes it impossible to explain the new elements that mystical experiences contain right along with the conservative ones (R. Forman 1990). Jess B. Hollenback (1996) emphasizes the transcultural meaning of practices of concentration that he sees in the introduction of paranormal capacities and new knowledge. Ninian Smart (1983) holds a consciousness devoid of thought, and a feeling of joy immanent to it, to be the main criterion of all mysticism. Smart sees the purified mind as effecting the elimination of the polarity of subject and object, and that this condition explains the theistic interpretational pattern of mysticism as *unio*, while in traditions in which the ground of being is conceived less powerfully as 'the Other,' the term 'identity' prevails; in traditions that acknowledge neither God nor a ground of being, such as Buddhism, isolation becomes the central concept. According to philosopher Peter Sloterdijk, the conscious intellect in the state of recollection of the silence that precedes speech, and the oceanic feeling thereby experienced, are the 'universal birthright' of all persons, but it is lost in the legacy of the ego and the life of the adult.

Debate over Mysticism

5. *Historical:* The mediator between the ancient mysteries and Christian mysticism was Neoplatonism. 'Mysticism,' or the 'mystical,' contains an element determined by knowledge, and denotes speculative vision (*theoria*) and unification (*henosis*). Their meaning as an immediate experience of God referred to experience is first attested in Origen (third century), and stands in connection with a spiritual interpretation of scripture. Even with Meister Eckhart, 'mystical' denotes almost exclusively the allegorical sense of scripture. In addition, we find liturgical (*corpus mysticum*) and spiritual, contemplative areas of application. A properly mystical theory was created by Denis the Areopagite (around 500), who is considered the 'father of Christian mysticism.' His *Mystical Theology* draws on Neoplatonism, and deploys a unification with God by stages (purification, enlightenment, union). Besides the Dionysian theology, Bernard of Clairvaux's (twelfth century) mystical expositions of the Song of Songs were of permanent influence, and introduced a strong affective moment. They found a great echo as a bridal mysticism, and even influenced the mysticism of the Passion. Mysticism is considered to have reached its golden age in the fourteenth century. It is associated with German Dominicans Eckhart, Tauler, and Seuse. But this was also the age of lay spiritual movements, such as that of the Beguines, and of a nuns' spirituality of ecstasy and visions. Women's mystical interest affected the Dominicans. Up until the early twentieth century, there were noteworthy female authors of mystical material: in Germany, from → Hildegard of Bingen (twelfth century) and Mechthild of Magdeburg (thirteenth

century), to Edith Stein (twentieth century); in the Netherlands, Hadewijch (thirteenth century); in Italy, Catherine of Siena (fourteenth century); in England, Juliana of Norwich (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries); in Spain, Teresa of Avila (sixteenth century); in France, Margarete Porète (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries), Mme. Guyon (eighteenth century), and Simone Weil (twentieth century). We find the keenest and most philosophical sketch of mysticism in Meister Eckhart, who adopts the Neoplatonic tradition oriented to knowledge. As early as his pupils Tauler and Seuse, the speculative moment became frankly secondary. This tendency continues in Ruysbroeck, and in the *Devotio Moderna*. It influenced Protestant mysticism and theosophy, whose golden age falls in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and among whose most important representatives are Jacob Böhme and Angelus Silesius. The Age of Enlightenment was little concerned with mysticism, and with its new revival in Romanticism and Idealism, that age divorced itself from theology. With interest in Eastern traditions, which became accessible for the first time only through translations, and the philosophical reception of mysticism in the Middle Ages, mysticism lost its insertion into social history (piety of religious orders, Franciscan poverty movement, the Beguines, Dominican nuns' pastoral care), and the mottos 'bare feeling,' 'pantheism,' and 'monism' came to determine the image of mysticism. Only in recent times was Christian mysticism rediscovered in its context.

Transcultural Constants

6. *Comparative aspect:* a) Mystical testimonials are found in all religions, as diverse as cosmic linguistic speculations and the → Kabbalah; unions with Christ in love, and the *imitatio* of the Passion, as in Christian traditions; instillation by the attributes of Allah, as in Sufism; experience of the Void, as in Mahayana Buddhism; identity with the super-personal Absolute, as in Advaita-Vedanta; shamanistic journeys to the beyond, as in tribal cultures—all of these may be understood as mystical in the sense of boundary-transcending. Prototypal transcultural constants are: (1) release of the old sense of self or ego; (2) light metaphors and light visions; (3) practices of concentration; (4) subjective interiorization of what the culture in question understands as the highest reality; (5) stylistic means like paradox and apophasis (lapse into silence); (6) images such as that of sinking in the ocean; (7) experiences of totality, in such expressions of reciprocal immanence as "I in God and God in me," or "everything is absorbed in the whole, and the whole in everything"; (8) positive feelings like joy, repose, beatitude, as well as—especially in Christian mysticism—interruption of the experience by phases of extreme desperation. It seems to be a consequence of the structure and prospects of human consciousness, and of the psyche, that certain typological patterns emerge in various cultures. Thus the quest for a mind without an object is connected with non-theistic speech, non-dualistic systems, and a mysticism of knowledge or philosophy, while affect, ecstasy, and vision tend to be theistic or object-referred, and the expansion of the inner to the outer world evokes the reciprocal experience of the inflation of the object in the subject. An ecstatic mysticism of love, a sensuous bridal mysticism (in → Sufism, → Kabbalah, Christianity, Krishnaism) presuppose a theistic and dual system, and are absent in Advaita-Vedanta, Yoga, Zen Buddhism, and Daoism. Visions are usually attached to meditative practices, and an active imagination, that bring the deity to 'real' apparition. They are found in Christianity as in Tantric traditions, but are conceived in Christianity as an irruption from above, and in Tantrism as mental projection. Just so, there are mystical

linguistic speculations in dualist systems such as that of the Jewish Kabbalah, and in non-dualist systems as in Kashmiric Shivaism. Mystics of all times, male and female, have made an essential contribution to the history of piety in their respective religious traditions: vivid personal experience, deepening and reinterpretation of received conceptions of faith, interiorization and incarnation of religion. But they have not found the same acceptance in all cultures. While they took on an (often conflictive) outsiders' role in Christianity and Islam, and exerted little influence on religion, Hinduism and Buddhism are simply inconceivable without a mystical imprint.

Translation

b) The methodological difficulty in comparison consists in the fact that structural analogies, comparative categories, and translations produce commonality where it may be that none exists. Concepts like oneness, being, 'extinction,' and light are polyvalent. When Eckhart speaks of an understanding beyond the emergence of thoughts—which gives the appearance of binding him with Eastern traditions—he cannot conceive and experience this understanding otherwise than as stamped by Christianity; indeed, as locus of the oneness of the three Persons as well as the unity that is the primitive image of all being, as locus of the continuous birth of God and ongoing creation. Mystical experience is tied to cultural plausibility, and the latter is variable. Bengalese saint Ramakrishna (nineteenth century) is said to have been introduced into various traditions, and there not only to have had corresponding experiences of unification, but also to have had visions of Jesus, Mary, Kali, and Krishna, and nonetheless to have remained a burning devotee of Kali lifelong. The universality of patterns of experience, and the diversity of cultural plausibility and acceptance, come to light in a comparison precisely of this Ramakrishna with an unknown Frenchwoman, undertaken by psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar and philosopher Catherine Clément. Seen psychologically, the Indian and his French contemporary would seem to have experienced the same states of ecstatic mysticism: but while Ramakrishna in India became an acknowledged saint, the Frenchwoman was confined to an institution as mentally ill.

7. *Historical apparition and human experience:* Ever since Romanticism, 'mysticism' has been applied as a universal concept, and even applied to non-religious phenomena. When mystical phenomena are observed in their historical connection, differences come to light more than a single 'universal mysticism': the latter concept stands in need of more precision. A psychological approach, on the other hand, makes it possible to continue to apply the concept transculturally. Even in Western contexts, the empty mind has become plausible today: Yugoslavian performing artist Marina Abramovic, for example, by means of passions that she herself portrays, seeks to break through to a 'purified mind.' Mysticism has marketable value, as shown by 'play' with mysticism in advertising, in the form of both direct and indirect allusions to states of rapture. Doubtless this has little to do with any inner responsibility, or the rigors and renunciations of a mystical life, and yet it may be the most arresting demonstration of a common human yearning for totality and an 'oceanic feeling' (Freud), as well as of a widespread, if, surely, diffuse, knowledge of mystical states.

1. Otto 1926, 194.
2. Richter, in: Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 3rd ed., [2](1966), 1237.
3. Borchert 1997, 11 and *passim*.

4. Sölle 1997, 34; 76.
5. Cf. Halbfass 1981, 260.
6. Cf. Kippenberg 1997, 245.
7. Borchert 1997, 13; Sölle 1997, 28; 31-41; Clément/Kakar 1993.

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→ *Esotericism, Hildegard of Bingen, Kabbalah, Meister Eckhart, Mysteries, Psyche, Secrecy*

Annette Wilke

Myth / Mythology

"Essence" of Myth?

1. a) The 'essence' of myth resists univocal definition. Myth has a narrative structure; certain repeatable events are narrated that lie beyond space and time, and are deposited at certain nodal points of human existence. In a broader sense, myth is a recounted history (of gods and demigods) by means of which a body of knowledge is handed on that grows from generation to generation. Today, a distinction between myth and other narratives is regarded as impossible, and seen rather as a late construct. A further problem: the study of the cultures that have been researched only by way of their literature is more and more recognized as inadequate. Models obtained from Greek myths transmitted in writing are not transferable to non-writing cultures. This type of sacred narrative, myth as oral commentary on a ritual action, is simply absent from many cultures. In other cultures, myths are categorized with dreams, and expressly distinguished from reality. Furthermore, the notion (first found in Pindar) of myth as standing at the opposite pole from logos, or as a stepping-stone thereto, has today been abandoned. Rather, myth represents an early form of rationality; etiological

myths are forms of high rationality. This aspect appears in the very *history of the word: múthos* is an artificial word from the early Greek *epos,* and originally meant the same as *lógos*: both mean 'word.' Logos is meaning-charged word, reasonable discourse; myth, even as late as the time of Sophocles, is the spoken word, or, more rarely, a *hieros logos*, sacred word, and finally, (untrue) narrative (*fabula*—Lat., 'fable'), the saga of the gods. In German, the word is attested at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as *Fabel* (Ger., 'fable'); only two hundred years later does it acquire the meaning of 'narrative of gods.' Today the term is popular, ever since Georges Sorel, as a timeless, methodic and scientific grasp of a phenomenon no longer existing. But this altogether contradicts ancient tradition, in which there was no 'myth' as continuous quantity: rather every myth was bound to a particular place and a particular cult. Since the Enlightenment, however, myth has no longer found any accepted organizing form or speech among Western people. It is precisely this removal, however, that provides the fascination of the hermeneutic universe.

Functions

b) Instead of the question of the 'essence' of myth, the *search for the functions* that mythic narratives have seems more fertile. In all tribal cultures, myth combines various fundamental functions: (1) in cult and religion, it transmits sacred truths, and decides between guilt and innocence; (2) in social history, it recounts the history of an institution, a rite, or a societal development; (3) politically, myths are the expression of a primary collective narcissism, and enable a society to present itself; finally, there are (4) the instructive or edifying function (*exemplum*), and (5) the aesthetic one. All of these functions have long since become disparate today; myth is the object of altogether distinct traditions of thought. There is no comprehensive history of myth as such, but only diverse concepts of myth within the specific sciences, each concept with its specific history. Today, then, we speak of an anthropological and ethnological concept of myth, a sociological one, a philosophical one, a psychological and psychoanalytic one, and one used by religious studies.

Methods

c) As important *methods* of the interpretation of myth, three can be classified: (1) In the *functional* theory, myths justify societal givens, and legitimize the status quo of the social relations in question. (2) The *symbolical* theory considers myth as a way of thinking, with similarities to the dream. The laws of time, nature, and society current among us are not in force. Similarities and parallels among myths from various societies suggest that they reflect universal manners of thinking (C. G. Jung). (3) The *structural* method analyzes myth into the elements of its content and its motifs, and clarifies how these relate to one another, so that the scholar may here have something similar to the cross-section of subterranean geological layers that reveal basic structure. A fundamental pattern found in myths is the counteraction of opposites. C. Lévi-Strauss, for example, understands myths as a composite image of opposites: nature and culture, male and female, order and chaos. In each case, our distance from myth has become unbridgeable—where we encounter myths, they are usually only 'remnants' (Taubes), for example the biblical myths of original sin or of the creation of the world. And the more recent (Gen 1) of the two creation myths itself represents a demythologizing vis-à-vis Babylonian myths of the emergence of the world. The myths of

popular culture that arise in the modern age can scarcely be explained on the criteria used by the sciences (→ New Myths/New Mythologies).

Truth in Plato

2. a) 'Myth' (in the singular) is a theoretical construct on the part of the European sciences. The problem of how myths are to be interpreted (philosophically) arises with the interpretation of Homer. This difficulty becomes clear as early as Plato. It is impossible, holds the latter, to speak adequately about God when the many gods of whom Homer tells have human shape and weaknesses. Accordingly, Plato replaces these myths with a reason-oriented 'discourse upon the one divine' (*theo-logia*). In the poetry criticism of the *Republic*, Socrates observes, in a discussion of questions of upbringing, that children are first told 'myths'; these myths, as the 'Untrue,' are set over against the 'True.' In the *Symposium*, truth is of mythical origin, but is consigned to philosophy. In the *Phaedrus*, Plato leaves the question of truth open, but in an almost ironical tone, indicates difficulties that are anything but slight, and that recommend restraint on the part of the interpreter. Meanwhile, Plato himself has recounted myths in his Dialogues, which have no clear reference to a cult, and are logically expounded. Myths are presented in the ancient tradition in cultic manifestations, and then, in poetical variation, in tragedy, and thus philosophical truth is withdrawn from the regions of the sacred, to become accessible for everyday life.

Allegory

b) If, despite all, in Plato and Aristotle across the board, the relation between mythos and logos remains extensively undetermined, subsequently an ever-stronger reinforcement of this relationship is observable. Here the Stoa cultivated especially the *allegorical* method of rational reinterpretation, which saw in the gods personified natural powers. Subsequently, philosophers long held myths to be allegories of philosophical truths. Neoplatonism then sought to envelop ancient mythology with the concept that, under the Romans, myths had lost their cultic and justifying function. The primary goal was philosophically fixed and systematized thought. The philosophical exposition of myth in Neoplatonism made myth a metaphor with a philosophical function, that is, it made it allegory. This interpretation gradually destroyed it as a religious phenomenon. Until the nineteenth century, the ancient myths of the gods were interpreted allegorically or symbolically. In late Christian antiquity, which reckoned the pagan religions a distortion of the original religion revealed in Paradise, the use of allegory for the exposition of scripture remained an exception; but in the Middle Ages, processes of the presentation of scripture became differentiated. Even the Renaissance defended the value of pagan fables, appealing to the allegorical sense hidden behind them, so that it became valuable for Christians to read the works of pagan authors. Euhemerism, which supposed myths to contain a precipitation of historical events, saw human personalities behind the gods, figures that had especially deserved recognition, and that therefore had been elevated to divinity after death.

Natural Religion?

3. a) In the age of the Renaissance, and of the first great trans-oceanic discoveries, the traditional Christian image of the world underwent a profound crisis. The question of a 'natural religion,' lying at the basis of all religions equally, became acute, in view of the discovery of completely unknown peoples in America, and then in Japan, China, and the remote parts of India. In

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Christian missionaries investigated the sacred ceremonies of the 'savages' with the greatest attention. The myths of the other peoples were subjected to Christian Eurocentrism. The missionaries applied the principles of late antiquity, and compared Indian cults and sanctuaries with those of antiquity: thus, South American cannibalism seemed a direct descendant of the ancient bacchanalia. In the eighteenth century, ethnography broadened the horizon of a comparison of 'primitive' religions with contemporary forms. Accordingly, it was in the eighteenth century that the first approaches to a historical appraisal of the classical religions arose. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the Greek gods and figures were matched with those of the Hebrew Bible (G. I. Vossius, 1641), after which, in 1724, Joseph François Lafitau saw the similarity between the Greek and Indian mythological narratives. Freethinkers set the religion of the 'savages' over against the Christian Church, as the pure religion of reason. For the Enlightenment, mythology belonged to the darkness of idolatry, and Greek religion was superstition. Only the loss of faith in the true, spiritual God was supposed to have led to the adoration of personified forces of nature. At most, mythology was permitted to artists, scholars, and anyone educated, as 'useful knowledge,' to be listed in dictionaries (Lessing, Hederich). A historical criticism of myth was by and large regarded as passé, and as a form of knowledge that had been replaced.

Myth in 'Art Religion'

b) Around 1800, myth could mount neither a religious claim nor a moral one; but it survived as *poetical* existence. The notion of myth as a poetical process is unimaginable without the antecedent phenomenon of Giambattista Vico. In 1725, in contradiction with the Enlightenment to follow, Vico stressed the independence of the aesthetic and graphic principle vis-à-vis the logical and discursive one. For him, the discourse of myth corresponded to the discourse of poetry. He saw in the mythic process an independent interpretation of reality, and developed the idea of a mythological world dictionary. In mythology, Vico saw an autonomous and, despite its primitive character, legitimate path to reality and to transcendence. With his view of myth as a testimonial to the cultural history of the first peoples, as the initial poetical awareness of humanity, Vico ensured the vitality of myth throughout a Renaissance age hostile to myth, and laid the groundwork for a reception of myth on the part of the German classicists, especially in Romanticism. Influenced by Vico, Herder then definitively withdrew myth from the Enlightenment criticism, elucidating it as graphic poetical discourse. Herder was no longer concerned with a definition of myth and truth, but only with poetical application—in short, with the rescue of the honor of myth as a poetical tool. With Herder as his point of departure, Christian Gottlob Heyne laid the foundations of the modern concept of myth; Friedrich August Wolf, Friedrich Schlegel, Friedrich Creuzer, and Wilhelm von Humboldt were his auditors. For him, myth is a form of conceptualization and expression of the childhood of the human race. Myths have definitively lost their allegorical or religious function. Nineteenth-century attempts, such as that of Creuzer, to see the religious phenomenon in myth once more as primary, were doomed to destruction from the outset; the same holds for Richard Wagner. In the introduction to his *Götterlehre* (1795), Karl Philipp Moritz expressly disallows any allegorical interpretation of the Greek world of the gods. With the Greek myths, holds Moritz, it is a matter of 'artistic literature,' and this litera-

ture must be "regarded as a discourse of fantasy." For him, only aesthetic, not ethical criteria, do justice to mythic literature: the presentation of the gods takes place "over and above all concepts of morality." Mythology, then, is neither simple allegory, nor the precipitant of an ancient history, but artistic literature. Only in their aesthetic function do mythological functions have a right to existence. The supreme end of mythology is beauty: the doctrine of the gods becomes aesthetics. This aesthetic interpretation of the world of the Greek gods is as near Goethe and Schiller as it was an influence on Schelling and August Wilhelm Schlegel (→ Art Religion).

The New Mythology

c) It is especially (German and English) Romanticism that renders myth altogether freely available for modernity, as may be demonstrated by the cases of William Blake and Novalis. The idea of a 'new mythology' must overcome the allegorical reduction of the mythical, and call into being the artwork of the modern age across the board. This ambition was programmatically executed in the so-called "The Oldest Systematic Program of German Idealism" (1797). Against the allegorical and euhemeristic interpretation, in the nineteenth century Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling stands out: his *Philosophy of Mythology* (1842) discards all Enlightenment interpretation of mythology, holding that the latter seeks *philosophically* to demonstrate the possibility of a *real* intercourse of human beings with personified principles. Walter F. Otto (1874–1958) took up again in the twentieth century the tradition of Romanticism, which had been interrupted with Schelling. Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945), as well, embraced Schelling, although he went far beyond him with the development of a new theory of consciousness, namely, the teaching of the symbolic forms. Myth, for Cassirer, appears as part of a form of life. After his emigration to the United States, Cassirer devoted himself to the investigation of myths in relation to today's societies; the fruit of these efforts toward an appraisal in terms of a critique of ideology is his last work, *The Myth of the State*, in which he investigates "the technology of modern political myths," in order to understand the genesis of the National Socialist state. Here there is a link with Sorel, who, it is true, more or less cynically, recognizes the fictive character of myths, but nonetheless had justified their use as an instrument of political and social control. An alternative conception was developed in the chef-d'oeuvre of Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Ger., "Dialectic of the Enlightenment"; 1947). In this work, prehistoric myth survives in the modern age, in at first indistinguishable transformations, but ancient myth itself represents a primitive form of emancipating rationality: "Myth itself is Enlightenment, and: the Enlightenment collapses in mythology." The concept of myth laid down here as the correspondence of an overpowered and repressed (and thereby fearful) nature, and the theory of civilization that appeals to that concept, is increasingly called into question today. Hans Blumenberg's *Arbeit am Mythos* (Ger., "Work on Myth") is intended as a response—as a polemical answer to the *Dialektik der Aufklärung*. Blumenberg holds that myth makes possible a disempowering of archaic fears. Overcoming certain life situations and fears, myth acquires a first distance, and is incipient rationality. This work *of* myth can only be realized in a never-ending work *on* myth. Kurt Hübner attempts to reconcile myth with rationality (and indeed that of the modern natural sciences). According to Ricoeur, we cannot transpose myth into our era, but we can transform it into *symbol*, and analyze it in

terms of what it offers us by way of material for thought. Following the later Heidegger, literature and poetry (especially Hölderlin) seem to vouch for the continued effect of myth (Bröcker, Liebrucks, and others).

Myth as Enlightenment

4. a) In *current discussion*, the value of philosophical mythology lies in the possibility of a broadened motif of explanation of the essence of rationality, and ultimately of human culture as such. Myth becomes a sign of self-criticism on the part of modern philosophy, and the concepts of rationality that are its vehicle. To an extent, this critique issues in an anarchistic revolt against reason, equivalated with rule ('post-modernity') and itself issuing in the attempt to reach totality and immediacy. Feminism sharpens the problem to the antithesis between matriarchal myth and patriarchal reason (following Bachofen). Here as elsewhere, myth becomes an instrument for certain political interests. A further important tendency in current discussion is the stronger attention to anthropological and paleontological findings, and a regard directed toward other cultures. Anthropologists point out that the determination of myth in terms of the relation of tension between logos and mythos should be surrendered, in order that the profound difference between oral and writing cultures may lie open to description. The danger in concentration on the *written* fixing of myth consists in the dissolution of myth from its social and cultural environment. Myths of a given society can be meaningfully interpreted only *contextually.*

Return of Myth in Religion

b) The 'savage thinking' (*pensée sauvage*, Lévi-Strauss) of descriptive anthropology becomes the leading science for other sciences as well—astonishingly, in the case of large parts of today's theology, which is once more entering upon a study of myth. These attempts of the new theology at a rehabilitation of myth (as seen at the Sixth International Congress of Theologians, Vienna, 1987) are especially astonishing in view of the fact that, three decades before, with his reduction of theology to philosophy and hermeneutics, Rudolf Bultmann had broken with a tradition that—since the end of the eighteenth century—following Heyne, had systematically applied a rhetorical analysis of myth to the exegesis of the Hebrew Bible and, shortly thereafter, of the New Testament. Bultmann's program of 'demythologization' was only the negative side of his existentialist interpretation of the Bible. The goal of this interpretation was Jesus's 'kerygma,' his preaching, and not his miracles. Bultmann's leading science was (explanatory) natural science. Today, exposition with commentary, exegesis, has become narrative, and embraces Hebrew Bible and New Testament alike.

Unmanaged Myth

c) The meaning of myth for life—the function of myths in the present—is still broadly unexplained today. Kolakowski has made the first allusions to this serviceability of myth for life. His concern was the integration, into a comprehensive outline of the world, of the non-rational grounds controlling our activity, as these grounds manifest their urgency in the problem of death and love. It is a matter of the transformation of the coincidental (contingency) into something necessary for our biography. Our highly disenchanted, reified, rational life is ruled by mythical structures that only have other names. Does the 'rationality' of myth not contain certain essential elements that can be replaced only imperfectly, if at all, with the idea of an interpretation of the world through the sciences? Are these essential elements concealed, for example, in → art?

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→ *Collective Representations, Fairytale, New Myths/New Mythologies, Reception, Religion*

Christoph Jamme

Name(s)

Definition

The expression *name* indicates a certain category of words that serve to designate persons and groups (peoples, classifications of peoples, families), localities (countries, places, mountains, rivers), things (animals, plants, stars, days of the weak, months and seasons, institutions, colors) and events (Waterloo, Bethlehem) in their individuality and singularity. Proper names (*nomen proprium*) refer to individual objects. This distinguishes them from appellatives (and: classifications, *nomen appellativum*), which denote an entire kind ('angels,' 'devils'). A distinction can be made between given name and surname—the epithet usually has a concretizing function—and, on a borderline between proper name and appellative, 'titulature' (designations of profession, rank, or function). *Names* behave as do other linguistic signs, although they are of course far less subject to historical developments. Their etymological opacity frequently immunizes them, partially or wholly, from the processes of linguistic alteration, so that their development is halted—especially in the case of names of gods. Not infrequently, this makes them valuable witnesses of earlier conditions and states. Their function as names, meanwhile, remains untouched, as long as they continue to be the vehicles of the identification of objects to be named.

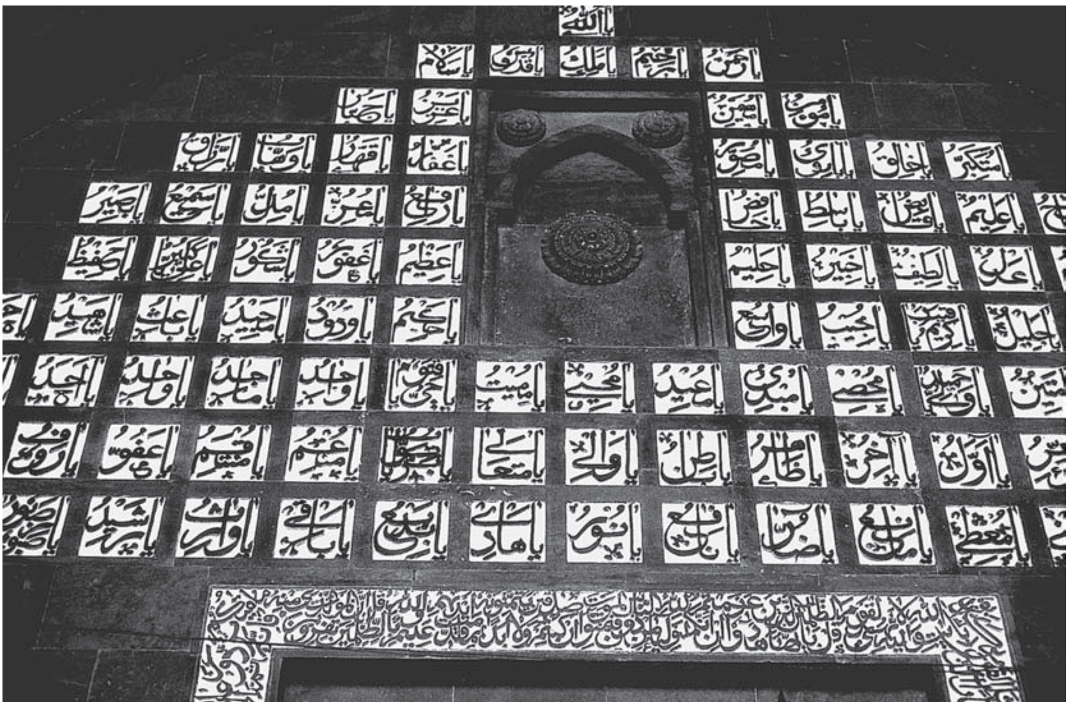
Names of Gods

(Proper) names include personal names, which are split into professional or given names and surnames or family names, and under these, again, *divine names*, form a special category. Second only to the graphic representation, the latter are the essential point of references for traditional notions of the gods, and therefore play an immensely important role in the area of religion. Of course, in 'aniconic' ('pictureless') cults, they acquire special importance. To address the intended god, in the rituals of these cults, requires the most precise designation possible, along with appertaining epithets. The intended

perfect ascription of as many functions as possible is one of the bases of divine polynymity, which pierces the principle of relation to a single object. In prayers and hymnic formulas, it can be left entirely to the discretion of the deity invoked to choose its own favorite name from amongst the multiplicity of denominations proposed.

Names in Magic and Charms

Names enable users of a language to produce a special relationship to a non-speaking reality. These persons largely organize their immediate environment by way of names that capture persons and (in the broadest sense) things. In the linguistic area, then, lie the presuppositions for interpreting the structure and course of the environmental event as social relationships, and for differentiating the originally undifferentiated extra-social environment into quasi-personal units (Gladigow 1975). This potential bestows a special quality on the 'denominability' of things: by the use of names, a person can 'handle' even inanimate objects on the model of their relationship to human beings. Thus, the connection of human beings to their environment is beset with the same risks as 'ordinary' social relationships (disturbed communication, unreachable correspondent, his or her hostility, and so on). Attempts to limit, or even to exclude, such uncertainties often avail themselves of the name. That it fully represent the person named, that identity be produced and guaranteed, is the basis for *name sorcery* and *name* → *magic*. The one who knows the name can seize and summon the one who bears it. The vocal realization of the name generally guarantees the presence of the one who is absent, and this means power of disposition—origin of the techniques of antiquity and modernity alike. Of course, using the techniques of magical actions require the most exact knowledge possible of all of the names of the



The windows of a mosque in Srinagar, in Kashmir, carry ninety-nine names of Allah. Monotheism is a basic principle of Islam, but a tradition of ninety-nine 'most beautiful' names has formed, whose hundredth is regarded as undisclosed. Theological bases are suras 7:180, 17:110, and 20:8, which aver: "He has the most beautiful names of all." Not all of them are taken directly from the Qur'an, so that traditions differ minimally. Knowledge of the ninety-nine names is looked upon as very

target object. Such instrumental application of the name entails strategies of keeping it secret (→ Secrecy). The 'right' name may be known to but a few, or someone or something may have no name. If the pronunciation of a name is necessary, yet the apparition of the bearer of the name thereby accomplished is nevertheless not intended, the application of certain epithets, or a paraphrase instead of the name, is indicated. In positively applied predications ('euphemisms') are not only an avoidance of the name, it is true, but also options for a turn to the benevolent, facilitating. But on the other side, any (intentional) falsification can be regarded as an attack on the person, and thus can lead to hostile reactions on the part of the bearer of the name.

When the name fully represents the particular person named, she or he becomes the object of interpretations (histories of origin—etiologies—etymologies), to be 'explained' in terms of essential characteristics of the one named. At the same time, this interpretive effort can again present an attempt to overcome the arbitrary nature of the relation between names and the named. Applied to divine names, this procedure leads not infrequently to theological (in the sense of appertaining to the one, sole, received religion) pronouncements pertaining to or revealing the true essence of a god. Abstractions of the names of God are sufficient for the demand for linguistic transparency: shady or purposely shaded names, such as Demeter, Poseidon, Janus, and—from the Indo-Iranian area—Vishnu and Yima correspond to Dike ('Justice'), Eros ('Love'), Fortuna ('Luck'), Sri Laksmi ('Luck'), and Ahura Mazda ('Wisdom').

3. Name and name-bearer (the object named) are bound by an altogether close tie, of a sort that, without their names, things possess no existence—simply *are not*. This relationship holds especially for personal names. Thus, human beings ordinarily have a name only when they are a person. Profound alterations in the characteristics of a person, then, are ordinarily accompanied by a *change of name*. Initiation, marriage, death, reception into cultic groups, accession to an office, are the principal occasions for discarding the old name and adopting a new one. On the other side, loss of status as a person can entail the loss of (the right to) a name. In Rome, the name of the person executed for high treason was blotted out of all public and private records (*damnatio memoriae*), and the person that committed suicide was buried in an unmarked grave. But the highly placed person can be nameless in internal social relationships: for example, the husband was not addressed by name by his wife, of the master by his servant, or the ruler by his subjects.[1] Such hierarchies are also frequently grounds for divine namelessness: Judaism did not dare even to pronounce the name YHWH. However, namelessness can also be an extreme form of the name taboo—Indian Rudra, a terrible form of Shiva, is only designated as 'that God'—or can have its cause in an exclusive relationship between God and venerators. (Numerous examples of 'nameless Gods' are produced by mystery and chthonic cults, and even the one God of monotheistic systems is nameless.)[2] On the other hand, theory of culture repeatedly argued that namelessness can also mean 'pre-culture' or 'non-culture.'

important. Their recitation is of key importance for meditation with the *subha* (a prayer cord similar to the rosary, with ninety-nine beads), and especially in the *dikr* (trance ceremonies) of many orders of dervishes (→ Sufism). The theological branch of the *Waḥḥabīya* (→ Mecca), on the other hand, rejects the teaching of the names of God as heretical innovation. (Agnes Imhof)

Choice of Name

4. The conceptualization of the experience of identity depending somehow on the correlation of name and named raises the choice of a personal name to the status of an extraordinarily important matter. In some cultures the point in time and the procedure for the ritual conferral of a name are exactly determined. The former usually lies at the end of the phase of the 'uncleanness'

caused by the birth, which in the Indo-Germanic area could last nine (full) days (whence the name *dies lustricus*, 'day of purification,' for the day on which the name is conferred). And, naturally, the name itself is the object of multiple interventions: wealth and success should be promised by it, and woe repelled; it should not only identify, but also (or especially) characterize—desired qualities are bestowed, relations to exemplars and norms of social value are produced. However, the choice of a forename is also powerfully determined by the currents of time. Each group has its vogue—Germanic, biblical, French, or American names. Since early medieval times, the forename has been bestowed in conjunction with baptism, and it has customarily been the name of a saint—a usage that has been preserved from the sixteenth century to the present in the bestowal of two (or more) forenames. It was this religious meaning of the naming that was the basis, until the most recent past, in strict Christian families, of celebrating the birth of the child on the saint's name day rather than on the child's birthday, the latter being regarded as a pagan usage and approved by the Church only in the fifth century.

The circumstance that names can be ordered to determinate languages, and thereby to determinate 'traditions,' can in certain contexts lead to the stigmatization, discrimination, and wholesale exclusion of their bearers, for example when members of minorities are recognizable and identifiable by their environment merely on the basis of their names (e.g, Jewish citizens in the "Third Reich" or foreigners). Here as well, by way of a name change, for instance by marriage, or through the surrender of the original name, a new identity (as it were) can be acquired (cf. parag. 3).

1. Hirzel, Rudolf, Der Name. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte im Altertum und besonders bei den Griechen, Leipzig 1918, 26f.
2. Cf. Graf 1996, 1827–1829.

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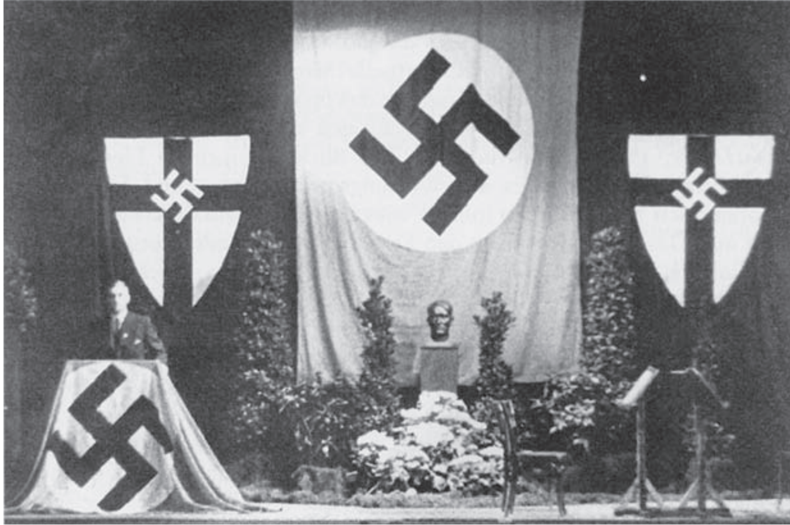
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→ *Family/Kinship/Genealogy, God/Gods/The Sacred, Initiation, Kabbalah, Magic, Socialization /Upbringing*

Thomas Oberlies

National Socialism

1. It is a characteristic of the modern age to have separated, ever since the Enlightenment, the political sphere from the religious (→ Secularization). Laicistic state entities justify their rule by reasonable laws and free elections,



Not coincidentally, this National Socialist Celebration Room (Gelsenkirchen, Germany) resembles the interior of a church. As in a cathedral, the setting is intended to stimulate absorption and contemplation, the interior decoration the mood for meditation. The clear confrontation of community and symbol is supposed to correspond to a 'racial configuration.' The principle of the 'Führer' is to be applied in architecture, as well. The result for National Socialist dramaturges was a drive toward a central perspective, and axial symmetry. Busts of Hitler symbolized the significance of the 'Führer' for salvation history. Many persuaded National Socialists even had 'little Hitler altars' in their dwellings, replacing the Christian 'God's little corner.'

not by the divine right of the powers. At the same time, however, politics in the age of mass societies has appealed to a new legitimatization, with the help of which it has expressed → collective representation and identities that were often religious in tone. Several political systems with a total claim on the enlightenment of the world and of human existence, as well as to the unconditional sacrificial readiness of the belief of their followers, thus demonstrate numerous similarities to religious systems, that they are also designated as → political religions. Besides the Communist → veneration of persons, it is especially National Socialism that ranks as such a soteriology, or doctrine of salvation.

National Socialism as Political Religion

2. The ideology and governmental practice of the National Socialist regime was described as 'political religion' even by its contemporaries.[1] Distanced regard from abroad was struck by the numerous correspondences that this political movement had with traditional religions. The common basis of such observations was a transformed concept of religion, in terms of which it was no longer the individual experience that mainly mattered, but the social dimension, and therewith the ritual side of the sacred (Émile Durkheim, Max Weber), which had rediscovered the terrible and fascinating, irrational moment of religious experience (Rudolf Otto, *Das Heilige*, Ger., "The [Idea of the] Holy"; 1917; → Holy). However, National Socialism demonstrated religious traits not only with respect to formal elements, such as rituals and symbols, or operative mechanisms and functions, but also with reference to its content. This content especially concerned the myth of redemption and salvation that was developed vis-à-vis the 'Führer' during the 'Third Reich.'[2]

Is National Socialism Indeed a Religion?

For an appraisal of whether and to what extent National Socialism understood itself, and sought to be understood, as a religion, it is especially the speech and behavior of the leading politicians that are normative. This evidence was very contradictory, however. Hitler, like Goebbels, described the National Socialist movement in religious categories, in both public and

private enunciations. They refrained, however—presumably out of tactical considerations—from officially approaching it as a profession of faith, and thereby setting it in competition with the two official churches. But in contrast with the official designation stood the unmistakable religious practice of the regime. And this ought to be kept in mind in any judgment as to whether National Socialism is a religion, since the true intentions of those in command are difficult to determine.

a) In order to make this judgment—even independently of the self-image of the leaders—a clear definition is in order as to what is to be understood by a religious system or political religion. Anything but agreement prevails in the area of research. Accordingly, National Socialism is variously designated in this respect. The spectrum of appraisals extends from 'anti-religion,' 'substitute religion,' and 'pseudo-religion' to political, national, or secular religion. In any determination in this respect, it will be crucial to understand whether a given author understands only those systems as religious that are commonly designated as 'high religions,' such as Christianity, Islam, or Hinduism. After all, it is easy to see that National Socialism—despite all borrowings—was not a component of the Christian religion. It only made use of Christian language, rites, and symbols, and was in competition with the official churches, whose destruction was anticipated in the long run. From the churches' viewpoint, National Socialism can be appositely described as an anti- or non-religion, and thus as part of the secularization process.

Beyond question, however, the parallels of the Nazi regime with a religious system are striking. Among the characteristics of a religion is a doctrine of belief confessed by a community, and expressed by it in devotional practice. It is concerned to express contingent experiences in terms of divine intervention, and history as salvation history. A faith community often complements the celebration of its ceremonies with architecture (→ Architecture [Sacred]), and embellishes it with the symbols of its belief (→ Symbol/Sign/Gesture). All of these elements can be shown for National Socialism.

Faith Longings and Salvation History

b) On countless Nazi Party occasions, it was 'faith in Germany' and the 'resurrection of the Reich' that were solemnly confirmed. Party pronouncements contained proclamations, community confessional formulae, acts of consecration, and prayers, whose liturgical formulations allowed no doubt as to the intent of religious and metaphysical meaning. In Hitler's political understanding, as well, *faith* played the key role. He understood his party as a faith movement that, unlike the interest of the labor movements, would satisfy the yearnings for belief of the uprooted masses. Numerous followers underwent a conversion experience, subsequently offering their 'Führer' the tribute of a faith conviction that they otherwise would accord to a religious messiah. His rhetoric was characterized by an unambiguously religious tinge, as in the following speech of May 1, 1935: "My will . . . is your faith. My faith, to me—just as it is to you—is everything in this world. But God's highest gift to me in this world is my people! In you rests my faith. You I serve with my will, and I give you my life! This is our common profession."[3]

As content of this doctrine of faith, a new *salvation history* was proclaimed: the resurrection of the Reich by the effort and spirit of a small, heroic, elite. The underlying sacralization of the state, and the interpretation of a soldierly death, as a fruitful sacrifice, had become patriotic common property even before 1914. The National Socialists appealed to this established interpretation, and claimed it for their own followers, who had

lost their lives in the attempted coups or election struggles of the 1920s. They became 'blood witnesses of the movement,' and 'martyrs for the Third Reich.' It was especially Josef Goebbels (1897–1945) who, as head of *Reichspropaganda*, strove to invest the slain Party members with a status that had been constructed after the example of the life and death of Jesus. He actually used Bible quotations word for word. For example, in the military paper *Der Angriff* (Ger., "The Assault"), he wrote, about deceased SA-leader Horst Wessel: "A Christian and a Socialist! One who cried out, by his deeds, 'Come to me, I will redeem you!' . . . There is something divine at work in [Wessel], that makes him to be and act thus, and no differently. Someone must become an example, and offer himself in sacrifice! . . . He has drunk the cup of sorrows to the dregs. This suffering I drink to my Fatherland! Lift him once more, the dead man, and show him to all the people. And call, and call: 'See what a man'!"[4]

This messianic movement has a racist core. The 'deification of the Aryan' functions only through its pendant, the demonization of the Jews. The hostile image of 'the Jews,' drawn from religion, attributes to them the principle of evil—decomposition, destruction, and debacle. To the Aryan, on the other hand, is ascribed the divine principle of the creative and the good. In his book *Mein Kampf* (Ger., "My Struggle"; 1924/25), Hitler had described 'the Aryan' as 'light of the world,' and 'likeness of the Lord,' and assigned him the task in salvation history to redeem the world from evil in the form of the Jew.[5] The struggle with the Jew is the 'work of the Lord'; a mixture of the → races, on the other hand, is simply Original Sin as, in the long run, it threatens the fall of humanity. However, in view of this apocalyptic situation of crisis, he has sent the chosen people, the Germans, a savior, to avert the blend of blood that skulks. In the eschatological, final struggle, he will convey the world to an ideal condition. Only victory over the Antichrist—identical with the annihilation of Judaism—makes possible the creation of a new Reich that will last a thousand years, as we know from the prophecy.[6] This secular conceptualization of history as salvation history radicalized Christian apocalyptic. It was no longer from God that believers expected redemption. They initiated it themselves, by slaying the Antichrist. In this concept of a struggle of life and death, the victory of the 'Aryan' and the annihilation of the Jews amounted to the same thing. Hitler saw his historical mission in rendering real this mythical world-image. The war had occasioned the necessary premise, the external conditions for genocide (→ Shoah).

Rites and Cults

c) The formal profile of the National Socialist rites was not overly inventive. It went back to old, established traditions, to which new meanings were ascribed. Thus, those in charge availed themselves, without let or hindrance, of the received ceremony of the workers' movement, the youth movement, the middle class, and the military. With like unscrupulosity, ceremonies were borrowed from the Christian churches. Immediately after seizing power, the regime established its own *festal calendar*, comparable to that of the ecclesiastical year. The National Socialist year featured, in order, the "Day of the Seizure of Power" (May 30), the "Day of the Proclamation of the Party Program" (February 24), "Heroes' Memorial Day" (March 16), the Birthday of the Führer (April 20), National Labor Day (May 1), Mothers' Day in the same month, the Summer Solstice (June 21), the Reich Party Day in September, Harvest Thanksgiving in October, and, finally, the Day of the Martyrs of the Movement (November 9). The movement also sought eventually to

Festal Calendar

assimilate the high church days: Easter and Christmas were to be celebrated as the Germans' popular or folk festivals, and Pentecost as "High May." Thus, no month passed without a great festal event. Some of these feast days were referred to stations within National Socialist 'salvation history.' On these days, on dates distributed throughout the year, the heroic founding myth of the Third Reich was ritually staged. Its 'salvific events' extended from the 'birth of National Socialism' in the graves of the First World War (Heroes' Memorial Day), to the 'salvation proclamation' (of the Party program), to the mysterious 'sacrifice' of the sixteen 'blood witnesses' of the failed putsch attempt of 1923, which was seen as finally leading to the 'resurrection of the Reich' on the day of the seizing of power.

The Cultic Image

d) This succession of feasts alone makes it clear how earnestly the National Socialist ideology addressed a part of the Western religious heritage: the question of meaning in human suffering and death (→ Suffering; Theodicy). After the First World War, with its experience of suffering and death many millionfold, this question had become an urgent social problem. The churches, in times of increasing secularization, seemed no longer able to solve it. Consequently, in the postwar years, numerous groups arose that offered a spiritual answer to this question of meaning. Their spectrum ranged from popular and neo-pagan faith communities, to the 'inflation saints' (U. Linse)—bearded, wandering preachers traversing the land. Sects like these seized hold of the war generation's strong inclination to found secular communities that would attempt to rescue the myths of the trenches and inject them into daily life, and thus to make a contribution to the nation's mystical regeneration. In order to distinguish himself from these sectarians, Hitler, as late as 1938, publicly denied the cultic character of National Socialist events. His polemics, however—both against popular 'backwardness,' with its predilection for mysticism, the occult, and the Teutonic, and against the churches—were limited to the naming of those events, changing nothing of the cultic praxis. Rather, National Socialist propagandists laid great emphasis on the rediscovered connection between celebration and cultic actions. Now they inserted 'acts of commitment,' such as the dedication of flags and banners, into political celebrations and formulae. Constant repetition would anchor them as permanent rites, and in this manner "solemn forms of a liturgical character would develop whose effectiveness and value would then extend over centuries."[7] The National Socialist celebratory style was to correspond to the religious sensibility of the Nordic, Teutonic person, and yet, at the same time, avoid anything dusty or antiquarian.[8]

Aesthetics of Cult

e) The ceremonies of the Nazi cult that staged the heroic myth of salvation were celebrated in symbolically charged surroundings. The festal places and celebratory spaces established to this end visually and aesthetically underscored the rituals. Their symbolical arrangement of space was to 'sensualize' the enunciations of the myth and enhance the solemnity of the proclamations. With this architectural conception, the modern emancipation of art from a cultic connection would be at least partially rescinded. Hitler demanded programmatically that "the architectural creations [of the 'Third Reich'] project throughout future millennia, like the cathedrals of our past."[9] On feast days, the architecture was additionally decorated with flags, drapery, Eagles, and Swastikas or Rune symbols. Pylons and burning lamps filled the streets, and indicated 'sacred spaces' within the city. Alongside the visual

elements of celebration, the musical framing of the events played an essential role. Fanfares marked the beginning and end of a solemn hour; drum rolls dramatized the highpoint with flag rites and honor paid to the dead. Marching music did justice to the military nature of the event. Community singing was intended to make participants of the people. A profession of faith, concert music, and dramas in song served cultural needs. Beethoven formed the content of solemn, heroic music on such occasions. The National Socialist style of celebration was a commingling of various traditions. Besides solemn Christian and civil traditions, it was especially the workers' movement, with its flags and protest marches, that afforded examples of how public space could be filled meaningfully, and how experiences of community could be generated. With the elaborate festal decoration, Teutonic symbols, and a reduced classicism were applied, with their orientation toward the antiquity of the Roman Empire, and prioritizing triumphant military symbols (standards, triumphal marches). These older configurations were combined with the insertion of the most modern means of communication and technical refinements. Overall, the result was a Nazi liturgy that was not unitary but depended partly on the inclinations of the Nazi politician who happened to be in charge. The intent of the major events planned under Goebbels' directorship was to overwhelm a modern big-city audience, whereas the 'celebrations of life' of Alfred Rosenberg and Heinrich Himmler long excluded church influences, and sought to introduce Teutonic folk customs styled 'ancient' instead, in a circle like that of an extended family. These usages were first and foremost aimed at the country population or the SS community, and rarely emerged from the uncultured and kitschy folklore.

Christianity and National Socialism

f) In one perspective, the National Socialists, with their state cult, stood in competition with the established religious system of Christianity. At the same time, they endeavored to utilize it for their own ends. Thus, within the Evangelical Church they fostered a movement that called itself *German Christians*, whose orientation was to folk ideology, and who strove for an inter-confessional German national church. Unified by the National Socialist idea of 'positive Christianity' as its lowest common denominator, this movement at first found great positive response even among ministers. In 1933, a Nazi-controlled National Synod chose Hitler's trusted lieutenant Ludwig Müller as 'Reich Bishop.' In 1934, against this development, under the leadership of the "Ministers' Emergency Union," a "Confessing Church" appeared, that, even by persecution and repressive sorties, the regime was unable to destroy.

As contradistinguished from this politicization of a church already present—which likewise occurred in the Third Reich with areas of folk religion—a political religion indeed frequently adopted an orientation to such systems of belief as were already at hand, but without identifying with them and their institutions. Instead, the Nazi regime expressly emphasized separation of church and state, and this precisely in connection with public solemnities. This stance was not contrary to an adoption of Christian rituals and symbols. The latter offered the advantage of their trustworthiness in the eyes of participants, who were mostly of a Christian heritage, as well as the advantage of accouterment with the worth of tradition. Furthermore, the union of (Protestant) church and secular power enjoyed a long tradition in Germany. The concordat concluded in 1933 with the Catholic Church left no doubt in the eyes of the faithful as to the lawfulness of the new government. Thus, no

critical distance was taken from the religious practices of the Nazi regime, either from the side of the official churches, or on the level of the church people. Owing to the problem of the confessional split in Germany, the population was especially open to the National Socialist proposal of a new national unity likewise based on religion, a proposal whose content was so diffuse in content as to seem to either unify the confessions or transcend their differences. To contemporaries without deep confessional ties, National Socialism rituals offered the opportunity of expressing religious sentiment, experiencing the comfort of a community, and accepting the offer of meaning for their lives. This made up a great part of the power of attraction of the Nazi system.

Sacralization of Politics in Comparison: Fascism

3. Many scholars conceive the sacralization of politics as a trait of various political systems of the twentieth century, including especially the *Socialism* of the former Soviet Union. Emilio Gentile determines/designates Italian Fascism as “the first political movement [. . .] to present itself as a religion.”[10] However, this interpretation is not uncontested. In view of the uninterrupted presence and importance of the Catholic Church in Italy, the unifying force and extent of Fascist rituals must be relativized. It is striking that Mussolini often used religious metaphors and liturgical language; however, a compromise with the Church was necessary in order to govern Italy (1929 concordat, with the symbolical building of the Via della Conciliazione to the Vatican), and this prevented an independent Fascist repertoire of forms from developing adequately. Fascism was still dependent on the participation of ecclesiastical dignitaries and the blessing of the official Church. It was different in the ‘Third Reich,’ as well as in the state cult of the Soviet Union.

The Scholarly Discussion

4. The perception and interpretation of *National Socialism as a religious system* by no means meet with unanimous agreement in scholarship.

a) Scholars who reject the concept of religion in connection with National Socialism stress that biblical language and religious propositions “were severed from their original meaning-connection, in National Socialist cult, and were introduced into a new, but constructed and artificial one,” with the result that its properly religious character was lost.[11] Hermann Lübbe claims that National Socialism only has the apparent quality of the religious. On the surface, the National Socialist system does unambiguously exhibit religious traits, Lübbe admits. However, totalitarian regimes confront this similarity to religion and church with their manifest hostility to the Church. They have gotten into, or have found themselves in, a situation of competition with religions as to claim and legitimization. And the churches had come to feel that the Christian religion was to be displaced by an anti-religion.[12] Over against phenomenological similarities with established religions, critics point out the claim of so many political religions to be based on science—thus, on “scientific materialism and Marxist theory, or on race theories as part of modern biology. They share an aversion from traditional religion flowing from a rationalistic or scientific tradition,” and consequently belonged to the secularization process.[13]

b) Claus-Ekkehard Bärsch has indicated that a classification of National Socialism as a ‘pseudo-’ or ‘substitute religion’ offends scholars of Christian tradition especially, because it seems to them that the ascription of religious qualities to National Socialism would seem to imply a positive appraisal, if not indeed a justification, of the Nazi system, or else—in the other direction, possibly a devaluation of their own religion.[14] But here, according to

Bärsch, critics overlook the fact that denying National Socialism the quality of religion runs the risk of ignoring its function of bestowal of meaning, and hence of failing to offer an adequate explanation of its power of attraction. More recent studies in history or religious studies have therefore attempted to develop the religious dimension of National Socialism in respect of distinct aspects (C.-E. Bärsch, Y. Karow, S. Behrenbeck). These demonstrate that National Socialism succeeded in satisfying the religious needs of its followers: its myths, rites, and symbols fulfilled the same conditions and functions, and had a comparable quality of feeling and experience to those of a traditional religion. Correctly, then, National Socialism is interpreted in the categories of religious studies, as it exhibits similarities of phenomena, content, and function. For the most part, to be sure, the faithful, like the founders, recognized the religious meaning and mechanics of the National Socialist hero-cult only unconsciously, and without reflection. Accordingly, the Nazi ideology is to be designated an 'implicit religion' (J. Waardenburg). The concept of the secular[15] or 'political religion' points to the twin makeup of a similar symbolical system: its myths, rituals, and signs hold a secular and political, as well as a religious and metaphysical, meaning-content. They promise the fulfillment of a human yearning for salvation, completeness, and redemption, and at the same time are introduced as instruments of a political practice of legitimization and government. This arrangement in no way excludes personal faith and belief on the part of those who govern. As beneficiaries of the exploitation of religious needs, they may even share them. Thus they become all the more credible. Their interest in religious forms and content, however, is of a political, not of a theological nature. The concept, 'political religion,' therefore brings to fitting expression the historical condition of National Socialist government.

1. Schoeps, Hans Joachim, Jüdischer Glaube in unserer Zeit. Prolegomena zur Grundlegung einer systematischen Theologie des Judentums, Berlin 1932; cf. Lease, Gary, "Nationalsozialismus und Religion. Eine Mythologie unserer Zeit," in: Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 40,2 (1988), 97-111; Voegelin, Eric, Die politischen Religionen, Vienna 1938 (reprinted Munich 1993); de Rougemont, Denis, Journal aus Deutschland 1935–1936, Vienna 1998.

2. Cf., as immediate testimonial of the time: Guardini, Romano, Der Heilsbringer in Mythos, Offenbarung, und Politik, Stuttgart 1940.

3. Domarus 1965, 503; for religious rhetoric, see Cancik 1980.

4. Goebbels, in: Der Angriff 6 (March 1930).

5. Hitler, Mein Kampf, 3rd ed., 1933, 431; 70.

6. Cf., in detail, Cohn, Norman, The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages, New York 1985 ([1]1957); Rhodes, James M., The Hitler Movement: A Modern Millenarian Revolution, Stanford 1980; on the connection between redemption and annihilation and the magical parts of political religion, cf. Bärsch 1987, 282ff.

7. Basic directives for staging a celebration can be found in: Vorschläge der Propagandaleitung für nationalsozialistische Feiergestaltung, Sept. 1935, 1/16.

8. Dürr, Dagobert, "Die Lage," in: Unser Wille und Weg. Die parteiamtliche Propagandaschrift für die politischen Leiter der NSDAP, Dec. 1935, 399.

9. Hitler at the Reichsparteitag, Sept. 7, 1937, cited in Domarus 1965, 719.

10. Gentile, Emilio, "Der Liktorenkult," in: Petersen, Jens et al. (eds.), Faschismus und Faschismen im Vergleich, Vierow 1998, 247-261, p. 247.

11. Müller, Hans, "Der pseudoreligiöse Charakter der nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung," in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 12 (1961), 337-352, p. 342.

12. Lübbe 1995, 10ff.

13. Linz 1996, 131; Voegelin 1938 (1993, see note 1), 6f. sees the claim to scholarship, it is true, as a typical note of modern political religions, since it alone is the secularization of the soil on which these religious movements have sprouted and grown up.
14. Bärsch 1987, 282; similarly in Cancik 1980, 17.
15. Raymond Aron coined the concept 'secular religion' in 1944. Cf. Bédarida, François, "Nationalsozialistische Verkündigung und säkulare Religion," in: Ley/Schoeps 1997, 153-167.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Apocalypse, Civil Religion, Collective Representations, Conflict/Violence, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Hero/Heroism, Paganism/Neopaganism, Political Religion, Race/Racism, Reception, Secularization, Suffering, Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Theodicy, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Sabine Behrenbeck

Nativism

The concept of 'Nativism' (from Eng., 'native,' 'inborn' in the sense of 'one's own') denotes those religious movements that draw their justification from

their own tradition and expressly appeal to it. This tradition can be imaginary. Nativistic currents arise mostly in a situation of colonial oppression, and can also be regarded as a reaction on the part of the colonized to structural, open → violence. The birth of a consciousness of inequality, and the feeling of an existential threat from without, can lead to a conscious and organized counterthrust to this process. Select aspects of one's own culture are then 'revitalized,' or an attempt is made to eternalize the present. Connected with this is the hope of attaining salvation (at least partially) by the elimination of the new cultural content and return to the old. Elements of one's own tradition that distinguish oneself from other cultures have an especially high symbolical meaning for a society's self-esteem. The selection of the cultural characteristics regarded as worthy of retention is common to all nativistic movements. At the end of the nineteenth century, for example, the revival of ceremonial usages and actions had great importance in the Indians' dance of the spirits, while, at the same time, products of European origin were retained that seemed to be superior to the indigenous correspondences.

→ *Colonialism, Reception, South Sea/Australia*

Claudia Polzer

Natural Science

1. Natural science as a subject in a dictionary bearing on religion seems to combine leading concepts of *two divided 'cultures.'* In a framework of European history of religion, not only have 'religion' and 'science'—at first sight—developed in irreversible distinction from each other, but especially the natural sciences have postulated an object of knowledge and sketched a method that seemed to exclude 'religion' as a 'subject.' Indeed, when both fields undertook to speak on the same matters, their propositions seemed to exclude each other ('reciprocal exclusion'), or to 'remove,' to annihilate, the objects. Thus, it belongs to the common view of the relationship between natural sciences and religion, especially the Christian religion, that, at least since the end of the Enlightenment, both instances have found themselves in a 'cognitive competition of systems,'[1] a contest for a monopoly over knowledge: with the progress of a scientific clarification of the world, religion was deprived of one object after another. The demise of positive religion under the influence of science[2] was then only a question of time. That a contest of repression has always existed between science and religion is certainly not in doubt—the manifestations of this struggle have been worked out in many ways, and lie before our eyes. However, even if religion is limited to the cognitive element of 'knowing'—and this is a limitation that neglects the other functions—the parallel, complementary, and contrary developments should not be overlooked: distinct objects are withdrawn from the area of certain religions, but not from 'religion' across the board. This effort is not one to 'reenchant' the world—nor, contrariwise, to base the 'legitimacy of modernity' on religion—but to formulate an adequate definition of 'religion,' by which even the applied sciences will find themselves engaged.

God Orders the World: Before the 'Enlightenment'

2. With a very few exceptions, *before* the age of Enlightenment the science of the great thinkers was not a counter-instance to religion ('religion,' here, not necessarily meaning 'Christianity,' and surely not official ecclesiastical Christianity). Rather, for them, it was only through their scientific discoveries that the divine establishment of the world became visible, and, in given instances, these discoveries provided evidence for the *presence of the divine in the world.* Only in the framework of the Enlightenment did science adopt the condition of a contrary instance to religion. Almost simultaneously, the natural philosophy of Romanticism marked a counter-movement that then revived Neo-Platonic, Stoic, and Hermetic components of the Renaissance sciences and their religious contexts. Especially Schelling's speculative, Romantic philosophy of nature determined the framework within which the relationship between natural science and religion was seen in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Philosophy of nature (in German, *Naturphilosophie*), defined as the "eternal transformation of God" into the world, was undoubtedly the basis of the "demands for the future development of the sciences" by Carl Gustav Carus in his address to the first Convention of Scientists and Physicians (1822). Here, in all clarity, we have the reaction to the "transformation of natural science into a counter-instance of religion" (F. Tenbruck). In a framework of Romantic natural science, Galvanism and Mesmerism, magnetism and siderism, once more became coalesced in a speculative conglomerate, whose fragility finally seemed to decide the conflict between science and religion in favor of the former.

Materialism

3. In mid-century, with the 1854 '*struggle over materialism*' in the Society of German Researchers and Physicians, in which Vogt, Moleschott, Wagner, Ludwig Büchner, Robert Mayer, Virchow, and many others took part, Romantic science as a concept largely collapsed. True, many of their motivations and ideas can be followed up to the present, especially those that ascribe to nature a common and higher order, in sketches that resumed the pantheistic model in pure 'cosmic piety,' or saw the Gnostic dualism of 'spirit and matter' removed in a combination of nuclear physics and relativity theory.[3]

Nature as the 'developed God,' and, after the struggle over materialism and discussion on vitalism, Haeckel's postulate of a natural religion,[4] characterize a series of paradigms that deviate/decline through the positions of European history of religion, and not only of those determined by Christianity. The antitheses of Christian Aristotelianism and Hermetically tinged Neo-Platonism determine the patterns of argumentation and the schemata of plausibility. Thus, for instance, in the second half of the nineteenth century, holistic, monist, or hylozoist interpretations were represented in an appeal to a pre-dualistic phase of Greek philosophy and history of religion. The Pre-Socratics were 'discovered' under the perspective of a pre-dualistic era of European history of culture,[5] and offered patterns for the relation of life, or spirit, and matter.

Pantheism

Another concept, whose application in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries sought, in a new approach, to capture the relationship between religion and science in a positive way, is that of *pantheism.* The orientation of the concept, and its potential for a limitation of conflicts between established religions and scientific progress, by way of John Toland and Spinoza, overtly appeal to Stoic and Pre-Socratic cosmology and anthropology. Pantheism

(and nature mysticism as the apposite epistemology) is doubtless the religious concept, and rediscovered 'religious type,' that has yielded the dominant schema for scientists' self-interpretation over the last hundred years. "That conviction of reason, bound up with profound feeling"—Einstein summarizes his position—"that is revealed with the experiential world, forms my concept of God. So one can designate it, in the received manner of expression, as pantheistic (Spinoza)."[6]

Religious Claim of Natural Science

5. If we were to summarize the relationship between religion and science for the space of time from the Enlightenment to the present, we would observe contrary processes, that partly reinforce, and partly weaken each other. Such interferences are characteristic of European history of religion across the board.[7] On the one side, the sciences that differentiate themselves—even still, after the Enlightenment—have a religious frame of reference, and thus react in confirmation or criticism of 'religion.' On the other side, religion itself (the theologies included) is becoming the object of distinct sciences, including natural sciences. It is a special phenomenon of the most recent history of religion that popularized natural science, in the schema of popularizing science, itself creates religious patterns, viewpoints, world-images, that designate themselves as religious or religions. In this development, which, especially in the → New Age environment, is dramatically accelerating, a process "*becomes retroactive*" that one could characterize as a "combination of claim to explanation and renunciation of orientation"[8]—a combination that has entered the natural sciences since the Enlightenment. In the view of many 'new religions,' the most current scientific 'discoveries,' be they eons, morphogenetic fields, or rare attractors, are characterized by an 'orientation surplus' that cannot be decoded by professional science, but only by religion.

1. Tenbruck, F. H., "Wissenschaft und Religion," in: Wössner, Jacobus (ed.), Religion in Umbruch, Stuttgart 1972, 217-244.
2. Cf., e.g., Heer, Friedrich, Abschied von Himmeln und Höllen. Vom Ende des Religiösen Tertiär, Munich 1970.
3. Charon, Raymond, Der Geist der Materie, Frankfurt/M. 1982.
4. Haeckel, Ernst, Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte, Leipzig 1868, VIII.
5. Borsche, Tilman, "Nietzsches Erfindung der Vorsokratiker," in: Simon, Josef (ed.), Nietzsche und die philosophische Tradition, vol. 1, Würzburg 1985, 62-87.
6. Einstein, Albert, Mein Weltbild, Frankfurt/M. 1980, 18 ([1]1934; Engl. as: The World As I See It, London 1940).
7. On the patterns of interference, Tenbruck, Friedrich H., "Religion im Maelstrom der Reflexion," in: Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 1993, 31-67; and Gladigow, Burkhard, "Europäische Religionsgeschichte," in: Kippenberg, Hans G./ Luchesi, Brigitte (eds.), Lokale Religionsgeschichte, Marburg 1995, 21-42.
8. Lepenies, Wolf, "Wissenschaftskritik und Orientierungskrise," in Lübbe, H., et al. (eds.), Der Mensch als Orientierungswaise?, Freiburg 1982, 67-106.

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→ *Electricity, Enlightenment, Esotericism, European History of Religion, Nature, New Age, Pantheism, Science*

Burkhard Gladigow

Nature

State of the Problem

1. For the religious dimensions of the relationship between the human being and nature, between human beings and their environment, the seventeenth century offers the decisive reorientation that takes up ancient, medieval, and current positions of a Christian confessionalism. Sketching a religious history of nature also means addressing the question of how the concept of nature has been applied to the structuring of modern discourse on the human being, God, and the world. Modernity's concept of nature has become a preferred 'symbolic field' for discourse: and this field, reflected from a point of departure either in the human being (anthropocentrically) or in nature (physiocentrically), has been able to produce sketches for aesthetics, ethical norms, and finally, soteriology—not to mention the construction of certain premises 'in the name of nature.' The public experiments of the physico-theologians, the landscape gardens of a Pückler-Muskau, Alexander von Humboldt's 'nature monuments,' the canal constructions of the Saint-Simonians are elements of a many-membered, controversial discourse. And this discourse has been conducted in anything but a purely theoretical manner, or one unconcerned with praxis. Is the human being called to make nature 'better'? Or does an intervention in nature, such as the construction of a canal, irreversibly 'disturb' the divine order? Are the 'nature peoples,' defined as 'cultures with less control over nature,' actually the better forms of culture, the forms for which to strive? At the end of this process stands an eco-theology, the call to 'peace with nature,' or an eco-rigorism of the 'You are nothing, nature is everything' type.

Nature as Environment

2. Even apart from the Western discussion, determined by Christian theology, a decisive role is played by the alternatives between protection of the human being from nature, or protection of nature from the human being. The religio-historical prehistory of these alternatives is characterized by a cultural model that—such as in the framework of teachings on the appearance of culture on earth—counts the human being's defense against a

hostile nature as one of his and her enduring cultural achievements. The division of the area of the wilderness (and its gods), so hostile to life, from that of human habitation, was basic for Egyptian religion, and one of the key religious duties of the Pharaoh, somewhat as the royal hunt for lions and other wild beasts in the ancient East guaranteed the safety of 'rule' and 'state' against 'hostile nature.' An iconographical element of the presentation of rule and government is the pose adopted by the conqueror against the 'hostile powers of nature.' Contrariwise, the protection of natural areas from human encroachments—as it were, a religious forerunner of the protection of nature—is conducted under polytheistic premises. The killing of an animal is permissible only in the presence of ritual cautionary measures (the Meuli-Burkert thesis); the construction of a bridge demands sacrifices of reconciliation for the river gods, digging a canal may oppose the plan of Zeus (Herodotus 1, 174), in which case it may not be dug. Only in the framework of dualistic patterns, in which the world is set over against God, and at the same time deprived of its gods, interventions in nature become completely unproblematic, for *dominium terrae* (Lat., 'dominion over the earth') is only the fulfillment of a divine command: "Fill the earth and subdue it" (Gen 1:26-28). According to Lynn White's vigorously disputed thesis, this injunction, along with the accompanying de-sacralization of nature, are the point of departure of the modern 'ecological crisis.' The thesis of the medieval origin of the current crisis has led to the most diverse reactions—even in the theologies. Thus, J. Moltmann has appealed to the Jewish tradition that acknowledges the world as a part of God, *Gott in der Welt* (Ger., "God in the World"; 1985); or we may cite R. F. Nash's *The Greening of Religion*.

3. The Mediterranean anticipation of European history of religion at first prescribed Christianity an area of separation among the 'nature gods.' If areas of nature were ordered to certain gods, or if those gods demonstrated a particular interest, nature was invested with 'paganism.' In *Confessions*, 10, 6, → Augustine questions the earth, the sea, the beasts, and receives the reply, "We are not your god. Seek above us." As he poses the same question above them, to the winds and the entire region of the air, they answer, "Anaximenes errs. We are not God." A nature piety that could address parts of nature as gods was necessarily a subversive polytheism, which Christian monotheism could therefore not integrate. In this fashion, 'imprisonment by nature' remained the distinctive criterion of polytheism until the turn of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries: "The essence of polytheism . . . rests on the nature-prison of humanity's religious feeling and behavior, corrupted as they are by sin."[1] Stoic and Neo-Platonic patterns, which sought to decode an effect or reflection of the divine above divine nature and divine areas of nature, were much easier to receive. With John Scotus Eriugena (d. after 870) a nature mysticism colored by Neo-Platonism is a possible facet even of the Christian approach to nature.

Augustine

4. *Wilderness as 'hostile' nature.* In the relationship between the human being and nature, in the religious history of the modern concept of nature, untamed nature, as 'wilderness,' played a determining role all the way to the controversies of the seventeenth century. Dark, terrible, hostile—in a word, wild—nature seemed in disagreement with the picture of wise and caring creator God. Even in antiquity, this was the boundary of the concept of a *natura, quae omnia suppeditat* (Lat., 'nature that succors all things'),[2] helpful and nourishing nature, or the Stoic view of *prónoia* (Gk., 'providence') in *physis* (Gk., 'nature'), that supports the whole of the cosmos—and thus

Wilderness

presents an implicit theodicy of nature in terms of the sum of its parts. Early Christianity permitted itself to be bound to this tradition; after all, it could be connected with 'Old Testament love for nature,' against 'Marcionite hatred of nature' (F. Heiler;[3] for Marcion, → Canon). Although this view was extensively successful, there remained doubts, in the most varied contexts, through the centuries, as to nature as God's good creation. With the 'Copernican turn,' with the use of telescope and microscope, with the deliverance of experimentation from the antitheses of 'natural/artificial,' and an unforeseeable extension of the view of the world, the old problem of a theological evaluation of 'wilderness' or 'hostile nature' posed itself with new keenness. Especially, mountains, deserts, and the sea—that area, then, that is held today for the most precious, unspoiled elements of nature—were evaluated variously and ambivalently. Inescapably, not only religious patterns (in the strict sense) were determinative of this ambivalence, but in the measure that the governmentally organized territories offered security in their key areas, the 'nature areas' withdrew from state control and state-guaranteed protection. Mountains, seas, deserts, moors, forests, and snowy areas are not only wild and ugly, but, especially, dangerous. This is why, for a long time, they were not traversed or crossed 'voluntarily,' for their own sake, but only when compelled by trade, pilgrimage, a military operation, or the quest for God. Even Petrarch's ascent of Mount Ventoux, "in the year 1336," is less the "beginning of a new aesthetic curiosity about the world, and a sensory experience of nature" (H. R. Jauss), than it was the self-presentation and self-interpretation of a poet on the threshold of modernity.[4] They kept aware "that the nature described by him is beset with heathenism" (R. and D. Groh)[5]—and he uses this opportunity for new goals.

The 'Copernican Turn'

With the Reformation, the traditionally (although not exclusively) negative appraisal of savage nature (*natura lapsa*—Lat., 'fallen nature,' nature after the Fall) acquires a further theological framework. The wild is not originally part of the divine creation, but principally the outcome and symbol of human sinfulness— → Luther's position as opposed to Calvin's. In the development of Reformation concepts, especially in England, the world in its entirety comes to be seen as the result of the Fall, and is now described in the metaphors of disease and decay. Nature, undeveloped by human beings—mountains, swamps, raging rivers, and unbridgeable gorges—is the presence and expression of sin in the world, possibly even an indication of an impending Last Judgment. Thomas Burnet's (1657–1735) *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (Lat., "Sacred Theory of the Earth"; 1681)[6] unleashed an intensive discussion with his thesis of the 'natural' world as the 'ruins of Paradise,' which developed, in a framework of the somewhat later physico-theology, arguments "that found entry into the reception of the wilderness, and formed the cornerstone of the enthusiasm for nature of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."[7] It is true that the nature theologians generally placed in the foreground the utility of all parts of nature for the human being (with simultaneous emphasis on divine *providentia*, Lat., 'providence'). But they now extended their 'apologia for savage nature' to the aesthetic area, as well: God, whose wisdom the physico-theologians had sought to demonstrate from the works of nature, was now seen as the divine artist as well, whose works are lovely. With this slight shift in accent, a process was introduced through which nature itself moved more and more into the foreground, and its creator definitely into the background. A first step was taken toward the Romantic perception of nature.

Reformation

The Totality of Nature: the Human Being as Part of Nature

5. Critical observers of a rigoristic ecology that intends more than a 'museumization of monuments of nature,' have long since pointed out that it involves a program that can only be understood against a background of the history of Christianity. This connection was referred to by Lynn White as early as 1973, and this all the more impressively as he himself—in *The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis*, the "Lynn White thesis" cited above—had already identified the causes of our current ecological crisis in the medieval transposition of the creation texts of the Hebrew Bible. White sees a permanent way out of the initial religious errors only in the area of religion once more. Either one must separate oneself from the Judeo-Christian tradition, and turn to a new religious attitude and behavior, such as those of animism, or else one must interpret Genesis anew, and differently, and apply it accordingly. Each way can be followed in a different context. Currently, both exegetes and 'eco-theologians' have answered White: Heike Branka and Hedwig Lamberry-Zielinski (1995) have followed the 'double history of the effect' of the thesis of *dominium terrae*, and shown how White's thesis that is false with regard to its historical context—the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries—can have an intensive, and plausible, echo as to content due to the context of its publication. The other path proposed by White—choosing another religion—has (independently of his thesis and its reception) already been undertaken, since Romanticism at the latest. The attempt to revitalize polytheistic religions, or to import 'nature religions,' has appealed not only to the paradigmatic foreground of pluralism, but also to a renewed view of nature as filled with 'old' gods (→ Paganism/Neopaganism). For Schiller's 1788 poem, *Götter Griechenlands* (Ger., "Gods of Greece")—the visible, marked turning point of a new religious orientation—'de-divinized' nature, and the solitary Christian God, are the consequences of a monotheism that now, ultimately, can be 'taken back' only in poetry. With Schiller, the 'artist's polytheism' of the Renaissance wins a new face, now—in the eighteenth century—turned against the mechanistic contrivances of the new modern world. Here, simultaneously, a further, basic eighteenth-century conflict is recognizable, soteriologically comprised in terms of a choice, *natura versus scriptura*: while 'the pagans' are dependent on the gods who are near to nature, and on alteration in their cults, Christians live in the security of their scripture.[9] To solve this contradiction can be designated as one of the "dreams of the eighteenth century," a return to a world "untouched by the Mosaic distinction."[10] The ongoing, ambivalent appraisal of 'paganism' reflects the impossibility or the possibility of drafting a new paganism in the form of a 'new' polytheism, that lives in the tension of Mosaic monotheism. Polytheism as an alternative (not 'overcoming the alternatives') to monotheism, or the 'polytheism of a nearness to nature,' and their claims to truth, remain to this day the competing patterns of reception and option. Thus, one may address Greek Pan today as the god who undertook an environmental ethic far earlier[11] (were it not for the downfall of ancient polytheism)—or else one may propagate the value of ancient polytheism for a philosophy of nature in general.

Gods of Greece

From Environment to Milieu: Nature as a Governing State

6. Controversies addressed on the 'symbolic field' of nature are also unmistakably waged in a religious context of European history of religion. The alternatives of a *natura lapsa* (Lat., 'fallen nature') and an ecological physiocentrism have soteriological dimensions along their spectrum and positive conduit. Thus, by way of a religious history of nature, both the ruin-theory of

the world, and the postulate of a rescued world of the eco-system, can be historically drawn up against the 'many.' Then what is at issue is no longer only the correctness of the evidence applied in support of them but the meta-level of the religious images and models applied. If the pagan 'service of nature' so vilified in Christian dogmatics becomes a service to nature of high ecological esteem, then what are addressed thereby are especially European processes of an altered balance. In modernity, the concept of nature is the preferred vehicle not of those discourses that (like Luther) count on an impending world cataclysm, but of those producing balances that ultimately, after all, count on a continuation of the eco-system—although these latter discourses may waver with respect to its stability. Apocalyptical notations like those of the Club of Rome, or solemn oaths that the 'silent spring' is just in the offing, belong to the image of postponement (Derrida's *différance*), or operate with a 'maintenance imperative on the part of nature' that seems to be replacing Hegel's 'maintenance imperative on the part of the state.' If nature becomes the divine person (hypostasis) that must be rescued in its entirety, and thereby has priority over its parts ('deep ecology'), then those normative and directive processes are underway that are usually pressed with this acuity only by a religion-supported governmental state. It is not surprising, then, if a "nature state" (Meyer-Abich) should arise out of the modern social state as ideologically neutral in this respect, and as the prospective basis of a consensus—with an 'uprising on behalf of nature.' The substitution of a vulnerable anthropocentricism (without which, indeed, no soteriology emerges), by way of a physiocentricism,[12] harbors the danger of accompaniment by organizations of a theocratic spirit: the security is transferred to the whole, and a balance postponed to the End. Over against this prospect there still stands a multiply propagated 'nature ethic within the bounds of reason,'[13] which can bind pragmatics with tallying and balancing.

1. Zöckler, "Polytheismus," in Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Leipzig 1904, vol. 3A, 539.
2. Lucretius, De Rerum Natura 3, 23.
3. Heiler, F., Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion, Stuttgart 1961, 94.
4. Cf., in detail and with critical appraisal of the thesis of the turning point in the history of aesthetic experience of nature, Groh/Groh 1986, 17ff.
5. Loc. cit., 53.
6. London 1681; Part 2 1689; 1684 and 1690 a version in English: The Sacred Theory of the Earth.
7. Dirlinger 1997, 173.
8. Cf. Gladigow, Burkhard, "Polytheismus der Neuzeit," in: Köhler, B. (ed.), Religion und Wahrheit. Festschrift Gernot Wiessner, Bonn 1998, 45-59.
9. For this opposition and the eighteenth-century dream, cf. Assmann, J., "Heiden: der religiöse Unterschied," in: Merkur 558-559 (1995), 957-962.
10. Ibid., 961.
11. Hughes 1986, 7-24. On p. 22, the consideration: "What might have happened if Great Pan had not died? [. . .] It is quite possible that an explicit environmental ethics might have developed in the West much earlier than it actually did [. . .]."
12. Cf., with critical objections, Groh/Groh 1996, 137ff.
13. Loc. cit., 139, with ref. especially to Schäfer 1993.

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→ *Animal, Bioethics, Environmentalism, Forest/Tree, Garden/Paradise, God/Gods/The Sacred, Landscape, Mountains (Five Sacred), Natural Science, Nature Piety, Water*

Burkhard Gladigow

Nature Piety

Religion in Romanticism

1. Since Schleiermacher's new definition of religion as "contemplation and feeling of the universe," or as a "sense of and taste for the infinite," concepts arise that no longer seek to grasp religion only through the definitions of Christian theology—or through its attempted destruction at the hands of criticism of religion—but to ascribe it "its own province in the heart and soul" (Schleiermacher). With this new approach, possibilities open up for the injection of a romantic feeling for nature, the considerations of a 'new mythology,' and an ancient nature piety, into the current discourse on religion. In this tradition, religion is no longer the possibly imperfect result of the natural religion of reason, but is the contemplation of nature, in the broadest sense of the concept. While Hegel sees in nature religion a first step toward nature, by way of which the human being wins self-awareness, the nature mythology of the end of the nineteenth century once more appeals to the Romantic schema. In nature, especially in the great phenomena of nature, human beings are met by the 'infinite in the finite,' and in diverse fashions, they seek to grasp it in 'mythology.' Even after the collapse

of 'nature mythology' as a theory of religious studies, fragments remain; but now they are conveyed by Dilthey's pantheism tractates and Rudolf Otto's specific Schleiermacher reception.

Cosmic Spirituality

2. Subsequently, nature mysticism and cosmic spirituality, world piety and nature piety entered changing associations with one another, and shaped early forms of a new piety or spirituality. At the beginning of the twentieth century, R. M. Bucke developed the "cosmic consciousness" model, after the First World War Rudolf Otto constituted religion by way of numinous experience (devoid of context), in the 1930s, almost simultaneously, Mircea → Eliade and Albert Einstein propagated a 'cosmic piety' as a new religious aim and goal. Despite similar terminology, the religious programs of Eliade and Einstein lie far apart. For Einstein, a spirituality of scientific investigation, postulated by him in many ways, ought to issue in a cosmic spirituality (→ Natural Science). With Eliade, cosmic spirituality is the discharge of 'hierophanies' hostile to history. With the newly introduced concept of 'hierophany,' the self-showing, the self-exposure of something 'Holy,' Eliade introduces a kind of 'nature spirituality' into religious studies: the → Holy is shown especially in phenomena of nature—rocks, trees, mountains; spirituality of the 'archaic human being' is won back by way of these hierophanies. The goal of his understanding of religious studies, then, is a 'return to the origin'—which modern artists, who can no longer believe in the Judeo-Christian faith, have already accomplished—a return "to 'paganism,' to the cosmic hierophanies."

3. Eliade's resonance out beyond the academe lies in this program of a 'return,' of countercultural utopias, coupling cultural criticism with the imagination of a primordial naturalness, a proximity to nature interpreted in religious terms. 'Yearning for the origin' thus becomes the utopian, escapist motto of a concrete 'soteriology' that sees a possible ideal in a pre-Christian way of life. Without appealing to Eliade directly, current neo-pagan utopias have goals similar to his: a flight from history, a partial escape from industrial society, the reestablishment of a nature-nearness interpreted in religious terms—against the Christian polemics of an 'imprisonment by nature.' The plethora of guides for 'sacred power places,' introductions to 'magical journeys' by elves, and spiritual wanderings, translates this quest: instead of a quest for the beginnings, now people seek a 'layer of nature beneath culture.'

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→ *Environmentalism, Forest/Tree, Nature, Landscape, Mountains (Five Sacred), Paganism/Neopaganism, Pantheism, Place (Sacred), Romanticism, Wholeness/Holism*

Burkhard Gladigow

New Age

The Concept

The concept 'New Age' emerged during the 1970s and 1980s as a common term for a variety of contemporary popular practices and beliefs. Among these one finds an interest in the paranormal, a belief in → reincarnation, methods of healing including varieties of self-improvement and positive thinking, messages putatively revealed from various transcendent sources (a process referred to within the New Age milieu itself as → channeling) and several forms of divination (→ astrology and the tarot in particular).

The term itself originally arose in theosophical literature (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society) and was used by various → UFO cults after World War II to denote the millennialist belief that humanity soon would undergo a major evolutionary transformation of consciousness. Many of those who were involved in the first years of the New Age movement principally saw the various techniques of healing, divination, etc. as tools in this transformation. This sense of the term 'New Age' was in the later 1970s and in the 1980s largely replaced by an expanded meaning, referring to a wide array of ideas and practices, mainly united by historical links, a shared social setting, a common discourse and an *air de famille*. The two uses of the term have been characterized (Hanegraaff 1996, 94-103) as the New Age *sensu stricto* and *sensu lato*.

Basic Ideas of New Age Religion

Since New Age beliefs and practices are not formulated or reinforced by any widely shared authority structures, the concrete details of various healing systems or the specific views presented by various writers on astrology or the tarot can be left vague, and can differ to the point of being mutually inconsistent. In the New Age culture, several attempts have been made to construct a coherent whole from these diverse elements. More typically, perhaps, the variety of doctrines and rituals rests on shared implicit assumptions that are rarely spelled out in full. An attempt at reconstructing this underlying vision might include the following items:

1. The entire cosmos is not so much a vast set of material objects as a great, interconnected web of meaning. 2. The underlying 'stuff' of the cosmos is therefore not matter but something intangible, perhaps identifiable as consciousness or energy. 3. We humans contain a spark of this energy or consciousness within us, a resource that we can tap into in order to change reality and create our own worlds. 4. The human being is thus not only a material body, but also comprises a mind and a spiritual element. When ill, one needs to address all of these elements rather than merely treat isolated physical symptoms. 5. Each of us is embarked on a journey of spiritual development, a development that will not stop at the death of the physical body but will continue over many lives. 6. There are better ways to get to understand the world we live in and our own place in it than via the intellect. Perhaps we can gain spiritual insight in flashes of intuition. Perhaps there are prophetic states in which we can access knowledge from various highly

developed beings, or from a divine part of our selves. A variety of techniques such as astrology or the tarot can also have this function. 7. Similar insights into the workings of the cosmos and into our own selves were granted to a number of ancient cultures, ranging from Egypt and India to the native Americas. 8. Such insights are confirmed by the most recent developments of Western science, especially quantum mechanics. 9. Spirituality is not a matter of accepting doctrines formulated by others, but rather a highly individual quest, that can (and perhaps should) be based primarily on personal experience. 10. We can either as individuals or collectively change the world into a better place by adopting such a spiritual vision.

A Ritualistic Form of Religiosity

Besides comprising a set of doctrinally related worldviews, the New Age is also an intensely ritualistic form of religiosity. The belief that body, mind, and spirit form a whole and should be treated as such has led to a profusion of systems of holistic ritual healing. The idea that there are states of consciousness in which it is possible to access spiritual knowledge has led to the emergence of ritualized means of reaching such states. The belief in a plan guiding our spiritual evolution has generated a variety of divinatory techniques to gain insight into this plan.

Esoteric Roots of New Age

New Agers will typically point at various exotic cultures as sources for their beliefs and practices. Egypt, India, China, Tibet, the Native Americas, even the fabled continent of → Atlantis, are often claimed to be the ultimate origins of one's own methods and creeds. More scholarly studies, on the other hand, tend to see the New Age as an eclectic combination of influences, by far the most important being various strands of Western → esotericism (Hanegraaff 1996, esp. chapters 14 and 15). The three dominant Western esoteric roots of the New Age can be identified as theosophy, the American New Thought currents, and the spiritualized psychology of Carl Gustav Jung. These currents of esotericism, which arose in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, have been transformed into a quintessentially modern form of religiosity under the impact of various social and cultural changes that characterized modern society at the time of the emergence of the New Age, i.e. the last decades of the twentieth century. Among these characteristics of late modern society are globalization, individualism and commodification.

Eclecticism, Globalization, Commodification

In a globalized age, specific terms, concepts, and practices can be picked from anywhere on the planet, from the Native Americas to Egypt, from China to Polynesia. These are, however, lifted out of their original contexts and are radically reinterpreted in order to fit the pre-existing overall pattern and specific preoccupations of the New Age.

Individualism allows the palette of discourses and practices that arises in this manner to be used as a toolkit from which each individual New Ager can pick and combine elements ad lib. The rationale for encouraging such a mix is the characteristically modern assumption that our personal opinions and experiences are more important than the suggestions of any authority. Furthermore, an individualistic society offers few tradition-bound answers to the question how we should understand who we are and how we should live our lives. New Age self-help texts, manuals of divination as well as channeled texts are largely geared to aiding their readers to deal with such issues of → identity.

Commodification implies that New Age elements become available through the forces of the market economy. New Age books, workshops, rituals, and so forth are marketed in the same way as any other products.

New Age religiosity thereby fits so well with the preoccupations of modern, Western culture that several of its practices and beliefs have been stripped of their controversial New Age label, and have effectively been integrated into mainstream culture.

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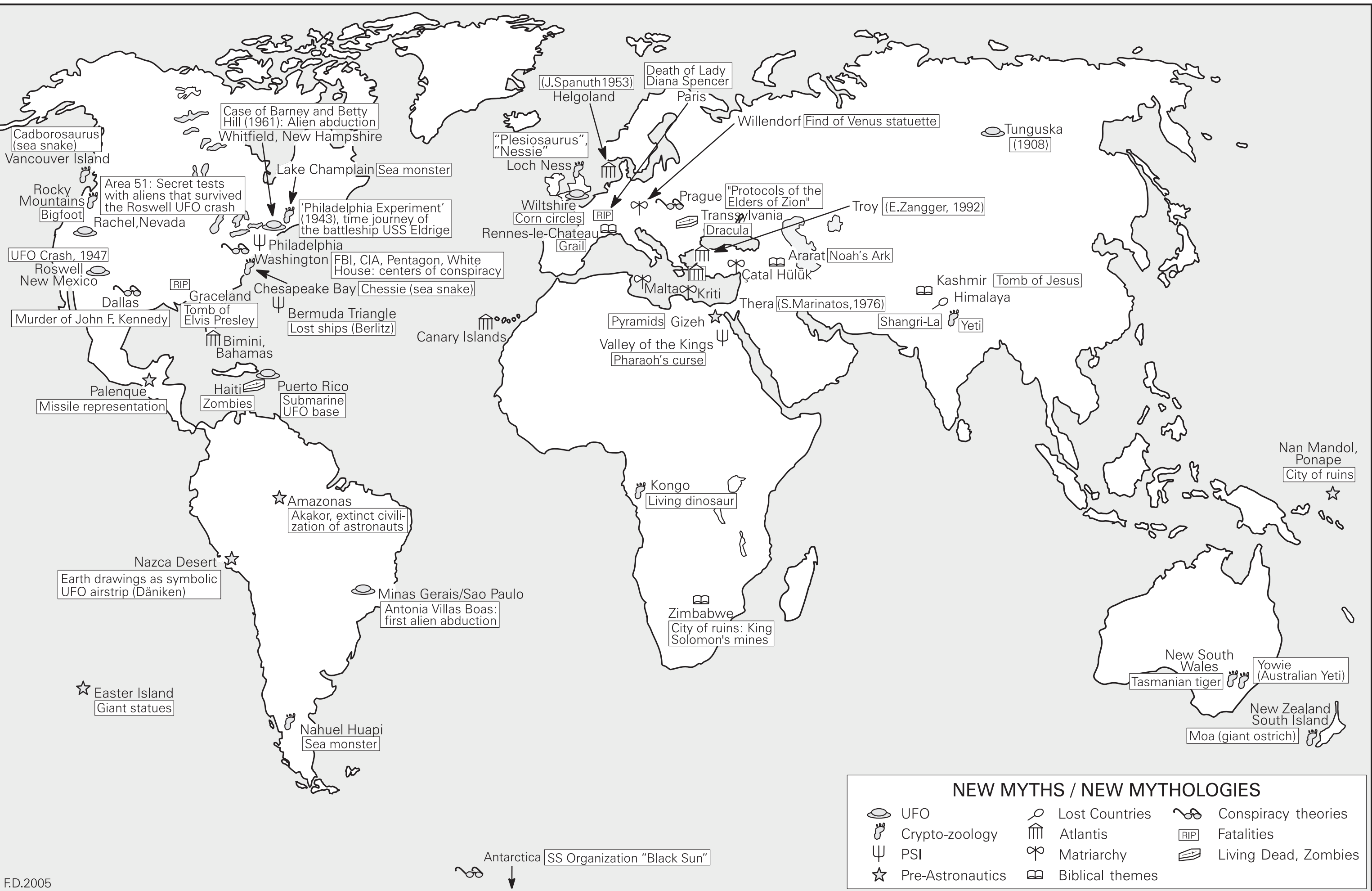
→ *Channeling, Esalen Institute, Esotericism, Millenarianism/Chiliasm, Modernity/Modern Age, Occultism, Paganism/Neopaganism, Reception, Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society*

Olav Hammer

New Myths / New Mythologies

1. Myths are attempts to comprehend the world. → Myth was still accounted a pre-scientific explanation in the nineteenth century, with its emphatic belief in progress. It now happens that myth can exist contemporaneously with science. Especially today, when science has become so complex that scientists themselves have a difficult time with a general overview, mythologic interpretations of everyday occurrences find great acceptance. Myth gives simple answers, where *ratio* apparently declines to. (Question: "Why do ships still disappear?" Answer: "The Bermuda Triangle has secret powers.") What is more, new myth gives answers to essential questions. (Question: "Why do the good die and the bad live?" Answer: "John F. Kennedy died because of a conspiracy that permeated all areas of society and politics, and still does"; or conversely: "Elvis isn't dead at all, he's living incognito.") As the hero triumphs over the dragon, so the hobby detective—or FBI agents Moulder and Scully, in the 'cult' series "X-Files" (USA, 1993)—fearlessly investigate the CIA, secret governments, and conspiracy. If old myth is frequently the quest for an explanation, so new myth thrives either on its obvious fictional character (as in the movies) or on the ignorance of believers.

2. The list of modern myths, which readily mature to complex and confused worldviews, is long and convoluted. Extraterrestrial → UFOs, or saviors


Cadborosaurus (sea snake)
Vancouver Island
Rocky Mountains
Bigfoot
Area 51: Secret tests with aliens that survived the Roswell UFO crash
Rachel,Nevada
UFO Crash, 1947
Roswell New Mexico
Dallas
Murder of John F. Kennedy
Case of Barney and Betty Hill (1961): Alien abduction
Whitfield, New Hampshire
Lake Champlain
Sea monster
'Philadelphia Experiment' (1943), time journey of the battleship USS Eldrige
Philadelphia
Washington
FBI, CIA, Pentagon, White House: centers of conspiracy
RIP
Graceland
Tomb of Elvis Presley
Chesapeake Bay
Chessie (sea snake)
Bermuda Triangle
Lost ships (Berlitz)
Bimini, Bahamas
Palenque
Missile representation
Haiti
Zombies
Puerto Rico
Submarine UFO base
Amazonas
Akakor, extinct civilization of astronauts
Nazca Desert
Earth drawings as symbolic UFO airstrip (Däniken)
Minas Gerais/Sao Paulo
Antonia Villas Boas: first alien abduction
Easter Island
Giant statues
Nahuel Huapi
Sea monster
Canary Islands
"Plesiosaurus", "Nessie"
Loch Ness
(J.Spanuth1953)
Helgoland
Death of Lady Diana Spencer
Paris
Willendorf
Find of Venus statuette
Wiltshire
Corn circles
RIP
Rennes-le-Chateau
Grail
Prague
"Protocols of the Elders of Zion"
Transsylvania
Dracula
Troy
(E.Zangger, 1992)
Ararat
Noah's Ark
Çatal Hülük
Malta
Kriti
Thera
(S.Marinatos,1976)
Pyramids
Gizeh
Valley of the Kings
Pharaoh's curse
Tunguska
(1908)
Kashmir
Tomb of Jesus
Himalaya
Shangri-La
Yeti
Kongo
Living dinosaur
Zimbabwe
City of ruins: King Solomon's mines
Nan Mandol, Ponape
City of ruins
New South Wales
Tasmanian tiger
Yowie (Australian Yeti)
New Zealand South Island
Moa (giant ostrich)
Antarctica
SS Organization "Black Sun"
F.D.2005
NEW MYTHS / NEW MYTHOLOGIES
UFO
Crypto-zoology
PSI
Pre-Astronautics
Lost Countries
Atlantis
Matriarchy
Biblical themes
Conspiracy theories
Fatalities
Living Dead, Zombies

from another star, belong just as authentically on that list as do the saga of → Atlantis, with its super-humans, the curse of the pharaoh, and of course heroes and warriors of justice like Superman, Batman, the rebels of "Star Wars" (George Lucas's film epic, 1977–2005), or Humphrey Bogart in "Casablanca."

Conspiracy Myths

3. Many myths work with the concept of world conspiracies (by Freemasons, Jews, Catholics, Jesuits, the CIA, the FBI, Communists, etc.). This component makes it possible for a myth, despite unambiguous refutation, to continue to be believed. There are invincible conspiracies, with power to manipulate the whole of reality. This is the basic pattern of the "X-Files," and National Socialist → anti-Semitism alike.

New Myths as Variants of Old Myths

4. New myths are often modern variants of old myths. If, in the Middle Ages, Emperor Barbarossa was still alive in the Kyffhäuser, or King Arthur in Glastonbury, this is what Elvis does, in concealment. If the gods of antiquity take to themselves the young that they love, so also are heroes (precisely the canvas for the myths) potentially immortal even today, and can die only by violence or a conspiracy (Marilyn Monroe, James Dean, John F. Kennedy, Lady Diana Spencer). And the ship-gobbling Sea of Sargasso, or the deadly magnetic mountain of the old sailors' saga, becomes the Bermuda Triangle.

Religious Messages

5. Precisely because our everyday world is so extensively 'secularized,' modern myths also carry *religious messages*. As traditional religions lose their importance, and decentralized piety is established (for example, in the → New Age belief), it is technological sagas that take over the function of pious legends. UFOs are space ships of a superior (or diabolical) extraterrestrial race that rescues us from the end of the world (or performs dismal genetic experiments on us), the film "E.T." (USA 1982; directed by Steven Spielberg) is modeled on the life of Christ, Lady Diana speaks from the beyond and substitutes for the traditional Marian apparitions. At the same time, myths are established that feed on doubt in the traditional religions: 'nonfiction' on alleged → 'Qumran conspiracies,' a secret Bible code (that itself might well come from extraterrestrials), or the tomb of Jesus in Kashmir, simultaneously appeal to the skepticism and the thirst for wonders of the reading public, who remain ignorant of pertinent scholarly literature, theological or historical. Thus, modern myths have not only an explanatory function, but a content meaning, as well.

An exemplar would be the myths of 'ancient astronauts,' in which the old myths and sacred books were actually delivered by visits of extraterrestrials. The ancient astronaut myth is one of the most comprehensive of modern myth-complexes, which technologize every aspect of traditional religion: the God of Exodus was a UFO, 'creation' was a genetic experiment by visitors from distant stars, 'angel' is another word for a space-traveler, apparitions of → Mary are messages from the extraterrestrials. The ancient astronaut myth, whose best-known protagonist is Swiss author Erich von Däniken (*Erinnerungen an die Zukunft*, Düsseldorf 1968; Eng. version: *Chariots of the Gods?*, London 1969), ascribes every received supernatural event in the history of humanity to astronauts, who thus become more than a technological version of the old gods. By virtue of their omnipotence and ubiquity, they become veritable new gods.



From eyewitness accounts, often third-hand, demonstrably false, or hoaxes, UFO researchers have reconstructed the crash of a flying saucer, near Roswell, New Mexico, in July 1947. Their theses were the basis for the film *The Roswell Incident*. A model of an extraterrestrial is today exhibited in the International UFO Museum. The reports influence fiction, and the fiction works back on conceptions of how the reported UFOs and extraterrestrials must have looked. In myth, then, the boundary between fact and fiction is blurred, and the latter influence each other reciprocally.

6. In varied and multiple ways, all of these modern and new myths dovetail with one another. Thus, the 'mutilation of cattle' stems not from perverse human beings, but by choice of the secret service, or of the extraterrestrials, who conduct the governance of the world in secret (with knowledge of 'Jewish high finance'!). These extraterrestrials are based in Puerto Rico, in the Bermuda Triangle; submarine UFOs can appear in the form of sea-monsters. The intermeshing of the most varied myths (Marilyn Monroe had to die, as did Kennedy, because they both knew too much about UFOs[1]) can occur with the help of the all-comprehensive explanatory powers of interconnected mythologemes, especially those of the above-mentioned conspiracy 'theories.'

7. In contrast with old myths, which were transmitted orally over long periods of time, modern myths—with the exception of the 'friend of a friend' stories—are conveyed by the modern communications media. The principal multipliers are media that neglect painstaking research—the Internet, TV talk-shows, tabloids, nonfiction bestsellers, and dime novels. Besides myths that exist only within their medium, and are known as fictitious (stars of comics, film divas, the virtual stars of computer games, e.g. Lara Croft in "Tomb Raider," 1994), many modern sagas lead a double life in fictional media (film, television, comics) and real discussion on social policy (e.g., the UFO conspiracy appears in the television series "X-Files," and also as foundational connection in popular nonfiction). Science fiction films and comics take up popular myths, and develop them further; this new version then influences the myth itself, as can be shown very well from Spielberg's films.

These new myths also harbor dangers: some → New Age beliefs are permeated with an extreme-right mentality, the UFO legends with traditional anti-Semitism (world conspiracy through 'high finance'). Psychically unstable persons can suffer obsessive fixations, such as the belief that they have been sexually abused by extraterrestrials. Sometimes, modern myths can even replace consensus about reality and can lead to tragic consequences—

as witnessed recently, with the mass suicide of the Heaven's Gate group in 1997, after Internet rumors of UFOs in the tail of the Hale-Bopp Comet.

1. Magazin 2000, 105 (1995), 46; 106 (1995), 19.

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→ *Atlantis, Fantasy (Genre), Myth/Mythology, Popular Culture, Science Fiction, UFO*

Ulrich Magin

New Religions

Difficulties of the Concept

'New religions' or 'new religious movements' is a broadly inclusive term that has emerged in academic discussions to refer to a cornucopia of religious communities entering the scene in the wake of colonialism and—particularly—modernity. The theoretical difficulties are enormous: (1) Just like the → demise of a religion, it is a normal historical and social development that new communities and new forms of religious tradition arise against a background of changing cultural circumstances. Hence, it is questionable as to what extent the notion of 'new religions' add to our understanding of a given religious landscape. (2) Often, the term has been used with a polemical tone; talking of 'new religions' presupposes that these religions do not have a historical background but 'syncretistically' put together elements of 'pure' or 'real' religions. Talking of 'new religious movements' indicates the assumption that these groups will not flourish in the way 'real religions' do but will sooner or later—depending on the cultural fashion or the changing subjective interests of their members—vanish again from the scene. Not surprisingly, therefore, both terms play a crucial role in the polemic debate about → cults (→ Anti-Cult Movements), → sects, and the → New Age.

Attempts to Classification

These difficulties notwithstanding, many scholars argue that the emergence of independent religious communities has to be studied seriously, and that there are a few characteristics that allow for a structural classification of these groups. Contrasted to reform movements that arise within a given religious tradition, new religions are categorized as the result of → religious contact. (1) In the context and aftermath of → colonialism and conquest, elements from various religious traditions blend into a new theological framework and form new religious identities. (2) Not only arising in immediate conflict and pressure, but also due to prolonged interaction between religious traditions, new religions have been formed, either as a revitalization of older

currents or as a creative blending of given religious options. (3) Particularly in the West, new religions have emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth century as conscious and deliberate constructions vis-à-vis the 'traditional' religions. This development is due to processes of modernization (→ Disenchantment/Reenchantment), as well as to increasing inclusion of Eastern traditions into the worldviews of Western culture (→ Esalen Institute; New Age; Orientalism/Exotism). It is especially the third aspect that is prominent in recent scholarship, thus constructing a common denominator for a multitude of religious communities that have entered the (Western) scene during and after the counterculture of the 1960s.

Are There Better Concepts?

Given the vagueness of the concept 'new religions,' it can be argued that complex sociological and religious dynamics, which characterize both religious history in general and the development of religion in modern times in particular, should be analyzed with a more appropriate and reflective theoretical instrument. From this perspective, the term 'new religions' falls apart into such terms as → pluralism, → migration, → modernity, → secularization, → religious contact, → colonialism, → projection, or → polemics.

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→ *Anti-Cult Movements, Denomination, Group, Modernity/Modern Age, New Age, Paganism/Neopaganism, Pluralism, Polemics, Religion, Religious Contact, Secularization, Sect, Tradition*

Kocku von Stuckrad

New York

From the Dutch Colony to the City of Millions

1. a) Founded as a Dutch colony in 1626, New York was a multi-religious city from the very start. New Amsterdam—as it was called until the English colonists conquered it and renamed it as New York in 1664—had to be grateful for every inhabitant, regardless of origin. The religious history of New York has always been characterized by immigration, and remains so today. First, the great *Protestant Denominations* established themselves (Reformed Church, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, Evan-

gelicals). They dominated the religious and public life of the city for almost three hundred years, and long prevented the expansion of other confessions. At the same time, the contest among them has created a multiplicity of important churches and church institutions. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, social institutions arose under the roof of Protestantism that devoted themselves to an alleviation of the growing misery and helplessness of the slums. Since then, home mission and social work have been among the tasks to which all confessions in New York have assigned a great deal of weight. In 1836, Union Theological Seminary was founded by the Presbyterians. In 1892, it was opened to all Protestant confessions, since when this place of formation has left its mark on the New York pastoral calling.

b) The 1830s saw the beginnings of *Catholic* immigration, mostly of Irish and Germans. Between 1830 and 1865, the number of Catholics in New York grew from 15,000 to 400,000, making Catholicism the largest 'denomination' in New York. Nevertheless, anti-Catholic attitudes, especially in the schools, became a daily fact, all through the century. Bishop Hughes (1842–1864) therefore resolutely promoted the founding of Catholic schools, systematically distributed throughout the parishes of the diocese. Today, the Catholic Church still maintains more schools in poor neighborhoods than do other denominations. In 1898, with the consolidation of New York City, the latter was divided into two dioceses, the Archdiocese of New York and the Diocese of Brooklyn. Both dioceses grew until 1920: New York to 1.3 million, and Brooklyn to 800,000 members, mostly of Italian origin. In order to accommodate the cultural, linguistic, and social peculiarities of the immigrants, the new parishes were commonly organized along ethnic rather than territorial lines, a principle of organization also applied after 1870 by Baptists and Jews.

c) Between 1880 and 1910, following pogroms, 1.4 million *Jews* fled to the United States from Eastern Europe. Remaining in the New York port of entry were 1.1 million, including Sephardic Jews from the Balkans, Syria, and Turkey. Until then, some 17,000 Jews had lived in the city. A wealthy Jewish elite, of German origin, had appeared, with Reform Jews dominating the community. Poor, traditional Orthodox Jews, newly arrived from Eastern Europe, and settling on the Lower East Side, found it difficult to combine religion with an American lifestyle. The Jewish Endeavor Society and Young Israel began to organize the community life of the disoriented immigrants, and to draft models for Jewish integration that were adopted by Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jews alike. In 1887, the Jewish Theological Seminary was founded, which today remains the national center of Conservative Judaism. Since the presidency of Gershom Cohen (1972–1986), women have been admitted and ordained as rabbis.

d) During the time of the First World War, a large number of poor *blacks* came to New York from the Southern states. They settled in Harlem, and black Protestants took over existing churches and synagogues. As early as 1800 the Methodist Zion Church, and in 1808 the Abyssinian Baptist Church, were founded by Afro-Americans. More than fifty percent of the Baptists (who in New York alone have eleven independent congregations, and form the largest denomination after the Catholics) are Afro-Americans, who also play a significant role in all church institutions. Pastors of the Abyssinian Church have had great influence on New York social policy (e.g. Adam Clayton Powell, Sr. and Jr., Calvin O. Butts).

Changes in the Present

2. a) In the postwar era, the religious balance of power has shifted, and the hegemony of Protestantism is slowly dwindling. Except for the Pentecostalists, who have seen their membership grow steadily since the 1930s, the number of Protestants is diminishing overall, while the number of Catholics, after a decade of shrinkage, has shot upward. The key factor in this change as well has been immigration. In the late 1940s immigration from Latin American countries began. Immigrants from Africa and Asia (the Philippines and Korea) have come since the mid-1960s. In the early 1990s, the Archdiocese of New York had 2.2 million members, nearly half of them from Latin America. The Diocese of Brooklyn, reduced in 1957 to Nassau and Suffolk Counties, now serves 1.5 million members. Catholic services in New York are held in twenty-three languages.

b) Next to the Catholics, the Jews are receiving a great number of immigrants. Beginning in 1960, Sephardic Jews have come from Africa and the Near East, and in 1980 Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Iran, and Israel. And yet the greater proportion of New York Jews are of the third or fourth generation, by 1990 numbering 1.13 million. Of this number, eighty-three percent claim to be religious. Again by 1990, 437 synagogues could be counted. Through immigration from the Soviet Union, the percentage of Orthodox in New York is higher than in any other country, most of them living in Brooklyn and Queens, where a highly organized Jewish community life has formed.

c) The denomination that has grown the most rapidly in the last decades is *Islam.* When Malcolm X became an imam in the 1950s, many Afro-Americans converted. In the mid-1960s, Muslim immigration from all over the world began. Some 600,000 Muslims live in New York City, most of them Sunnites; between 25 and 40 percent of these are Afro-Americans. The city accommodates some sixty mosques, most of them in Brooklyn. In 1991, the Great Mosque and a culture center opened on the Upper East Side. Since the outbreak of the conflicts between black Muslims and Orthodox Jews, an Interfaith Committee regulates the social relations between the two groups.

d) Besides the large denominations in New York that have subsisted for decades now, countless *religious groups* have been forming, scions of all of the great world religions: Afro-American cults from Central America, Baha'i from Iran, Sufism in many hues, and much more. Not to be forgotten are the Orthodox Churches, with their foothold in New York since about 1900. Ever and again, New York's ethnic and religious communities overlap, mix, and divide, although not at the centers of society, but on its fringes.

3. New York's churches and synagogues ascribe great importance to *inter-confessional dialogue.* Its concentration of theological institutions has made the city the religious intellectual center of the United States. Nearly all national and international Jewish organizations have their main offices in New York. The Inter-Church Center, opened in 1958, hosts the main offices of most mainline Protestants, as well as those of the National Council of Churches, with a composition analogous to that of the World Council. New York is an open, secular city, although it has scarcely fewer churches and houses of prayer than Rome, like the synagogues and mosques all well attended on the Lord's day of the week.

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→ *Afro-American Religions, Migration, North America*

Sigrun Anselm

Nietzsche, Friedrich

Life and Work

1. Friedrich Nietzsche was born on October 15, 1844, the son of a Protestant minister. Even before the end of his studies, he was Professor of Ancient Philology in Basle. Psychosomatic complaints obliged him to lay aside his office in 1879. From then on he lived on his pension and freelance authorship, and until 1889 was usually traveling in Switzerland and Italy. As to his *Weltanschauung*, Arthur Schopenhauer and Richard Wagner were his first influences, from both of whom he later turned away. The unwonted breadth of his lectures, not always matched by their thoroughness, did not recoil from current biological and racial theories (→ Darwinism; Race/Racism).

Diagnostician and Critic

a) Nietzsche belongs to the 'classic' nineteenth-century figures of the criticism of religion and ideology. His contribution is twofold:

(1) As *diagnostician* of the crisis of Christianity: From the side of theology, he discerns a rapid, frankly public loss of relevance, as it was no longer feasible to set its debates in relation with general scientific discussion. From the side of the Church, he notes both an outer destabilization, caused by a loss of membership, particularly among the social elite, and a crisis of inner condition, with the Church having transformed its Christianity essentially into a 'gentle moralism.'[1] Here Nietzsche refers to theses of Basle religious historian Franz Overbeck.

(2) As *critic* in the strict sense of the word: Here he works methodically with historical and psychological means. For Nietzsche, religion can be traced back, in origin and content, part and parcel, to extra-religious motifs. Religious and moral concepts and perceptions turn out to be sublimations, 'reinterpretations' of basal affects and instincts, which in their essence present nothing but the *Human, All Too Human* (to cite the title of his 1878 collection of aphorisms). Diagnosis and criticism occasion his proclamation of the 'death of God': the theoretical and cultural failure of the Christian conception of life.[2]

Critique of Christianity and 'Positive' Philosophy

b) While Nietzsche first describes the Christian 'reinterpretation' always as a *mis*interpretation, he later specifies his meaning, as can be gathered from his preludes to *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft* (Ger., "The Gay Science"). Persons have only a mediated access to their affects, Nietzsche holds, and it is therefore imperative that the latter be laid out and examined. But this insight leads to an intensification of his *criticism of Christianity*: in its interpretations, Christianity is profoundly hostile to life. By 'life,' Nietzsche signals the central concept of his philosophy, and the most effective: the 'will to power'—by which he understands life designed for and devoted to ascent, enrichment, and the overcoming of obstacles. Thus, the doctrine of sin outlaws all living drives, while that of the Christian paradise (like Buddhist nirvana) instills an obstinate breach with the ascent of life, and hatred for the present. Following the collapse of Christian-spirited main hermeneutics ('values'), Nietzsche can only conclude that, through its 'depreciation of all natural values,' Christianity has produced → nihilism. On the one hand, Nietzsche agrees with this product, as it unveils the true character of Christianity (and its secular offspring, like democracy, socialism, and liberalism, that he discerns as having the same tendency to a leveling and flattening of life). On the other hand, the goal of his 'positive' philosophy is victory over nihilism, through a "revaluation of all values"—the creation of new meaning possibilities and interpretation patterns, which are to be conformable to the character of life as power. He has set forth this goal for all to see especially in his prose poem, *Also sprach Zarathustra* (Ger., "Thus Spake Zarathustra"; 1883–1885). From the viewpoint of literature, this work seeks both to outdo and to parody the 'gospel' genre. As to its content, *Zarathustra* proclaims the "Übermensch" (Ger., "Super-Person"; → Zarathustra). The latter symbolizes humanity, which would constantly lift its life out above the momentary condition, and thereby adopts a part of the task of the discarded thought of God. Nietzsche's myth of the 'eternal return of the same' teaches the highest affirmation of the present life, while preventing the symbol of the 'Super-Person' from leading to a higher-order denial of the present. It is not only in *Zarathustra* that Nietzsche's usually aphoristic and unmasking language at times assumes emphatic and visionary traits, which consciously join the proclamatory tone of the New Testament.

Reception of Antiquity

c) The glass that Nietzsche supplies for an examination of his criticism of Christianity is always the 'heroic' age of classical Greek antiquity (→ Hero/Heroism).[3] Here Nietzsche finds a religiosity accommodated to the character of 'life,' an 'innocent' religiosity. It is in his first writing, *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Musik* (Ger., "The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music"; 1872), that he develops the pair of concepts, "*the Apollonian and the Dionysan.*"[4] These stand for, respectively, the shaping and formative, and the delirious, ecstatic side of life. It is especially with this pair of concepts that Nietzsche, for one thing, fell in line with a rather long German philhellenic tradition,[5] just as, for another, he became influential on pagan currents by way of his attempt to transpose elements of Greek religion into the present (→ Paganism/Neopaganism).

Reception

In January 1889 in Turin, Nietzsche broke down, and he lived from then on in mental derangement, with his mother. He died August 25, 1900, having no longer consciously experienced the history of his unexampled effectiveness, which massively supervened beginning in the 1890s. Nietzsche became the

'martyr and prophet' (J. Krause) of an entire generation. Still today, numerous intellectuals maintain that they owe him their experience of mental and spiritual liberation. Occasionally, even formal religious associations were founded in his memory.[6]

Arts

Nietzsche's work had struck the nerve of the cultural malaise of his time. Then he worked first as chief witness for cultural criticism, spiritual regeneration, and alternative lifestyles, as the figure who led to a 'higher life.' On occasion, especially in the plastic arts, it was possible for Nietzsche to be stylized as the embodiment of the new type of human being, and as early as around 1900 the expression 'Nietzsche cult' enjoyed currency.[7] A great deal of music was inspired by him (Richard Strauss, symphonic poem, "Also sprach Zarathustra," 1896; Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony, 1893–1896). Poetry treating religious topics (R. M. Rilke, S. George, H. Hesse) owes him an essential impetus.

Only in the 1920s did a more intensive *philosophical confrontation* develop (normative interpretations by K. Jaspers, K. Löwith, and M. Heidegger). → Existentialism sees the human being after the 'death of God' deposited in an absolute responsibility; postmodern philosophy (M. Foucault, G. Deleuze) since the 1970s appeals to Nietzsche's historical-genealogical method of criticism.

The Nietzschean reception by the *National Socialists* presents a substantive as well as a linguistic abridgment, it is true: this reception is not without all support in the texts (polyvalent concept of power; uncritical application of racial stereotypes and metaphors). It was facilitated by his sister, Elisabeth Forster-Nietzsche (1846–1935), Director of the Nietzsche Archive in Weimar, who caused the publication of a tendentious edition of Nietzsche's literary remains. Her efforts climaxed in the high-handed compilation, from notes that he had left, of a 'chef-d'oeuvre' called *Der Wille zur Macht* ("The Will to Power"), the plan of whose publication Nietzsche had long since rejected. Here the most prominent interpretation was that of A. Baeumler. Baeumler reduces Nietzsche's principal impetus in the area of ideological criticism (which actually could also have been directed against 'German' ideologies) to a critique of the middle class, labels his constructive foundational thought 'Teutonic,' and narrows the concept of 'power' to the political. Taken to the hilt, Baeumler's position removed all obstacles from an understanding of Nietzsche as a 'Proto-Fascist,' a view that his postwar reception has long since abandoned.[8]

Christian Theology

Christian theology usually reacted to Nietzsche's work with rejection, or with—frequently inadequate—polemics. A justification of his critique, for example in respect of the theme 'hostility toward life,' was likewise made use of early enough (Albert Schweitzer). Especially in the United States, a 'theology of the death of God' was developed (Thomas Altizer, William Hamilton; in Germany, Dorothee Sölle). Constructive engagements beyond this point could be struck, if at all, by a theology that critically assimilated the concept of interpretation.

1. Morgenröthe, no. 92 (KGA V/2, p. 81).
2. Cf. Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft, no. 343 (KGA V/2, p. 255).
3. Cf. Cancik 1995.
4. Der Geburt der Tragödie, no. 1 (KGA III/1, p. 21).

5. Cf. von Reibnitz, Barbara, Ein Kommentar zu Friedrich Nietzsche, "Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik" (Kap. 1–12), Stuttgart 1992, 61-64.
6. Cf. Cancik 1987, 420-22.
7. Cf. ibid., 406.
8. Textual extracts of the authors named under "Philosophy," in: Guzzoni, Alfred (ed.), 100 Jahre philosophische Nietzsche-Rezeption, Hain Bodenheim 1991.

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→ *Criticism of Religion, Hero/Heroism, Modernity/Modern Age, Nihilism, Paganism/Neopaganism*

Andreas Kubik

Nihilism

1. The expression *nihilism* (from Lat., *nihil*, 'nothing') is used in the broadest sense, and frequently with polemical intent, to denote a radical skepticism, as handed on in classical form by Sophist Gorgias (c. 480–380 BCE): "First, there is nothing. Second, even if there were something, it would still be unknowable for human beings; third, even if it were knowable, it could not be transmitted to our fellow human being, or made understood" (Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Matt.*, VII, 65ff.: DK 82, B3). Inasmuch as the reproach of nihilism was levied in connection with religious as well as political and literary tendencies, and applied to such various phenomena as idealism, → atheism, → pantheism, materialism, or pessimism, an attention to the meaning content in question is advisable. With respect to religious discourse, the following simplified list of ways of employing the concept may be distinguished: (1) the reproach, of polemical intent, that opposes an assault on received values and norms in times of social change as 'nihilistic'; (2) nihilism as a diagnosis that first of all confirms the existence of the crisis, but that, as a rule, offers a defeat of this condition; (3) an existentialist variant, that diagnoses nihilism in the form of, for example, the absurdity of human existence, and that, by and large, lists this absurdity among the foundational circumstances of human being, the *conditio humana*, without historical dimensions. Further, although rarely, (4) a mystical fusing with a divinity conceived as infinite and indeterminate can be designated nihilism.

2. Before F. H. Jacobi (1743–1819), only the followers of a certain Christological doctrine that had been branded heretical were called 'nihilianists' (second half of the twelfth century). The concept of nihilism first achieved importance, at least in philosophical circles, in the so-called *nihilism discussions* of 1799. Jacobi leveled the reproach of nihilism against the philosophical idealism of J. G. Fichte, as he considered the latter to be claiming the object of knowledge to be generated only as construction, and in reflection, and not as existing in itself. Thus the object would become merely a subjective schema, a creature of human reflection. Another understanding of nihilism is found with F. Schlegel. In his Cologne lectures of 1804/05, he referred to the fact that a number of mystics have dubbed 'nihilism' that kind of thinking according to which they sought to become one with the infinite, indeterminate God. This pantheistic manner of thought was to be encountered principally with the Indian yogis, held Schlegel. Subsequently, the concept of nihilism found application in the Western reception of → Buddhism, which was introduced at this time. Thus, scholar of religion F. Max Müller interpreted a certain form of Buddhism as nihilism, on grounds of its apprehension of → nirvana. With A. Schopenhauer, the same conceptualization is brought into connection with the rejection of the will as victory over a painful individuation.

Ivan S. Turgenev's novel *Fathers and Sons* (1862) had an especially popularizing effect, in which the denomination *nihilists* was applied to the followers of social revolutionary thought in Russia under Tsar Alexander II. Bestowed on them by their enemies, this name was intended to show them as anarchists without a belief, but was subsequently adopted by them as a self-designation.

Criticism of Culture

F. → Nietzsche understood 'European nihilism' as a prophesying or diagnosis of the spiritual condition of the West at the end of the nineteenth century. Slogans like 'God is dead,' 'revaluation of all values,' or even a 'radical rejection of value and meaning' opened a wide space of interpretation for the prevailing situation of a profoundly changing present. This diagnosis was eagerly taken up by a multi-faceted *criticism of culture* on the part of the conservative middle class, which, at the end of the nineteenth century, and especially after the First World War, saw itself laid open to profound social and economic changes. The proposition of the end of a culture marked by Christianity, together with a relativism of all values, were, however, interpreted as the transitional stage to a new, longed for, future age, whose contours, granted, could be indicated only in polyvalent metaphors and symbols.

M. Heidegger took up the diagnosis of nihilism, but included it in a comprehensive history of being that did its work above human beings, and consequently, unlike Nietzsche, no longer posited the prospect of any defeat of nihilism. As early as the Second World War, existentialist Albert Camus, in his figure of Sisyphus, sketched the ideal type of a heroic nihilist, who, in all of the absurdity of his existence, must be conceptualized as a happy human being (*Le myth de Sisyphe*; Fr., "The Myth of Sisyphus"; 1942). Subsequently, authors like S. Beckett (*En attendant Godot*; Fr., "Waiting for Godot"; 1952) brought onstage the feeling of a life of absurdity, without positing the prospect of its historical defeat (→ Existentialism).

The spectrum of *theological reactions*, to a diagnosis of nihilism during the postwar era, extended from a determined rejection of the image of the

human being that—on the basis of a purely anthropologically directed humanism—was said to have been dominant since the threshold of the modern age (H. Fries, *Nihilismus: Gefahr unserer Zeit*; Ger., "Nihilism: The Danger of Our Times"; 1949), to the attempts of American theologians to draft a 'God is dead' theology (W. Hamilton, T. J. Altizer). Theologians frequently diagnose the present as fundamentally atheistic and 'nihilistic': whether the re-mythologizing thrust witnessed since the 1980s, or the rise of a post-materialistic sense of value, is leading to an enduring change in this diagnosis, remains to be seen.

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→ *Atheism, Criticism of Religion, Existentialism, Nietzsche*

Georg Hartmann

Nirvana

The Sanskrit word *nirvāṇa* (in Pali, *nibbāna*) denotes the goal of Buddhist practice. The one who realizes the redeeming insight, and therewith nirvana, has been delivered from the conceptualization of an abiding ego, and has overcome greed, hatred, and delusion. For the redeemed person, there is no new karma, and no more reincarnation. The Pali Canon has little to say about nirvana. It is mostly described in negations: it has not come to be, it is imperishable, not born, deathless, neither a coming nor a going, neither endurance in being nor ceasing to be. Above all, it is the end of conditioned coming-to-be—which is inescapably transitory and perishable—and therewith the end of suffering. Concepts like joy, repose, purity, or ultimate goal likewise attempt an approach to a concept that ultimately escapes any definition. When the life of a redeemed one comes to an end, *parinirvāṇa* ('full extinction') supervenes. The question of a continuance after *parinirvāṇa*, as it does not lead to redemption, is left unanswered. In Theravada, nirvana is 'reality beyond all forms of existence.' In the Mahayana philosophy of the concept of 'emptiness' presented by the 'absolute,' an identity of *saṃsāra* (wandering through the various forms of being) and nirvana postulates that the seeker after salvation must experience the nirvana already latently at hand in him or her. Nirvana stands at the end of a long chain of existences, and, for Buddhist believers, the immediate goal, as a rule, is a favorable reincarnation conditioned by salutary karma.

→ *Buddha, Buddhism, Salvation/Redemption, Suffering*

Kirsten Holzapfel

North America

1. a) The space occupied by North America in *cultural history* consists of the United States of America, as well as Canada, and in many respects represents both as a unit. In the economy, business, in language to a large extent, and particularly in the area of popular culture (such as nationwide leagues in professional sports) and lifestyle, the two countries are tightly interwoven. One area, however, in which Canada and the United States are clearly distinguished is the role of religion in society.

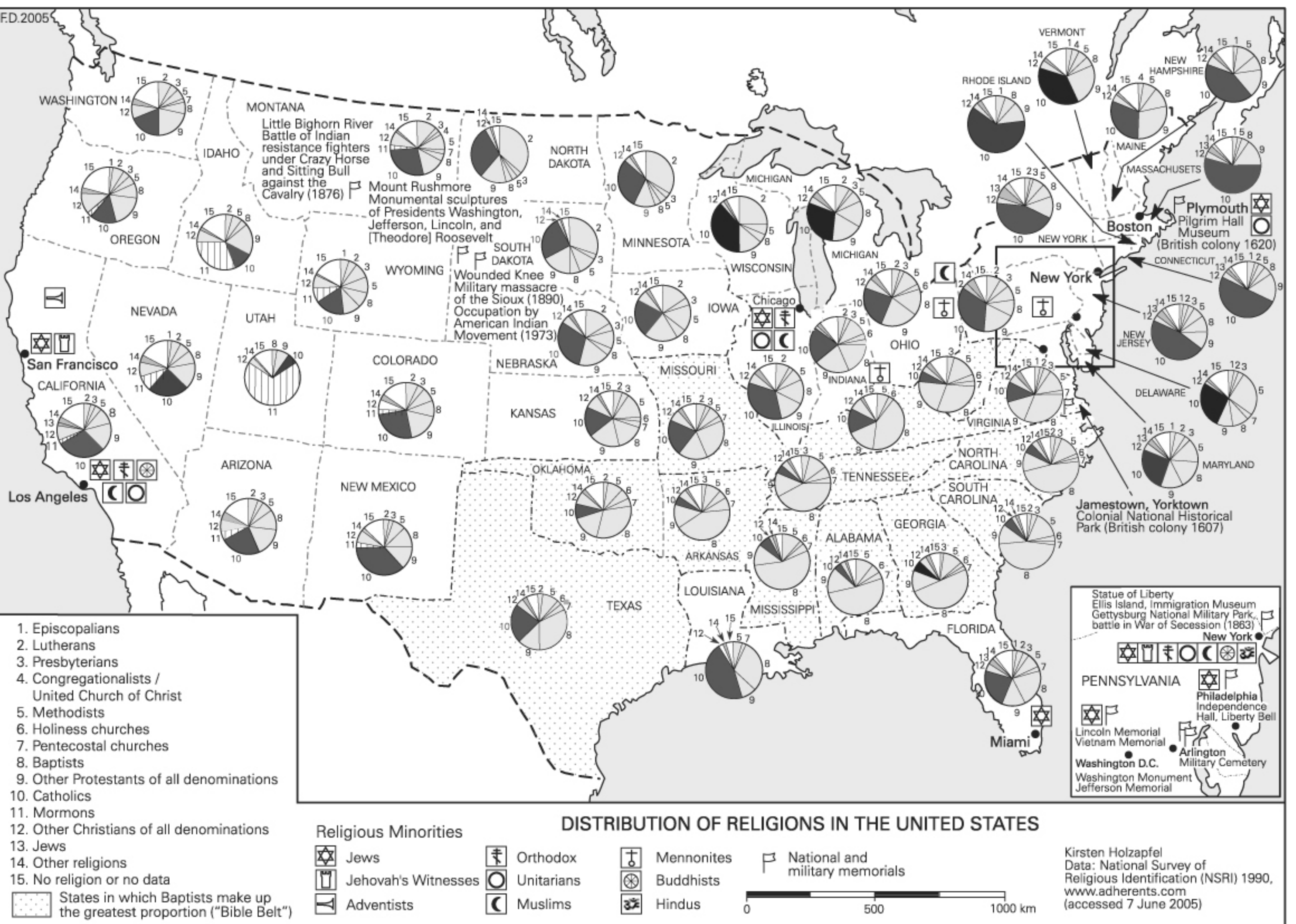
b) The immigrant country of *Canada*, like the United States, is a country with Christian traditions, and, by comparison with other traditionally Christian countries, a relatively high proportion of regular churchgoers and those who believe in God. But unlike the United States, the centers of the mother churches for most white Canadians, physically as well as spiritually, are still found in Europe (Rome, Canterbury, Geneva, or Edinburgh). And the national political culture of the country is completely secularized: 'Canada' has never, either in the rhetoric of its official representatives, or in the imagination of its immigrant inhabitants, been a topos of religious occupation, but simply the land of untamed wilderness and hard physical labor.

In the *United States*, on the other hand, it is completely different. As Alexis de Tocqueville first arrived in the United States, on May 1, 1835, the first thing that aroused his attention was "the role of religion in this country." G. K. Chesterton observed, in his visit to the country in 1921, that the United States actually defined itself in religious terms: America is a nation "with the soul of a church."[1] Even today, all statistics and opinion polls verify the extraordinary piety of the citizens of the United States. Eighty-three percent of 'Americans' aver that their religious faith is "very important in their daily life."[2] These data give the lie, according to American political scientist Walter Dean Burnham, to one of the most popular theories of the social sciences. Burnham claims, for virtually all of the societies of the world, that a direct correlation obtains between industrial and technological development, on the one hand, and secularization of systems of belief on the other. The correlation is regular enough, Burnham goes on, to make it possible to derive one from the other. For the United States alone, he says, this does not hold. An international Gallup Poll conducted in fourteen countries in 1976 asked about the importance of religious faith in their daily life. These results compared with a development index which indicated that, were stages of material and technological development to be concluded from the statistically reported importance of religious piety, one should have to assume that the United States was at approximately the developmental level of countries like Chile, Mexico, Portugal, and Lebanon.[3] Such argumentation overlooks, of course, the particularities of piety in the United States. That religious commitment is not necessarily oriented toward 'traditional' systems of belief into which one has been born, and in which respect for the old can be drummed into one's head, at times hindering innovation. Instead, as a rule, Americans especially devoted to religious activity expressly choose their denominations themselves, thereby selecting doctrines that suit each individual.

Extraordinary Piety

Personal Choice

This indicates the historical roots and structural forms of North America's religious culture. Its believers are 'Protestant' in the Anglo-Saxon nonconformist tradition, even when they are nominally Catholics. They reflect


F.D.2005
DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIONS IN THE UNITED STATES
1. Episcopalians
2. Lutherans
3. Presbyterians
4. Congregationalists / United Church of Christ
5. Methodists
6. Holiness churches
7. Pentecostal churches
8. Baptists
9. Other Protestants of all denominations
10. Catholics
11. Mormons
12. Other Christians of all denominations
13. Jews
14. Other religions
15. No religion or no data
States in which Baptists make up the greatest proportion ("Bible Belt")
Religious Minorities
Jews
Jehovah's Witnesses
Adventists
Orthodox
Unitarians
Muslims
Mennonites
Buddhists
Hindus
National and military memorials
0
500
1000 km
Kirsten Holzapfel
Data: National Survey of Religious Identification (NSRI) 1990, www.adherents.com (accessed 7 June 2005)
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
Little Bighorn River Battle of Indian resistance fighters under Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull against the Cavalry (1876)
Mount Rushmore Monumental sculptures of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and [Theodore] Roosevelt
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
Wounded Knee Military massacre of the Sioux (1890) Occupation by American Indian Movement (1973)
WYOMING
NEVADA
UTAH
COLORADO
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
CALIFORNIA
San Francisco
Los Angeles
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
Chicago
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
Miami
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
Jamestown, Yorktown
Colonial National Historical Park (British colony 1607)
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
NEW JERSEY
NEW YORK
New York
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
MASSACHUSETS
Boston
Plymouth
Pilgrim Hall Museum (British colony 1620)
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MAINE
Statue of Liberty
Ellis Island, Immigration Museum
Gettysburg National Military Park, battle in War of Secession (1863)
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
Independence Hall, Liberty Bell
Lincoln Memorial
Vietnam Memorial
Washington D.C.
Washington Monument
Jefferson Memorial
Arlington
Military Cemetery

traditional community religious spirit less than they do the private relationship of individual citizens to God. They are as intolerant of the 'pagan' religions of the country's original inhabitants, as they are of atheism. But unlike Canada, the United States links piety with the body politic. "Loyalist Protestants may have brought Canada its work ethic, but New England Puritans have left capitalism the myth of America!"[4]

In terms of its structural history, religion in the United States can be divided into the following three phases (see parags. 2-4):

The Hegemony of Christian Protestantism

2. a) The *unchallenged hegemony of Christian Protestantism and its development to a pluralistic denominationalism* (by 1890): a) The Constitution of the United States introduced strict separation of church and state. In the context of the time, however, this decision reflected less a social will to secularity than it did the constitutional preclusion of a state church. There had already been state churches in the New England colonies for a century and a half: the *Congregational Church* of the Puritans. In Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, this was the only officially permitted religion. In six Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies, on the other hand (New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia), it was the Anglicans who had the official status of state church. The British crown had long since begun to promote religious tolerance in its North American colonies—doubtless because it was thought that religious pluralism would best undermine the political danger that could emerge from an authoritatively organized Puritan state church. Thus, in 1663, the Rhode Island colony promulgated a constitution providing for complete religious freedom—not only for the totality of the Protestant denominations, but also for Catholics and Jews—as well as the strict separation of church and state. The situation was similar in Pennsylvania. After the Duke of York had consigned the area to Quaker leader William Penn, the latter was extremely interested in finding settlers who could fill this gigantic area productively. Thus, here too, a tempting offer was made to all who might be interested: among other things, full religious freedom on the basis of certain minimal demands, such as acknowledgment of the existence of God, faith in Jesus Christ, observance of the Sabbath. For the Puritan-Congregational establishment in New England, as for its Anglican counterpart in the South, on the other hand, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania were both suspect as 'sinks of sectarianism.'

b) However, it was precisely relations in these 'sinks of sectarianism' that were to be determinative for the religious future of the United States. While a distinction was usually made between (state) church and sects in Protestant Europe, in the United States pressure from below accorded the dominations equal rights. Religious pluralism, however, did not amount to pluralism in *Weltanschauung*. Socially, culturally, and politico-economically, Americanized Puritanism made the determinations. But Puritanism was no longer autocratically repressive and hierarchical, as it had been in colonial times. Instead, it 'nationalized,' to some extent, the Puritan doctrine of 'election,' and granted religious tolerance to any who shared the conception of America as the 'land of promise,' into which white Americans of English extraction, 'the new children of Israel,' had escaped servitude in Egypt (Europe). Benjamin Franklin, that man of the Enlightenment, even made the recommendation that the march of the children of Israel through the Red Sea be selected as the motif of the official Seal of the United States

(→ Civil Religion). In the United States, a middle-class state could dismantle the state church, since the Protestantism of the active people of the state, all on their own, could represent middle-class society in all of its modern forms. Only Catholics, Jews, black Protestants, agnostics, and atheists were at first excluded from the pluralistic community of the elect, although even they were not physically persecuted.

Awakening

c) A characteristic kind of religious movement entered North American Protestantism under the sponsorship of periodically appearing Pietistic *awakening movements.* Awakening communities anticipate from their members a personal encounter with Jesus (mediated, as a rule, by a charismatic itinerant preacher), which is expected to lead to an emotional → conversion experience. Belonging to the same category are the charismatic Pentecostal communities. Inasmuch as these set the miraculous and the supernatural in the foreground, some of their practices recall shamanism and other premodern forms of belief, while others are suggestive of the most modern marketing strategies. Since 'miracles' are presented, it is anticipated that persons who at first do not 'believe' (denomination, community, or individual minister) will be persuaded by the first-class quality of the offer here proposed, and will find themselves ready to make something of a lasting agreement of cooperation that will be of interest to both parties. All of these figures of Protestant piety originally stemmed from England, but came to their full development only in the United States.

d) The age of the Pietistic movements of awakening include the numerous *new foundations of religious communities* over the course of the nineteenth century, which do understand themselves generally as 'Christians,' but not as Protestants. They are also characterized by the motif of election. Active missionary work is almost always expected of their members. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (→ Mormons), → Jehovah's Witnesses, and, especially, the Church of Christian Science are communities in whose doctrines a practical reference is kept in view to the needs of the uprooted and churchless, immigrants and masses of the resettled, in terms of orientation and organization. This arrangement is feasible and actual precisely as a result of a functionally weak political state, but of a society practicing strong religious pressure.

3. *The period of agnosticism and growing detachment from the Church (1890–1945):* a) But Christians ready for faith also ran into perplexing countercurrents in the second half of the nineteenth century. Darwinism, and historical biblical scholarship, declared a fundamental turning point in the relation of the study of religions. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the sciences had sought to demonstrate the providence of God from their own data. How could a universe so ordered exist without the ordaining hand of God, and an originally constructive Spirit of God? Darwin showed that it was possible to think in exactly this unthinkable manner. He demonstrated that God could be replaced by the principle of coincidence, and the emergence of an 'ordered' universe finally explained plausibly nevertheless.

Agnosticism and Detachment from the Church

Darwin's theory of evolution was unsettling for American Protestants in two ways. First, it posed a basic question regarding the credibility of the Bible. Thereby it shook the critical grounds of Protestantism, which sees faith as resting on the Bible alone (*sola scriptura*, Lat., 'scripture alone'). Second, the theory that Spencer took from Darwin's biological maxim, and transferred to society, exactly described the practical experience of the strongly

Bible-oriented Midwestern farmer and small business people: that only the best-adapted survive—'survival of the fittest': and thus, this fact threatened their economic existence. This notion was the preaching and ideology of the large banks, railway companies, and large commercial farms, and it set the old Midwest on its ear: those who deprived them of their property justified it with the help of 'atheistic' social Darwinism.

b) Protestant theologians in the United States attempted to counter the onslaughts of Darwinism and 'relativistic' biblical scholarship. The Seminar at Princeton University, one of the most respected places of formation of young ministers, taught the doctrine of the 'infallibility of the Bible' for a long period of time—approximately at the time when the Roman Catholic Church, out of similar considerations, was proclaiming the dogma of 'papal infallibility.' Building on this precedent, it was representatives of Presbyterianism—the classic denomination of the Puritans—who, in 1910, finally proposed a list of the five 'Fundamentals.' These were the components of the Christian faith that were indispensable, and that could not be questioned (→ Fundamentalism).

In the Scopes 'monkey trial,' which took place in Tennessee in 1926, it was fundamentalism that formally won out over agnosticism. But in the national forum, it meant a heavy political defeat for the fundamentalists, and thereby for institutionalized religion itself. Over the following decade, the Great Depression and a growing interest in the secular *Weltanschauung*, together with the experiences of the labor movement, drove organized religion still farther to the rear. At America's entry into the war, at the beginning of the 1940s, only 64,500,000 of its citizens—almost precisely half of the population—still belonged to an organized religious community, and this number was decreasing. The United States seemed to be taking the route of other industrial nations, in which organized religion, and religious belief, became but marginal phenomena.

Re-Sacralization

4. The *'re-sacralization' of society, and the spread of pluralistic denominationalism to Catholics and Jews, under the political consensus of → civil religion and that of Americanism or anti-Communism (1945 to the present)*: Twenty years later—after fifteen years of postwar prosperity and Cold War—the number of church members had risen once more to 114,500,000, some 63 percent of the population. The trend to worldly secularization had been reversed, and strikingly. At a series of conferences and symposia, which later gained celebrity, of religious and social scientists at the American Academy of Arts, the phenomenon was actually diagnosed as an awakening movement, the fourth in the history of the United States.[5] This new upward swing as well was essentially a result of Protestant pietist campaigns—partly planned by upper echelons, and executed by financially well supplied organizations like Youth for Christ International, with its star evangelist Billy Graham. But their missionary goals were no longer under denominational demarcation; now they were invitations on an ecumenical level. They were clearly colored with the intent of encouraging further the 'supra-party' consensus of all believing Americans, regardless of denomination, in the new imperial role of the United States in the world. 'Denomination' no longer meant a Protestant church, or even a Christian one: now it embraced Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. The function of this kind of supra-religious, pluralistic coexistence of the 'Western' confessions of faith was stated conceptually by President Eisenhower (1952–1960), noting that the American form of government

will not work on the long run, unless it is connected to a deeply felt religious faith—and Eisenhower did not care what faith that would be.[6] A little later, sociologist of religion Robert Bellah coined the concept → 'civil religion.'[7]

The 'American Religion'

5. The process of the re-sacralization of the United States has further progressed in recent years along the lines of Protestant denominationalism. Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic Church, in American understanding, is the largest 'denomination.' Most of its members see themselves as members of an American denomination, and only secondarily as a part of a universalistic world church. The multiple American branches of the old Eastern Churches (→ Orthodox Churches), the Polish National Catholic Church, the various newer communities that define themselves in terms of the 'age of Aquarius' (→ New Age), theosophists, occultists, and followers of the Far Eastern religions, understand themselves in similar fashion. They all have one thing in common: an extensively subjectivistic and pragmatic attitude toward their faith, and, even in polemical contradiction, a nevertheless recognizable identity as Americans.[8]

1. Chesterton 1990, 23.
2. Rawlyk 1996, 53.
3. Burnham 1981, 133.
4. See Bercovitch 1988, 32.
5. McLoughlin/Bellah 1968, x.
6. Herberg 1955, 97.
7. McLoughlin/Bellah 1968, 3-15.
8. Cf. ibid., xvi.

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→ *California, Central America, Civil Religion, Fundamentalism, New Age, New York, North America (Traditional Religions), South America*

Frank Unger

North America: Time Chart

Era 1: European prologue (1520–1607)

Date	Event	Commentary
round 1520	Spaniards begin colonization and mission in Mexico, Florida, and California	Popes, and Spanish kings such as Charles V, have seen the best warrant for the perpetual exploitation of the fabled riches of the New World in a conversion of the 'Indians.' True, there was very early intra-church criticism of the treatment of the indigenous American population, for example by Dominican Father Bartolomé las Casas (1474–1566) and Francisco de Vitoria (1483–1546).
round 1570	Jesuits begin mission work in the Chesapeake Bay	

Era 2: The Protestant empire is founded (1607–1750)

Date	Event	Commentary
1607	Anglicans found a church in Jamestown, Virginia	In England's first settlement in North America, a pure trade-colony, the Church of England becomes the official state church.
1608	French missioners establish a base in Quebec	French Catholics were the first solidly settled continuous white inhabitants in Canada. They thus made an essential contribution to the particular character of the later Canadian nation.
1620	First Puritan community, in Plymouth, Massachusetts	Puritans established their own state church in New England, on the three pillars of their theology: original sin, authority of the Bible, and collective theocratic state.
1634	English Catholics Settle in Maryland	The Catholic English noble family Calvert (Lord Baltimore) successfully sought to establish refuge for English Catholics.
1638	Swedish Lutherans Settle in Delaware	The regime of the state church in New England and Virginia, where somewhat less religious freedom prevailed as in England at the same time, is slowly but surely challenged by the forces of pluralism, by Free Churches without status or connection with societal power. The basis appears for the later general character of American religious practice as independent of the state, individualistic, lay-oriented, and in the spirit of the "Awakening."
1639	Roger Williams, exiled from Massachusetts, founds the First Baptist Church, in Providence, Rhode Island	
1682	William Penn Founds a Quaker Colony	

<table>
<tr><td>1692/93</td><td>Witch Trials in Salem, Massachusetts</td><td>The murderous self-propulsion of the trials shakes the authority of the spiritual leadership (“Mathers Dynasty”: Increase Mather, 1639–1723; Cotton Mather, 1663–1728).</td></tr>
<tr><td>round 1740</td><td>First Great Awakening</td><td>The → Awakening movements, and their zealous ‘evangelicalism,’ had indeed thrived on European soil as well, but only in North America did they become the dominant tendency of Protestantism as such.</td></tr>
<tr><td>1763</td><td>Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, dedicated</td><td>Smaller groups of Sephardic Jews have lived in Rhode Island and New York since c. 1750.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Era 3: The age of the democratic awakening movements (1750–1870)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1775–1783</td><td>American War of Independence</td><td>July 4, 1776: Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress.</td></tr>
<tr><td>1777</td><td>Continental Congress proclaims a national day of Thanksgiving for the harvest</td><td>First step toward a confession-spanning → civil religion.</td></tr>
<tr><td>1779</td><td>Virginia Parliament passes law on religious freedom</td><td rowspan="3">The leaders of the revolution and the elite of the United States had great problems with religion. Every state preference, or favoring of a particular domination, provoked massive opposition without fail, and endangered the national consensus. Thus, they decided on the model of a ‘Christian nation’ under strictly secular state power. On the other hand, the word “Christian” (or any approximation thereof) does not appear in the US Constitution, nor the Declaration of Independence. The Treaty of Tripoli (enacted 1797, with the full participation of the Congress and President John Adams) declared that “the Government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>1787</td><td>United States constitution agreed upon</td></tr>
<tr><td>1789</td><td>First Amendment: strict separation of church and state</td></tr>
<tr><td>1791</td><td>Forty-five royalist priests, as refugees from the revolution meet in Quebec</td><td>These new arrivals in a relatively small community reinforce the ultramontane spirit of Quebec Catholicism, which will have to endure it to the present.</td></tr>
</table>

round 1800	Second Great Awakening movement	Second of a series of Awakening campaigns, which were more or less regularly conducted as late as the last third of this century. They brought the definitive breakthrough of the Awakening sects to the status of determining forces of American Protestantism and its still valid division between 'mainline churches' and 'evangelicals.'
1804	Philadelphia Quakers petition United States Congress to abolish slavery	
1830	Founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) in Fayette, New York	The → Mormons are named after the Book of Mormon, the book 'revealed' to their founder, Joseph Smith. They are doubtless the most successful autochthonous American religious community. Their center has been Salt Lake City, Utah, since 1847.
1845	Southern Baptist Convention founded in Atlanta, Georgia	The Southern white Baptists created their own umbrella organization, owing to increasing criticism of slavery by their Northern coreligionists.
Era 4: Americanization of churches and growing secularization		
round 1870	First Black churches	Ex-slaves organize their own religious communities.
1875	Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) publishes *Science and Health*; founding of Christian Science	Christian Science became another of many religious communities that, especially, offer their members an alternative community lifestyle. Its doctrine and practice center on a form of spiritual healing.
1881	Beginning of the mass immigration from Eastern, Southeastern, and Southern Europe	The masses of European immigrants, of the most varied religious confessions, laid the cornerstone for the coming replacement of an America of Protestant pluralism by an America of Christian-Jewish pluralism.
1895	Founding of the Anti-Saloon League of America	The struggle over 'Prohibition' was classically Protestant. But it was also one of the first 'ecumenical movements.' Conservative Catholics had a special opportunity here, to show themselves to be 'good American Christians.'

1899	Pope Leo XIII condemns "Americanism"	Conservative Catholics in Europe were alarmed at the extent to which American Catholics were obviously adapting to the usages of a de-hierarchized and awakening-oriented piety.
1907	Walter Rauschenbusch publishes *Christianity and Social Crisis*	His experiences as a pastor in New York's "Hell's Kitchen" motivated Rauschenbach to become founder and exponent of the paternalistic Social Gospel movement.
1909	Publication of the Scofield Bible	Cyrus Scofield's annotated reference bible founded the religious mode of dispensationalism, that is (simply put), the use of holy writ as a prophesying book.
1910–1915	Publication of the pamphlet-series *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth*	Financed by a California oil-millionaire, this series of publications was meant to be a compendium of the normal faith content of Protestant Christianity, as opposed to a biblical exegesis marked by certain forms of literary criticism. This reaction to 'modern' theology also existed elsewhere, but only in the United States did fundamentalism achieve its effect on politics.
1917	American Friends Service Committee founded	In the year of the entry of the United States into the First World War, Quakers founded what is probably the most radical pacifist organization that had ever existed.
1918	Central Conference of American Rabbis passes "Program for Social Justice"	Non-Protestant churches, etc., especially Jews and Catholics, begin to speak out, as active participants in national life, with a right to public political speech, and now challenge their 'minority status' in a Protestant nation.
1919	Roman Catholic Bishops support a Program for Social Reformation	
1919–1933	Prohibition	Proscription of the selling of alcoholic beverages. The repeal of Prohibition under Franklin D. Roosevelt can be seen as an indicator of Protestantism's loss of its hegemony.

round 1920	New formation of the → Ku Klux Klan	'White Protestant America' defends itself against the challenge to its hegemony. The resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan is a reaction to the 'infiltration' of Blacks, Catholics, and Jews into Protestant American society
1923	Charles A. Fuller starts supra-confessional radio program, *The Old Fashioned Revival Hour*	Fuller represents the early connection between old-fashioned religion and new-style technology in the United States. In the 1930s, Fuller had up to ten million listeners weekly.
1925	"Monkey Trial" in Dayton, Tennessee	This famous trial held as a result of the dispute over the teaching of evolution in schools was indeed a juridical victory for the fundamentalists, but a moral political one for their opponents. William Jennings Bryan made a last attempt to defend the social values of a 'Christian' America with an appeal to the Story of Creation, but was made to look laughable by Clarence Darrow.
1931	Catholics, Protestants and Jews open a common congress for unemployment	A further step along the way to a transformation of the political religious culture of the United States from a Protestant hegemony to the trinity of Protestantism-Catholicism-Judaism.
1946	Billy Graham organizes Youth for Christ	Graham (born 1918) becomes the most successful evangelist of the twentieth century. He contributes essentially to the resurrection of a high membership in the Protestant churches, which had descended in the 1930s to a 'rock bottom.'
1954	Supreme Court of the United States declares racial segregation in schools unconstitutional (Brown vs. Board of Education)	This decision provided the proponents of civil rights in the United States with an impetus. Especially, it now led to the undertaking, in the South of the United States, of systematic attempts to bring the letter of the law to practice and effect.
1955	Bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama	The bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, initiated by Rosa Parks under the political and spiritual leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., becomes the epochal moment of the battle for civil rights, and makes King a national figure practically overnight.

1960	John F. Kennedy becomes first non-Protestant President of the United States	Kennedy's election completes the process of the assimilation of the three great religious groups in Christian-Jewish America: the Catholic-Protestant-Jewish. In this sense, the United States today is no longer a Protestant nation, although the number of Protestant Christians contrinues to constitute two-thirds of its population.
1962–1965	Second Vatican Council	With its policy of 'openness,' and its liberalizing decisions, the Second Council of the Vatican—its name forever to be associated with that of John XXIII—contributed essentially to the strengthening of the Catholic Church in America.
Era 5: De-secularization and "religionization" of politics (since c. 1965)		
1963	United States Supreme Court rules prayer and Bible reading in public schools unconstitutional	This decision of the Supreme Court stands in the tradition of state neutrality when it comes to confessions and denominations. But for the white Protestant majority it is another sign that foreign forces have taken over the country.
1964	Martin Luther King, Jr., receives Nobel Peace Prize	The international reverence of Martin Luther King, Jr. becomes felt just so by many. Finally, the amazing 'outsider' who leads the civil rights movement is classified by J. Edgar Hoover as a potential enemy of the state, and spied on around the clock by the FBI.
1968	King murdered by a white	
1973	United States Supreme Court declares outlawing of abortion unconstitutional	This decision of the Supreme Court against the outlawing of abortion supplies the definitive incentive to conservative Protestants to organize a political movement that will attempt to block dangerous election victories on all levels of politics. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority has defined the 'white' conservative reaction to modernizing changes and the new multiculturalism of the United States. After his defeat by Bush Senior in the 1988 primary elections, Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition emerges from his campaign organization. It becomes the most effective mobilization machine in the United States.
1976	Jerry Falwell founds *Moral Majority*	
1988	Pat Robertson candidate for U.S. presidency	
2000	George W. Bush chosen President of the United States, with decisive support of the Christian Coalition	

Frank Unger

North America, Traditional Religions

The Importance of Place

1. *Places, Names, Pluralities:* Indigenous peoples and scholars increasingly agree that native traditions 'take place.' In this usage, place is understood as more than simply location; it is the geophysical anchor of identity (→ Place [Sacred]; Landscape). Place in this enriched sense refers to an embodied and storied landscape.[1] As Vine Deloria, Jr. has written with regard to American Indian religions, "[r]ecognizing the sacredness of lands on which previous generations have lived and died is the foundation of all other sentiments."[2] When seeking to understand native religions, one should therefore begin with a consideration of tradition-specific meanings of the land, as these will pertain to myth as well as to history. Because native North America is rich in *locale* traditions, it is not uncommon to read or hear accounts of a people who emerged from the earth *here*, a → trickster who lived on a mountain over *there*, a sacred buffalo on *that* plain, a power cave in *this* rock. Place—the natural world mapped according to cultural coordinates—is a primary agent in the religious world of these traditions. It acts and is acted upon in ways that are constitutive of the sacred. At the same time, places are marked through → ritual and rhetorical processes: they are possessive (e.g., "Mother Earth cares for her children"), possessed (e.g., "the Black Hills is our sacred center"), and dispossessed, the last an all too familiar story. But the story does not end there: places can be regained, re-told, re-inhabited. Place, therefore, is a central category for understanding native traditions, but it is not fixed in its possible meanings.

Mobility and Cross-Fertilizations

Another aspect of place deserves attention here: the category 'North American Traditional Religions' is an analytical construct, not a 'natural' subset of the world or cultures therein. Indigenous peoples are found around the globe, today as in the past. The Americas are no exception—native peoples inhabit the hemisphere from the northern tip of the Arctic to the southern tip of Chile (→ Northern Eurasia/Circumpolar Region; Central America; South America). Where these people came from is hotly contested, both within academic circles and within native communities. Appreciating and exploring the richness of native religions does not require entering this debate, though one might learn a good deal from observing it; in fact, the debate may be regarded as a generative site of religious claims, as native representatives give voice to → origin accounts over and against non-native perspectives and the epistemological implications these entail. In any event, it is important to note that people native to the Americas arrived from multiple origins, geographically, racially, and culturally speaking. These multiple groups have maintained their mobility and cultural fluidity through time. It is therefore a disservice to native peoples and the study of them to be rigid in our understanding of peoples relative to place. To insist on studying traditions by way of imposed geographical encapsulations of them is to preclude taking account of movements and cross-fertilizations.

Arbitrary Boundaries and 'Culture Areas'

What sense can be made of the tension between a recognition of the arbitrary character of scholarly emphases upon 'culture areas' and the considerable attention given to the category of place by native peoples as essential and central to their traditions? One helpful starting point is to acknowledge this tension and to remain conscious of the different voices, claims, and


F.D.2005
ESKIMO
TLINGIT
ESKIMO
HAIDA
TSIMSHIAN
CARRIER
ATHABASCAN
BEAVER
ESKIMO
CHIPEWYAN
MONTAGNAIS
NASKAPI
CREE
NORTHERN SAULTEAUX
KWAKIUTL
NOOTKA
LILLOOET
THOMPSON
KUTENAI
BLACKFOOT
ASSINIBOIN
PLAINS OJIBWA
OJIBWA
MICMAC
WISHRAM
YAKIMA
FLATHEAD
CROW
NEZ PERCE
NORTHERN CHEYENNE
OJIBWA
OTTAWA
PENOBSCOT
MOHAWK
HURON
MENOMINI
WINNEBAGO
ONONDAGA
IROQUOIS
SENECA
DELAWARE
KLAMATH
SIOUX
ARAPAHO
SHOSHONE
SHOSHONE
OMAHA
PONCA
WINNEBAGO
ACHOMAWI
YUROK
KAROK
HUPA
POMO
SHASTA
UTE
PAIUTE
YOKUTS
CHUMASH
CAHUILLA
MOHAVE
HAVASUPAI
NAVAJO
HOPI
YUMA
YAQUI
PAPAGO
PIMA
APACHE
LUGUNA
ZUNI
COCHITI
APACHE
APACHE
*OKLAHOMA TRIBES
CHEROKEE
CHOCTAW
CREEK
CHITIMACHA
SEMINOLE
NATIVE AMERICAN TRIBES
CURRENT LOCATIONS
FOR SELECT TRIBES
*OKLAHOMA TRIBES
SOUTHERN CHEYENNE
PAWNEE
OTO
ARAPAHO
KIOWA
COMANCHE
DELAWARE
ILLINOIS
CADDO
CREEK
CHEROKEE
SAUK & FOX
OSAGE
PONCA
MIAMI
SEMINOLE
POTAWATOMI
CHOCTAW

stakes of different maps and the territories they mark out. Approached in this manner, it is clear that the category 'North American Traditional Religions' represents a historically produced cartography of indigenous traditions that corresponds in obvious but not always noted ways with the geo-political boundaries of the United States and Canada (→ North America). This feature has negative implications for the utility of the category because it limits the field of study in dramatic respects. What of the peoples south of the border of the United States? What of those people, including groups of the Apache and Kiowa, who have generational histories of moving across that border? In view of these sorts of limitations, is there a defensible way to argue for the study of North American traditions as a cogent analytical framework? Increasingly, many scholars and native people suggest that there is not; instead a call is made for broader analyses of, say, 'Indigenous Traditions in the Americas.' This effort is commendable in its way, but it seems more to displace the question of arbitrary boundaries than to resolve it.

North America as a Paradigmatic Example

As problematic as the category is, a case for its relevance can be made on the basis of how geo-political boundaries have shaped and influenced native traditions. It can be argued that a central and defining feature of native traditions in North America is the fact that they have faced and responded to the reality of being encompassed by alien nation-states. If we engage in the study of these traditions from the perspective of the present, and if we acknowledge that culture-contact history is central to telling the story of various traditions—of their changes, departures, new beginnings, and not simply of their demise—then we see that North America is a revealing analytical frame. It is a context unlike any other wherein the ideals of democracy and liberalism and the realities of modern capitalist economies have come face to face with native communities grounded in their own senses of reality, entitlement, and hoped for futures.

Addressing this context, a productive analytical stance rests on two related insights: (1) Post-Columbian native traditions are worthy of study and appreciation and should not be viewed as derivative or otherwise impure when compared to pre-colonial traditions; (2) more radically, scholars have no access to language-based data of any North American traditional context that is free from non-native influence. Such influence may be as bald as forced schooling and English-only policies or as subtle as the introduction of a new class of gifts into the potlatch ritual. In this way, the native North American context is an instructive example of a general principle: traditions are historical (this recognition is often difficult because traditions are invested precisely in the erasure of any characteristics that reveal them to be historical products). It is possible and productive to study *representations* of traditional purity, but analysis falters and indeed becomes untenable if purity is sought at the level of → tradition itself. If we grant the relevance of historical and ideological influences to native traditions, then we can appreciate that the category 'North American Traditional Religions'—while limited and limiting—speaks to 'real world' conditions and consequences pertaining to the necessarily political contexts of lived native traditions.

The Politics of Naming

Rivaling the complexity of issues occasioned by the category of place is the category of naming. The dynamic here is similar as well. As a first principle, we should acknowledge that all names are historically produced. We should then also acknowledge that the politics of naming are differential, which

should lead us to ask: Who names whom? What names are self-attributions? What names are imposed? What names stick? What names have become sticky? A quick conclusion we reach here is that many European-imposed names have been historically inadequate, if not down right inaccurate, as is the case with the most famous name of all: *Indians*. Just here, however, we see a lesson emerge. Against the grain of much popular expectation, today many native peoples in North America (at least in the United States) call themselves Indians, not Native Americans. Names, like places, maybe arbitrarily designated, but valuations of them are not—and value is as hard to predict in cultural worlds as in economics ones. In the case of 'Indians,' a crass misnomer with a checkered history caught on with native peoples just as it fell out of favor with certain sectors of the non-native public. Broad political utility is behind the former, political correctness the latter. In any case, the lesson is: ask, don't assume. In general, many of the indigenous peoples of North America prefer their local group name as rendered in their language. But this is often not the case, or one finds political factions within a tribe or nation, such that one prefers one designation (Navajo, for example) and another something else (Dineh, in the case at hand). In Canada the broad designation First Nations is popular.

Plurality

As is readily seen from the preceding considerations, a defining characteristic of North American traditional religions is their stunning plurality. While it is commonplace to refer to World Religions (e.g., Christianity, Buddhism, Islam) in the singular, many scholars have argued that such monolithic characterizations of these traditions are a disservice to them because they erase the variety that exists within these traditions. This position applies even more strongly to the religious traditions of North America. Despite a persistent tendency of people to speak of Indian Religion, Indian Belief, and Indian Culture, no such singular entity has ever existed in the sense usually implied. In the case of so-called World Religions, at least it can be said that each such tradition has a more or less shared idea of sacred history, a more or less shared sense of the tradition's founders, texts, and the like, however much these might be internally contested. For the native peoples of North America no such common set of referents has ever obtained in the same way. Scholars and students should therefore be wary of any formulations of native religious traditions that posit uniform terms and which imply a similarly uniform reality.

Processes of 'Singularization'

However, as with places and names, complexity lurks here too. As a caveat to an instance upon recognizing the plurality of native traditions, it should be noted that a relatively recent phenomenon cuts in the other direction. This is the Pan-Indian movement, which has precursors in the first multi-group responses to non-native encroachment and which has been increasingly visible from the twentieth century to the present. This movement emerges from a recognition on the part of Indian peoples that they share many common concerns and ideas, particularly with regard to their position vis-à-vis the dominant society. Cross-tribal affiliations, powwow networks, national and international lobby groups, and native media sources are aspects of contemporary Pan-Indianism. Increasingly, ritual life has moved in this direction, with a particular focus on ritual pipe smoking, the use of sweat lodges, vision quests, and, in some cases, Sun Dancing and the use of peyote. Pan-Indianism is also evident in institutional contexts such as prisons and the military

and in urban settings where Indianness rather than specific tribal affiliation is the most visible marker of identity.[3]

No Generalizations

2. *Conceptualizing Native Traditions:* A number of excellent sources will orient the interested reader with reference to native histories, historiography, and religious thought.[4] An indispensable background and bibliographical resource is the *Handbook of North American Indians*.[5] Rather than attempt to offer summary accounts of the vast terrain covered in these and other volumes, the remainder of the present entry will be limited to exploring several conceptual issues pertaining to North American traditional religions. The central principle that should be adhered to by all scholars and students of native traditions is one that we cannot help but run afoul of here: do not generalize. Native traditions in North America are as diverse as the people who practice them. Many hundreds of distinct groups exist in the present as in the past. The peoples who compose these groups speak many different languages, practice an incredible range of life-ways, engage non-native worlds in varying degrees, and are otherwise diverse. Even participants in Pan-Indian movements are not single-minded in ways that exclude traces of local cultures; quite the opposite, Pan-Indian elements are often construed according to local ideas, ideals, habits, and accents. Thus, the best scholarly tradition is ethnographically based, seeking out detail and difference.

Specifying Features That Are Not *Found*

While necessarily engaging in generalization for efficiency sake, the path charted here is to proceed by specifying features *not* found, for the most part, in the traditional religions of North America. Describing traditional religions by peeling away layers of what they are not is illuminating because the study of religion as a discipline and the colonial disciplining of native peoples (→ Colonialism) share a common historical reliance on the explanatory and motivating power of various interpretations of Christianity. The desire to understand and act upon other peoples by way of one's own conception of salvation history has shaped popular and academic representations of native traditions in ways that have proven remarkably durable.[6] The study of native traditions in the Americas needs to move as far as possible from this tendential hermeneutic in an effort to conceive of these traditions in ways that respect the integrity, complexity, and multiplicity of the life-ways considered. That said, it is appropriate to give a word of caution: analysis of native traditions should not overcorrect in the effort to strip away Christian or other Western influences. Overcorrection of this sort leads to its own distortions. Much in the way many North American traditional peoples have embraced names not of their own creation, so too they have incorporated and embraced aspects of the non-native world, Christianity included.[7] In fact, a majority of Indians today identify themselves as Christian. What they mean by Christian often proves to notably dynamic and eclectic, but to discount this religious reality is to preclude the possibility of a full consideration of traditions in the present.

If we take a very broad view of religion as speech, action, and social structures that rest upon claims to knowledge and authority derived from sources that are transcendent (other than human) and not empirically falsifiable, then we have a definition encompassing enough to include many Western and non-Western forms of religious life. The task, then, is to separate out characteristics that are frequently taken to be representative of native religious traditions but which are more characteristic of Western ones. Doing

so enables us to see the outlines of the religious traditions of North America as they emerge by way of contrast. When this analytic method is coupled with our earlier observations pertaining to the flexible and present-focused quality of tradition, the following features of these traditions stand out.

Orality

The native religious traditions of North America are not textual. The fact that 'New World' cultures were not literate is well known; the consequences of this for their religious traditions are not always fully appreciated (→ Oral Tradition; Text/Textual Criticism). Orality removes the possibility that a text will be fetishized or otherwise reified in dogmatic terms (→ Canon). Correspondingly, orality opens up tremendous room for variants and change. Most importantly, orality necessitates storytelling, which requires powers of → memory and presentation. As all accomplished storytellers know, a sure way to keep audiences' attention is to bring them into the story. This feat is just what oral traditions do: they contribute to the narrated life. Each person's life is cast and interpreted as part and parcel of a larger communal and cosmic story that reaches backward and forward in time and up and down into the elements. From many traditional points of view, the act of speaking and hearing oral tradition is constitutive of the world itself.[8] Similarly, many practitioners consider oral traditions to be the chief means of communication between humans and other entities: → animals, → ancestors, spirits all compose and are composed by story. Narrative is the mode that brings these native North American traditions to life, whether by way of songs, chants, folktales, genealogies or even legal testimony. The latter reveals that oral tradition has not been erased by modernity and literacy, though it has taken new forms as speakers have found novel vehicles and avenues for its expression. In many respects, oral tradition in the present has taken on a heightened oppositional status vis-à-vis the textual *habitus* of the dominant society.[9]

No Codified Dogma

Related to their orality and corresponding absence of codified dogma, native North American traditions tend to be non-propositional. That is, they usually have no creed or systematized set of truth claims that must be adhered to for one to be judged a believer. Indeed, it can be said that these traditions are not belief based. They are far more concerned with religious activity and ritual life, with what some call 'practice.' Native religious traditions of North America, like indigenous traditions around the globe, are principally focused on maintaining personal, communal, and cosmic balance through ritual actions. The range of ritual activity in such traditions is vast: some rituals mark life and status transitions, others are designed to bless, heal, or attract rain, still others are for purposes of witching and unwitching, but the general theme of all is to manage the 'power' of the world—to attract positive energy to where it is needed and to drive away dangerous power. Some rituals are cycle-based, like the Winter Ceremonial of the Kwakuitl or various first fruit ceremonies, others are performed on an as needed and as available basis, such as Navajo Sandpainting or the rituals of the Native American Church.

The fact that these traditions are oral and tend to be non-doctrinal does not mean that they are without mechanisms for constructing and exercising authority. Sentimental views of 'noble savage religion' are of no use in the project of understanding these traditions. An honest if sobering approach to religion includes regarding it as a heightened form of social and ideological

capital that may confer tremendous rewards to those who wield it persuasively, or, conversely, may present serious problems to those who fail to do so. These dynamics are true of native traditions as much as of any other. This factor means that some groups of people are able to establish their power and position over and against others by way of their use of religion. Of native traditions the same questions should be posed as of any tradition: What groups and individuals do they serve? What groups and individuals do they disserve? Who may or may not participate in a ritual? How do various ritual experts attempt to extend their authority through ritual innovations and other action? Such questions continue to be relevant today, particularly as issues of → identity and → group membership have taken on centrality in recent years.[10]

In-Group Based Traditions

A related feature of native traditions of North America is that they are non-proselytizing. This aspect can come as a shock to well-intentioned non-Indians who are on spiritual paths that they believe lead to native religions. Unlike conversion-based religions such as Christianity, these traditions are ethnicity based. Either a person is part of the group—as reckoned culturally, which may or may not include genealogy and, by extension, race—or a person is not. If a person is part of the group, then the religion pertains to that person, for his or her place in the community and the cosmos depends upon it. If that person is not part of the group, he or she may well be regarded in religious terms (as having some sort of power), but it is highly unlikely that he or she will be regarded as part of the religious community.[11]

A Multitude of Spirits and Deities

Another feature of these traditions that seems alien to many non-native people is they are not focused, for the most part, on singular deities. Some traditions include references to maximal deities, though these seldom figure into practical religious life. Moreover, when maximal deities are invoked, the specter of missionary influence must be suspected. This is not to say that these religious traditions are without their gods or entities equivalent to gods—almost all traditions include reference to high order entities. These are often spoken of as 'master' spirits: e.g., that which controls the winds, that which controls the rains, or that which is the spiritual leader of a species of animals. In any event, such deities or spirits are not worshipped in an abstract sense for their own sake; they are ritually invoked and engaged as inhabitants and agents of the world itself. A similar situation obtains with regard to pivotal religious figures. Native traditions recognize their full share of prophets and visionaries, and these, like Sweet Medicine of the Cheyenne, are regarded in the highest terms. There are few examples, however, of anything approaching the status of Jesus in Christianity, Mohammad in Islam, or Moses in Judaism. This points us again to the ways native traditions are less about figures and beliefs than they are about *relationships*. Relationships may be mediated by prominent figures and deities, but they are ultimately about the peoples' connection to one another and the group to the larger world. More must be said about the world in this context.

Lack of Salvation History

Contrary to many Christian theologies, native peoples tend not to assume that this world is fallen or otherwise imperfect; rather, the question for them is how to integrate with the world and manage metaphysical 'power' within it. We can generalize here: the native peoples of North America seem to be unanimous in describing the world as having a subject quality, as a whole

and in each part (→ Animism). Thus, each element of nature is understood to have personhood, which implies in many cases that all things in the world are related, can communicate and are engaged in reciprocal relationships, humans included. An important consequence of this idea is that these traditions are not, therefore, focused on 'salvation' or other such means of escaping or transcending this world. Likewise, these traditions tend not to be future-oriented in sense of conceiving of life as unfolding according to a master teleology. Rather, the privileged temporal referent is the past: the past is regarded as wellspring for modeling behavior in present and as an ideal pattern for the future. In fact, it may be argued that it is this desire to emulate and recapitulate the idealized past that causes insiders and outsiders alike to view these religions as 'traditional.' In any event, in these religions human history is not understood to be separate from that of natural world, but rather is viewed as a component of it. As human history is not divorced from natural history, neither is the body from the soul. While many native North American traditions distinguish bodies from souls in a variety of ways, the → soul does not usually receive disproportionate religious attention, nor is it necessarily ranked as a higher entity than the → body.[12] In fact, much religious attention is focused upon keeping body and soul united, and these connected to the family, clan, community, and cosmos. Many Native American mortuary practices and other ritual means for structuring relationships with the dead reflect this concern.

The Vitality of Traditional Religious Life

3. *The Living Present*: It should be clear that North American religious traditions are not dead. Eulogies for native traditions have been announced over and again by politicians, missionaries, and even scholars. This trend of sentimentally burying the 'Red Man' has been a defining feature of North American ideology over the past two hundred years. If one considers the nadir of native traditions in the late nineteenth century, when the Sun Dance and other traditions had been outlawed and the Ghost Dance provoked tremendous violence against the Lakota at Wounded Knee, it becomes conceivable why many observers announced the death of native traditions. Suffice it to say, these pronouncements were premature. Not only have native cultures persisted, they are now thriving. Demographically, native peoples' numbers have risen dramatically in the past century. This increase is partly due to improved health conditions, but it is principally due to the fact that identifying oneself as native has shifted from being a clear social liability to being a point of pride and a possible avenue to a variety of entitlements specific to native peoples by way of their relationships to the federal governments of the United States and Canada.[13] Correspondingly, native religious traditions have experienced a tremendous efflorescence over the past century, and particularly since the 1960s. Whereas many native ceremonies were banned in the nineteenth century, now various laws protect a number of native practices and sacred places. Native peoples have fought hard for these protections and continue to do so. These battles include but are not limited to protection of peyote consumption, the use of various animal parts such as eagle feathers in rituals, burial protections, repatriation rights, fishing rights, and the securing of religious rights for incarcerated members of their groups.[14]

'Survivance'

From this recognition of the contemporary vitality of traditional religious life in North America follow several related observations. Native traditions were not destroyed by colonialism, but neither were they unaffected by

them. North American native religious traditions have persisted because, as Gerald Vizenor has argued, Indians are warriors of 'survivance.'[15] They have situated their identities, practices, and bodies in a variety of ways with regard to non-native agendas and the mechanism of representation through which these have been pursued. Fiction has been a primary genre through which Native Americans have explored this theme, well-known examples of which include N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* and Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*.[16] At times, native traditions have been articulated as fierce and oppositional rejections of non-native presence; at other times native strategies of survivance have depended upon the technologies and assumptions of the non-native world. Further, a spectrum of possible modes of engagement rests between these polar responses. Native religious traditions are found across this spectrum. In this way, these traditions are not separable from realities of → colonialism and → modernity; these forces are constitutive of Native American traditionalism. An instructive exercise is to study various native traditions with an eye for how they might be located on this spectrum, though one should be forewarned that analysis here is far from simple. Analysis of contemporary religions of native North America suggests that the most stridently oppositional movements may make profound use of non-native elements, whereas some apparently accommodationist movements, like various forms of native Christianity, have maintained rather than abandoned a good deal of ancestral content.[17]

1. See, e.g., Momaday 1976; Basso 1996.
2. Deloria, Jr. 1994, 278.
3. For more on issues addressed in this section and for a broad range of issues in the study of Native American traditions, see, e.g., Thornton 1998 and Geertz 1994.
4. Good introductory sources include: Niezen, 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1999; Nabokov 2002; Joel 2001; Gill 2005. For a rich selection of primary sources, see Nabokov 1991.
5. Sturtevant 1986.
6. See Berkhoffer 1978; Pearce 1988.
7. On Native American Christianities, see Treat 1996.
8. For a discussion of this theme, see Sam Gill, "The Trees Stood Deep Rooted," in: Dooling/Jordan-Smith 1989.
9. On modern narrative traditions, see Allen 2002.
10. See, e.g., Lincoln 1994.
11. On the long history of non-Indians desires to be and act Indian, see Ph. Deloria 1998.
12. Regarding Native American soul theories, see Hultkrantz 1997.
13. See Cornell 1988; Nagel 1996.
14. On religious freedom issues, see Vecsey 1996.
15. Vizenor 1994.
16. Momaday 1968; Silko 1977. For poetry and short stories, see, e.g., Alexie 1992.
17. On law and literature in the context of contemporary North American traditions, see Weaver 2001.

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→ *Central America, Cosmology/Cosmogony, Dance, Landscape, Myth/Mythology, Nature, North America, Northern Eurasia/Circumpolar Region, Place (Sacred), Reception, Ritual, Shamanism, South America, Trickster*

Greg Johnson

Northern Eurasia / Circumpolar Region

Age of the 'Socialist Mission'

1. At the beginning of the 1930s, the Soviet Union pressed to Northern Eurasia, and propagated the start of a new age. The 'Socialist mission' would lead the population of the far North out of its social and religious 'retardation' alike. Here the Communist worldview encountered the most varied religious traditions, and problems of understanding were frequent. For example, a young Communist teacher reported of his attempt to convince the spiritual leader of a group of Chukchi of Lenin's views and the positive results of the Revolution. After the leader had heard him out, he only answered: "So Lenin comes from the moon, from the dark side we cannot see?" In order to understand these puzzling words, one must know that, one hundred years before, Tsarist Russia had attempted to establish its power in the far North. The Tsar—symbol of the new order—was at that time introduced linguistically as the 'Sun King.' It was logical, then, for the indigenous population to see in his successor the work of cosmic forces of the opposition. The forces of the moon had replaced the power of the sun. These different manners of conception were followed by misunderstandings and problems of communication. They stand as examples of a confrontation of different world images during colonization (→ Colonialism). Religious con-

F.D.2005

NORTHERN EURASIA / CIRCUMPOLAR REGION

Language groups of Northern Eurasia and the Arctic

 Eskimo-Aleut

 Paleo-Siberian languages

 Tungusic

 Turkish languages

 Ural

Inuit — Ethnic groups (with example: Inuit)

Tomsk (1604) — Russian expansion in Siberia (with example and date: Tomak [1604])

 Centers of religious revival in Siberia

0 1000 2000 km

cepts corresponding to political expressions were sought in the languages of Northern Eurasia, so that the new power claims of the colonizers could be conveyed to the indigenous population.

Geographical Designations

2. Under the geographical designations of 'Northern Eurasia' and the 'Arctic' regions are included Northern Scandinavia, Siberia, Alaska, Northern Canada, and Greenland. This unification is very simplistic, and stamped with the Euro-centrist world image. Characteristic of this zone are Taiga and Tundra, the great forest belt of Eurasia, and the steppes to the north. The inhabitants of this living space belong to the most varied linguistic groups, have been exposed to the most varied worldviews and religions for centuries, and have frequently adopted some of their elements. Thus, one can scarcely speak of a unitary religious tradition. Christian Orthodox → missions penetrated Alaska itself, Protestant missionaries were active in Greenland, and in Southern Siberia the influence of Buddhist → Lamaism is evident. Most of these peoples form minorities in their home regions today, and the events of the twentieth century have altered their original lifestyle fundamentally.

In spite of the multiplicity of the most varied cultures, there are certain similarities in lifestyle and their religious conceptualizations. These congruities are occasionally ascribable to the homogeneous ecosystem of the Northern expanses. Climatic conditions—long winters and only brief periods of vegetation—exclude the possibility of agriculture. On these grounds, the traditional economy of all peoples of the far North has accommodated to hunting for land and water animals, and, to an extent, reindeer husbandry.

Animals and Hunting

3. The key role of hunting gives the → animal a place of special value in daily life, and is reflected in religion. A soul is attributed to beasts, just as it is to human beings. The Inuits of Alaska call this an *inua.* The *inua* is a kind of free spirit, possessing the ability to appear in various shapes. Behind this idea rests an understanding of the world that knows no basic distinction between the essence of human beings and that of animals. The mythologies of the Northern Asian peoples are familiar with a multiplicity of metamorphisms. Persons are transformed into animals, animals into persons, and animals into other animals. The supposed ability of human beings to transform themselves into other beings, always retaining their souls however, eliminates the possibility of ever being sure of the unambiguous identity of an ensouled being. Among the hunters of the region of the Bering Sea, the *inua* of an animal appears as a hidden, anthropoid face on its back, on its breast, or in its eyes. These faces, the physical form of the 'free soul'—often half human and half beast—are found once more, developed artistically, in the ritual masks of the Inuits of Alaska. When an animal dies, its *inua* transmigrates into the body of an unborn individual of the same species, there to exist once more.

This complex cosmos of transformation and wandering souls demands of the hunter an altogether special attention. Among the Yucagirs of Northern Siberia, for example, a hunter may fell no beast without having previously imprisoned its soul. Respect for animals calls for certain preparations for hunting, in order to do justice to their souls. *Hunting rites* can be divided simply into two different categories: (a) rites performed to attract wild life to the hunters, and (b) rites to free an animal's soul after its death. Hunting rituals accompany the hunter from society out into the wilderness, and present him with a pattern for behavior that symbolically supports him. These

rituals also express the necessity of cooperation between hunter and prey: the fragile equilibrium of the universe of hunting must not be disturbed.

Especially important for hunters is the sustenance of indispensable beasts, and this is accorded still more attention. The regular return of this prey, and an assured regeneration, are of great importance for the meaning of life. The Inuits of Alaska, dependent upon hunting for sea mammals, celebrated the death of a whale for five days, to liberate its soul. This span of time was the same as that of the grieving period observed for a deceased human being. The annual 'bladder festival' performed a similar function. The bladders of seals hunted and killed over the course of the year were ritually restored to the ocean in December, in order to help ensure sufficient prey for the following year.

Animal Deities

In all of these hunting rituals, *animal deities* play an important role. Every species or genus of animals has a guardian being. This being is usually addressed by the hunter or by the religious specialist who is responsible for a successful hunt. As ruler of the beasts of the sea, Central Canadian Arctic goddess Sedna comes forward as the most important divinity of the animals. She is responsible for the regular surfacing of the hunting prey. In her dwelling on the floor of the sea, she gathers all sea animals about herself. Infuriated by a breach of taboo at the hands of human beings, she will keep the beasts or their souls at the bottom of the sea. In such a case, it is a shaman's task to descend to her in a trance, and persuade her to release the animals. When he has returned to his community once more, a collective confession of moral wrongdoing follows, in order to reestablish the disturbed order and harmony between human being and beast. Thus, the shaman is responsible for the relations obtaining between the world of human persons and that of the spirits and gods.

Many Northern Eurasian peoples entertain the notion of a *layered world*. According to this conceptualization, the earth is divided into an upper world, our own, and a lower world, the dwelling place of the spirits and the souls of the dead. With the support of spirit helpers, mostly in the form of birds, or merely with the drum as his 'steed,' the shaman ventures into these regions in a trance. Mediator and cosmological specialist, the shaman is especially the guardian of the indigenous image of the world (→ Shamanism).

Change through Soviet Politics

4. Ethnographic reports testify to the multiplicity of these cosmologies, and of the religious practices associated with them. However, most of these descriptions arose at the beginning of the twentieth century, and pretend a timeless and changeless North Eurasian world. At least by the time of the 'Sovietization' of the far North, which began in 1928, the world of the hunting cultures of Northern Eurasia was nonetheless transformed—to its very foundations. It was usually young teachers and ethnographers stationed at 'culture bases' in the Tundra and Taiga who brought the announcement of the dawn of a new age to the remote regions. Like the prophets of the eschatological movements, they promised the indigenous people a complete change of their society, and the betterment of their life, which in the eyes of the Soviets was backward and superstitious. In order to make this promise clear, they had recourse to symbolical practices, as if they had been shamans, in an attempt to suggest or conjure up an invisible world (the Communist world order). Busts of Lenin, savior of the Socialist movement, red flags, the hammer and sickle, were transported to almost all of the villages and



Dancing shaman at the first Chukchi Folklore Festival, Moscow, autumn 1996. Under Soviet rule, new forms of religious expression developed in Northern Eurasia. Folklore groups and dance ensembles were often the only venues in which religious practices could continue to exist publicly. The adoption of Western styles of choreography and stage-settings, however, is controversial; many people regard this as a trivialization of religious tradition.

newly founded cities of Siberia. The symbolic presence of the new power was the outward indication of the change in the world order. A world picture impregnated with technology and enlightenment replaced the traditional cosmologies.

Along with the restructuring of economic life, in whose framework traditional economic processes had to yield to measures of collectivization, a campaign was waged against religious usages. Their representatives, the shamans, were regarded in the same way as were the Kulaks (large farmers) of Northern Eurasia, and were laid open to a similar persecution by representatives of authority. For many of them, 'Sovietization' ended with their deportation to a prison camp or with death. With publicly effective strategies, imitating the technique of the shamans, action was taken against those masters of transformation: youth and children had to attend Soviet schools, including boarding schools, sing derisive songs and present reviling theater pieces, in order to deprive the shamans' seductive power of its effect. Fire rituals, at which objects of shamanic accouterment and cult (robes, drums, and ritual objects) were heaped up and burned, destroyed the material foundations of indigenous guises of religion.

Myth and ritual reacted flexibly, however, to the societal change that had climaxed in Soviet rule. Tales of resistance arose in association with the latter. Even today reports circulate of the enigmatic deaths of Politcommissioners who had directed the persecutions. Accounts depict mysterious flights of deported shamans in metaphors also used for the flight of the soul. By way of example, the escape of a particularly powerful shaman from a camp to which, just days earlier, he had been brought in a helicopter, was explained by his having transformed himself into a bird to make his way back.

Societal changes generated *new rituals*, which bestowed a playful character on the new political circumstances. In the region around Lake Baikal, for instance, a new *taligan* (sacrificial festival) came into being, in honor of the 'new gods' of Communism: here, at the beginning of the fishing season, sacrifice is offered to a group of gods for the favor of being able to meet the prescribed Communist quota. Political pressure on traditional lifestyle, however, and especially on religion, was so strong that, in the course of two generations, a great proportion of the religious traditions fell into oblivion. Fragments of religious ritual survived only in state-sanctioned, and thereby controllable, folklore groups, or continued to exist in concealment. Acceptance in society, however, which had been so important for religious specialists, was destroyed.

After 1991

5. With the *collapse of the Soviet Union*, at the end of the twentieth century, the world of Northern Eurasian hunters and reindeer farmers changed once again. Along with an economy in shambles, the retreat of Soviet power from their lives left above all a symbolical vacuum. Various ethnic and cultural movements replaced a unitary ideology. A new consciousness of the old traditions became an important part of today's quest for identity. Meanwhile, shamanism is experiencing a cultural renaissance in the regions of Northern Eurasia. Many rituals and religious practices, however, have fallen into oblivion, and have to be reconstructed. Ethnographic reports from early in the twentieth century, as well as the knowledge of elderly persons then, who had known active shamans, serve as a source of information for the revival ('revitalization') of traditional belief. Here, new cultural and religious configurations and approaches are coming into existence: artists allow themselves to be inspired by spirit beings, theater groups conduct shamanic rituals before a broad audience, and, in many regions, nearly every household keeps a drum for personal rituals of healing.

One trait of these forms of new religious piety is the *democratization of religious techniques.* Before official proscription, the latter were in the hands of privileged individuals. Today, rituals for the community are once more becoming central to life, and participation in them is expanding. Their purpose is to reawaken collective identity, and so to heal the wounds of colonialism. The potential strength of these peoples lies in their ability to deal with a world of constant change by way of rituals, and effectively to react to their modern social environment by traditional means. The true identity of that environment may seem to them as ambiguous as the *inua* of a polar bear.

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→ *Animal I, God/Gods/The Sacred, North America (Traditional Religions), Shamanism*

Tobias Holzlehner

Northern Ireland

1. The conflict over Ireland has seethed for about eight hundred years. Over the same period of time, the British government has stationed English occupation troops in Ireland. In the time of King Henry VIII (1509–1547), England was Protestant ('Anglican'), while Ireland remained Catholic. In order to acquire support for the forces of occupation, the English Crown settled Protestants from Scotland and England in Ireland's most fertile regions. There was resistance to the occupation troops, which was put down by brute force. Oliver Cromwell, for instance, distinguished himself for particular viciousness, putting down the 1649 Irish rebellion in the city of Drogheda so cruelly that 4,000 men and women were left dead. Subsequently, the majority of the Irish nobility were either murdered or forced into exile. Protected and covered by the military power of the English Crown, the (Protestant) victors took over the property capable of producing income, and thereby assumed power in Ireland. They made up the new upper class. After 1649, the large landowners in Ireland were almost exclusively of English and Scottish extraction. In 1690, the question of rule over Ireland was definitively decided, as the troops of the new King of England, William of Orange (William III) defeated the troops of James II, who was friendly to Rome, at the battle of the Boyne, north of Dublin. From this time on, at the latest, Ireland was colonized by England with greater intensity. Scottish Protestants were settled most of all in the Province of Ulster. Many uprisings on the part of the Irish population were put down. In particular, Ireland was plundered economically. At the same time, there were severe famines, and many Irish died or emigrated, especially to America. The 'colony' of Ireland was ever more difficult to control.

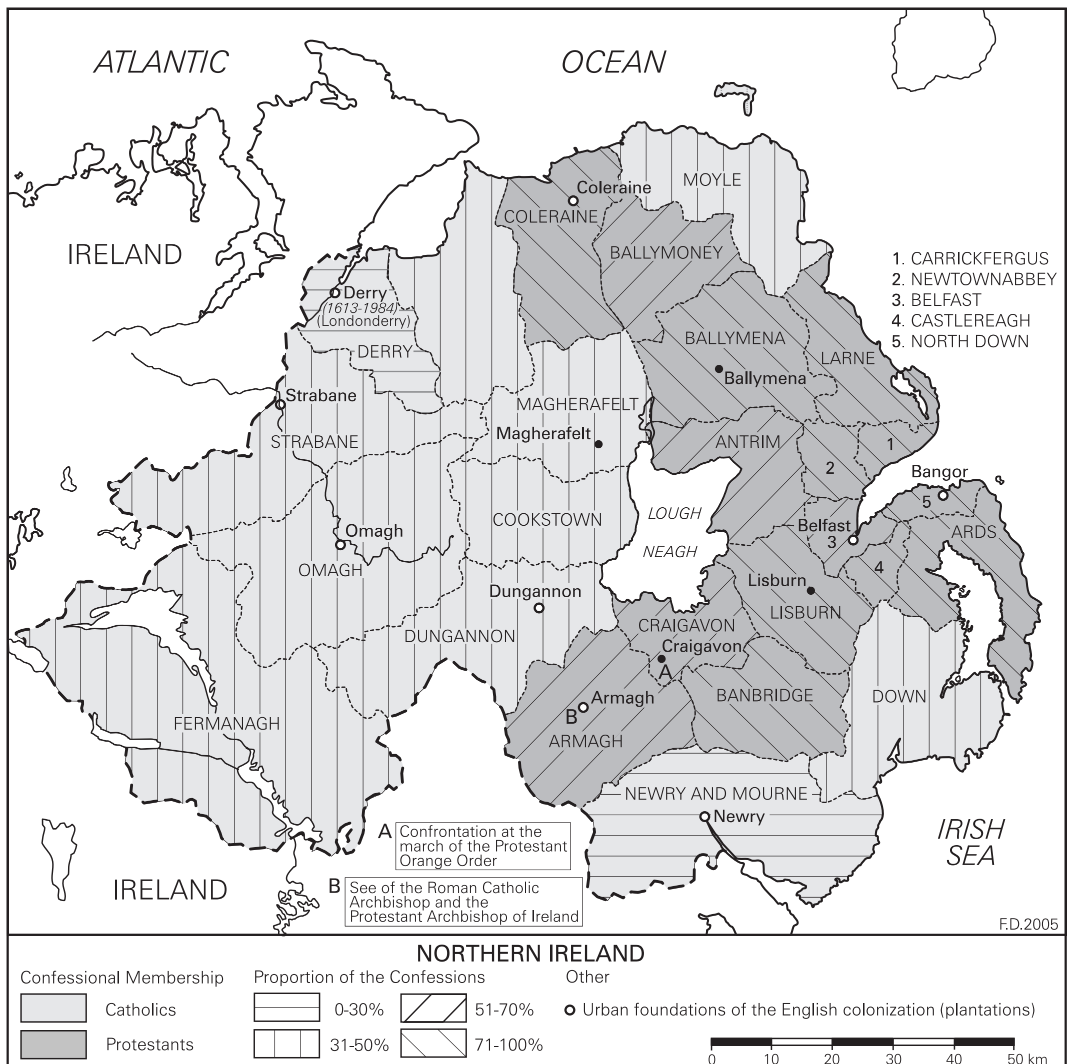
Catholics and Protestants

2. At this time, the terms 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' acquired a new meaning in Ireland. 'Catholic' became a synonym for Irish nationalism, and its rebellion against oppression. 'Protestant' became the synonym for the new rulers and their sense of alliance. Enmity therefore fed not on different religious membership, but on Ireland's colonial situation. It was the social, economic, and political differences that generated a growing confessional polarization. On the Protestant side, the latter was occasionally exacerbated and cemented by a prominent 'culture of memory,' with commemorative marches, 'processions,' on the anniversaries of historic victories. Since 1807, the Protestant Order of the Orange has conducted marches, annually, on July 12, in which it celebrates the victory of William of Orange in the year 1690. In traditional garb (including orange sashes), the 'Orangemen' march their traditional routes, in closed ranks, even through Catholic neighborhoods—which, of course, the latter experience as a provocation. The Order of the Orange was founded long ago, in 1795 in Portadown, as a secret anti-Catholic society.

Even today, it understands itself as custodian of the authentic Protestant tradition of Northern Ireland. The marchers are a minority today, among the Protestant North Irish—but a vociferous one, and one whose followers are very much prepared to perpetrate violence.

Twentieth Century: Split into Northern Ireland and Ireland

3. In 1920, the British government changed its policy vis-à-vis Ireland. In 1921, Ireland was divided into Southern Ireland, today's Republic of Ireland, and Northern Ireland, six of the nine counties of the former Province of Ulster. Southern Ireland was a republic with limited independence, Northern Ireland a half-autonomous province of England. In the six separated counties, at that point in time, the population was two-thirds Protestant—thus, descendants of the colonizers who had immigrated mostly from Scotland. Later, this group called itself 'loyalists,' or 'royalists,' and was characterized



by an aggressive, broadening nationalism. The division had been very carefully thought through. As there was a secure Protestant majority in Northern Ireland, the likelihood of disapproval or rejection was nearly nonexistent. The systematic repression of the Catholic population extended to the very distribution of voting districts. In the city of Londonderry, for instance, the Catholic Irish were numerically in the majority, while in the city council there was a two-thirds majority of Protestants—by reason of the division of voting districts, and because the right to vote depended on home-ownership; but home-ownership was enjoyed almost exclusively by the Protestant population.

Northern Ireland had its own parliament, in Belfast, from June 1921 to March 1972 (the Stormont Parliament)—organized on the pattern of Westminster, with two chambers—as well as its own administration. As on the community level, the distribution of seats was structurally unjust: Protestants always constituted the government, as the distribution of seats was guaranteed to be Protestant in both houses—a classic situation of structural violence, soon to erupt overtly.

After 1968: Civil Rights Movement and Civil War

4. From 1968, the Catholic civil rights movement now forming in Northern Ireland demanded the obvious: a vote for each citizen, instead of a census voting-right dependent on home ownership. August 1969 marked the start of violent confrontation. Structural discrimination, and the British government's contempt for peaceful protest and resistance, won the militant IRA (Irish Republican Army) more and more sympathy on the part of the Catholic minority of the population. The IRA used bomb attacks and assassination to battle for reunification with (Southern) Ireland and equal rights for Catholics. But IRA terror provoked counter-terror, and solidified the confrontation. The oldest paramilitary Protestant organization is the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF, founded in 1913). Additionally, in 1971 a still more brutal Ulster Defense Association (UDA; later Ulster Freedom Fighters, UFF) was founded. For it, de facto, all Catholics are potential targets of assault.

Beginning in 1969, a quasi-civil-war situation prevailed in Northern Ireland. With the introduction of British defense forces, the situation escalated further: in Londonderry or Derry, on January 30, 1972, a day that has gone down in history as 'Bloody Sunday,' British paratroopers shot and killed thirteen participants of a peaceful civil-rights demonstration. Subsequently, the British government under Prime Minister Edward Heath dissolved the Northern Irish Parliament, and from then on administered the Province of Northern Ireland directly. An ever more murderous spiral of force and counterforce began. Today some 3,600 persons have fallen victim to the war in Northern Ireland.

Throughout the historical development of the situation, both the Catholic and the Anglican Protestant Churches have participated in the escalation of the conflict. But over the last decades, representatives of the churches in Northern Ireland have had gradually become advocates of the peace process, with the Protestant side continuing to relate to it ambiguously. Although many prelates of the Church of Ireland have clearly supported taking a greater distance from the Orange Order, this has not yet occurred.

The Protestant and the Catholic side each have several representatives in Parliament. The most extreme and most nationalistic Protestant party is the Democratic Unionist Party. It owes its success especially to demagogic

minister Ian Paisley. Its Catholic counterpart, the Sinn Féin (Gaelic, 'We Ourselves') at first regarded itself as the political arm of the IRA, but later, in a framework of the peace negotiations, was altogether prepared for dialogue and compromise.

Only on 10 April 1998, a peace plan for Northern Ireland was drawn up, in Belfast (Northern Ireland Peace Agreement, or Good Friday Agreement). In a referendum held on May 22, 1998, 71% of the voters in Northern Ireland approved the peace agreement, with 94.4% voting for it in the Republic. Today there is a single government for Northern Ireland, and two of three protagonists of the peace process, John Hume on the Catholic and David Trimble on the Protestant side, on 16 October 1998, received the Nobel Peace Prize. Passed over were Gerry Adams, friendly to Sinn Féin, who had been an essential collaborator in the process of turning the IRA away from its bomb policy, and on the English side, Northern Ireland Minister Mo Mowlan.

5. A description of the history and different interests of the Northern Irish conflict shows: the situation in Northern Ireland has very little to do with a conflict of religions. The polarity, 'Protestant versus Catholic,' is convenient, but it is not appropriate for an adequate description of foundational causes. The religious attachment of the adversaries, meanwhile, is actually rather scanty: in Northern Ireland, too, secularization has prevailed. At bottom, the trouble in Northern Ireland is a social conflict, not a religious war or conflict. It is a matter of jobs, housing, and legal or social equality (unemployment among the Catholic population in 1994 was double that among the Protestants). Many persons live in confessionally 'pure' neighborhoods: they feel themselves to be not inhabitants of Northern Ireland, but 'British' or 'Irish.'

On paper, and for the lines of conflict, religious membership continues to be important; in reality, however, the practice of religion plays a smaller and smaller role. In Northern Island, it has always been a question of the violent consequences of England's centuries-old colonial policy, and then of its abandonment. Religion was only a means—if an identity-defining one—to an end, that of the triumph of power interests.

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→ *Catholicism, Conflict/Violence, Europe I, Protestantism*

Tobias Pflüger

Nudity

Nudity as an Exceptional Condition

1. First and foremost, nakedness is an expression of human 'naturalness.' Further—as complete or partial nudity—it becomes the symbol of 'immediacy' in a framework of religious and magic practices. In art, nudity is a

metaphor for the True, for Truth in the form of the nude woman. → Clothing defines the daily normal state, when, for instance, climatic conditions make the wearing of clothing necessary for protection from the cold. Clothing is also a social symbol. In 'normally' clad society, clothes are differentiated as an expression of status and function (uniform). The exceptional condition, then signalizes a condition of lack (poverty, helplessness). But in the constellation of normality and exceptional condition, nudity functions or functioned as a cultic or symbolical vehicle of meaning, as well as the conscious transgression of a boundary.

History

Even the nudity of the athletes in the ancient games of the Greeks (→ Olympic Games), often interpreted as a vestige of cultural nudity from archaic times, was an exceptional condition. The games were the 'sacred' place where nudity—further motivated, as it happens, by a 'corporeal enthusiasm,' by a thrust to display and behold the body—could be shown without penalty of sanction. In this sense, it was precisely the statues of gods and heroes presented as naked that represented the 'exceptional situation.' As an ideal of beauty, they mark our aesthetic sense even today. To the Christian conceptualization, ancient 'heroic nudity' was as suspect in its artistic signal of equality with the gods as it was in its corporeal concretion. Nudity was spiritualized in early times, then. Ideal nudity was strictly separated from the concrete naked body. Thereby it became the subject of symbolization. Gregory of Nyssa, about 370, describes virginal nudity as the immaculate mirror of the soul that had captured the shining purity of God. This approach also evinced virginity as a new option for a feminine self-determination over one's own body in the daily relationship of the sexes—at the price, to be sure, of a celibate life. In the course of the Middle Ages—not least of all because of the then-wavering symbolical meaning—nudity became a characteristic of many ascetical movements. Their nakedness expressed a radical wish to



The rebirth of the 'Oak King' is ritually presented at Bealtaine (Beltane), the Celtic-Gaelic 'Walpurgis' Night (April 30 to May 1, the Eve of May Day) by an Anglo-Irish Wicca coven (a ritual group with, as a rule, thirteen members; → Paganism/Neopaganism), under the leadership of Janet and Stewart Farrar. Two female assistants unveil the 'King,' and thus symbolize his rebirth. All of the actors are nude, or 'skyclad,' except for an older woman in the background (the High Priestess). The English Wicca cult adopts many elements from folklore traditions, but also from constructions of religious studies at the turn of the century. Thus, the myth of the dying and rising Oak King appeals to J. G. Frazer's monumental work of anthropology, *The Golden Bough* ([3]1905–1913). Cultic nudity was not devised ad hoc; its wellspring is erotic fertility magic, as well as, generally, a 'pagan' counter-model to Christianity; and it especially realizes a trait of the traditional pattern of the → witch. (Hubert Mohr)

for another condition. For one thing, their concrete rejection of everything connected with clothing (power, festivity, hierarchies, defense) calls the normal societal system into question. For another, immaculate, pure nudity urges spiritual, ideal conversion. Nudity becomes the (counter-) sketch of complete piety. Granted, when the ideal becomes a threat to concrete relations of power, idealized nudity is persecuted. In the Middle Ages, *Adamites* gathered nude for their rites and cults, in intentional recall of the natural perfection of Paradise, or in the expectation of an apocalyptic end that would of course mean the destruction of any and all convention, and were stigmatized as dangerous sects. Alleged incest, sodomy, fornication, and perversion were some of the typical justifications, sprung from persons' exaggerated fantasies, and repressed desire for their own nudity, that were invoked for the violent act with which naked outsiders would be 'clothed' by society and thereby reintegrated into the social and religious system of control.

The interplay of repression (aggression) and ideal wishing worked itself out in behavior with the 'naked savages,' as well. The violent 'dressing' of the natives in the colonial campaigns of conquest was complemented by an 'exotic' view of them. The indigenous person became the object of the romantic idealization that the Adamite motif of Paradise actualized: natural perfection.

The *'nudity culture' movement* of the nineteenth century was also grounded in a symbolical idealization of nudity. In a putatively spontaneous society, bereft of norm and measure, nudity is the expression of a spiritual nobility, frequently coupled to a pantheistic nature-piety. So-called 'clothing in light' became a 'clothing' in God. Remnants of this kind of proclamation are still found in today's FKK Movement (*Freikörperkultur*, Ger., 'Free Body Culture'). Today, to be sure, they serve rather for the solidification of group identity: the uniform of 'nudity' shapes social belonging.

Nudity in mode and lifestyle is a relatively new phenomenon. It makes a spectacle, with the erotics of a depersonalized and reified nude body displayed for show. These images concretize the naked human body's potential as merchandise.

Ritual Nudity

3. Complete or partial nudity is a symbol integrated into → ritual actions by nearly all cultures. In many *fertility rituals*, female nudity symbolizes the fruitful, hospitable 'Mother Earth' (e.g., the naked dancers in rain dances). By contrast, male nudity in such rituals expresses an influence on the presuppositions of nature that transcend the natural event (e.g., rituals that introduce the end of the rainy season). This complementary, mutual relationship, of female and male nudity, points beyond the concrete connection of a function (fertility ritual) to the principle of a dualistic universe—for instance, the female (passive principle) *yin* and the male (active principle) *yang*. In many *rites of initiation*, nudity symbolizes the status of innocence and purity at the moment of transition. It is a clear sign or premise of the attainment of the new, better state. For example, in the rite of baptism, the naked infant symbolizes the transition to new life. Contrariwise, nakedness expresses this transition in certain rites of mourning. With modern *monks and ascetics*, in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, nudity is a sign of complete renunciation, as, for example, with the ascetics who, since the sixth century, have followed the ascetical ideal of Mahavira in India. In *spell rituals*, as well (e.g., with charms), nudity expresses the extraordinary nature of the action. For the spell to work, charm-working must be performed nude. The magician's

nudity symbolizes his or her position as servant of the charm. Again, in nineteenth- and twentieth-century → occultism, the sense of the obligation of nudity in rites of sexual magic reproduces this 'magical' rationality.

Nudity in the Modern Age

4. The nude body presented for public display has become an icon of modernity. However, the seeming obviousness of the gesture conceals the old dilemma. On the one side, the naked person is delivered from the constraints of society by—symbolically—discarding his or her clothing. In the context of a natural voyeurism and exhibitionism, as well, nudity is part of a sovereign interaction. Finally, it strives for a utopia drunk with yearning: "The true person is the naked person" (Goethe). On the other hand, a world of media and merchandise in which the nude body has been reduced to sheer spectacle, demystifies the ideal of paradise. Commercial requisition threatens to cashier the autonomy that has been gained. In the glare of the spotlight, nudity loses its halo.

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→ *Asceticism, Body, Eroticism, Gender Stereotypes, Paganism/Neopaganism, Ritual, Sexuality, Utopia, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Hans-Georg Lützenkirchen and Helmut Zander

Number / Calculation

The Jewish 'tetragram,' or the 'Tetragrammaton': The total numerical value of the Hebrew name of God, *YHWH* (root letters *Y* = 10, *H* = 5, *W* = 6, *Y* = 10), is precisely the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. In the Sephardic tradition, it also corresponds to the number of knots in the prayer cord; in the Ashkenazi tradition, the expanded formula *YHWH ehad* ("God [is] one"), yields 39—the number of knots in the Ashkenazi prayer cord. Since the word *ahavah* ('love') has the same numerical value as *ehad* (1 + 5 + 2 + 5 = 13), the number 39 also stands for 'God's love.'

YHWH ("Yahwe"):
יהוה
5 6 5 10
26

YHWH ehad ("God is One"):
יהוה אחד
4 8 1 5 6 5 10
39

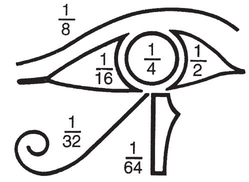
1. *Counting* is an elementary capability of human perception. For distinguishing and communicating the amount of what has been counted, human beings have used numerical symbols, from which (1) *systems of numbering* have developed. These have formed the basis for (2) *methods of calculation*, which have organized inter-personal relations for the economy—first of all, numerically organized exchange. Then, in the wake of societal differentiation, methods of calculation were found grouped according to norms of tradition, in (3) *scientific disciplines* like mathematics or astronomy.

All three levels correspond to respective—culturally specific—material and spiritual appropriations of the world, including religious conceptualizations. The development of mathematical sciences from foundational operations of calculation is characterized by increasing abstraction. In parallel, the corresponding qualities are transferred to the area of religious concepts and ideas.

2. *Numbers* are expressed through arbitrary mental, oral, or written symbols. Their basis is the series of 'natural numbers,' for which each 'natu-

ral number' is the sum of its antecedents. The original image of this rule is additive symbolism (e.g., 3 = three fingers, or one, one, one; III; and so on), whose orientation is most often to the extremities of the body. This type of symbol is evidenced as early as the Neolithic Age, in the engravings on buried bones. The eye of Egyptian falcon-god Horus is found on the oldest hieroglyphic fragments (cf. illus.). 'Numeral symbolism' uses abstract signs. In the binary number system, foundation of all digital signs, any succession of 0 and 1 governs the value of the sign. The system of notation in Arabic 'ciphers' (*sifr*, Arab., 'zero'), used today worldwide, developed, through various Arabic intermediate stages, from the Indian *brahmi* system. Number systems come from the hierarchization of units. Their symbolical expression is spelling. Their systematic division, on the other hand, corresponds to cosmological, mythological, and numerological concepts. Thus, the Central American Maya, on the basis of a 'twenty' system, divided their liturgical year into thirteen parts, with each day referring to a god of the sky. The Sumerian sexagesimal system, from which today's division of time derives, is based on the 'natural' solar year of 360 days supplemented by five 'leap days.' From the Phoenician alphabet, toward the beginning of the first millennium BCE, the Greeks and Hebrews adopted a letter-notation that ascribed a numerical value to each letter of each of the two alphabets. This schema of notation survived in the mathematical symbolic speech and numerical speculation on letter-values of religious Semitic texts. The Jewish Tetragrammaton is a visible expression of the twelfth-century tradition known as → Kabbalah. Islamic folk belief shares certain ideas and techniques with the Kabbalah and other mystical traditions, as well (in the form of talismans and → amulets, worked into magical series of letters and chronograms or numerical word codings). Contemporary 'numerologists,' as well, on the basis of an assumed codification, seek to unlock the 'secret meaning' of religious texts (e.g., in Nostradamus, but even in texts of literary authors like Shakespeare and Goethe).

3. The construction of numerical systems was co-determined by methods of calculation and their application. The elementary tasks of the practice of calculation include the measurement of time, space, and weight. Global conquest by the 'Indian' decimal system was survived only in relics by *measurements of time* founded in religion. The Jewish and Islamic division of the week simulates, in rhythmical enumeration, the creation event. The Western, as well as most of the Eastern, calendar systems rest on religious myths of origin. Thus, in relation to the likewise mythically charged Christian year 1, the 'beginning of time' in the Byzantine era is 5509 BCE, in the Jewish 3761 BCE, with the Maya 3114 BCE, and in the Ethiopian era 8 BCE. In many cultures, the connection between clergy and mathematics has lent encouragement to the development of certain methods of calculation. These include, especially, astrological calculations for the interpretation of destiny, the astronomical regulation of the ritual year (date of Easter, beginning of → Ramadan and the month of pilgrimage), and procedures in the measuring of distance (speculatively systematized in geomancy), mathematical 'rule of three' calculations for fiscal and juridical purposes, and—on a higher level—theoretical numerical knowledge for evidence of divine dispositions. In the Islamic milieu, the ritual obligation of a precise observance of the lunar year occasioned a gigantic boom in astronomy. In the wake of the precise adjustment of the directing of prayer toward → Mecca (→ Orientation), Arab astronomers developed spherical trigonometric procedures



The elements of the eye of Horus represent respectively the six fractions ½, ¼, ⅛, $^1/_{16}$, $^1/_{32}$, $^1/_{64}$. According to the ancient Egyptian myth, Seth had treacherously crushed Horus's eye (as well as his body), but Thot, Lord of the sciences and of the calendar, later recomposed its fragments. Of course, since the sum of the values of these parts is only $^{63}/_{64}$, god Thot must have magically 'embezzled' the missing part.

as early as the ninth century. For the lawful alcohol content of fermented juices, society's expert calculators supplied simple methods of determining it according to religious standards, methods that were useful for other purposes as well. Theologians used discoveries of harmonic phenomena in numerically direct relationships ('befriended' pairs of numbers: the sum of the factors of 220 is 286—and vice versa!) to underpin the universality and meaningfulness of creation.

The Conflict between Religious and Mathematical Knowledge

4. The scientific tradition of mathematics is rooted in antiquity. As sovereign source of knowledge, it fertilized the development of Eastern and Western culture. In the latter, the ancient Greek Pythagoreans' conceptualization of the world as the divine 'order' (in Gk., *kósmos*) of mathematical nature was the clear mark of a seemingly inalterable, and certainly tenacious, conflict between religious and mathematical knowledge from the sixth century BCE onward. As a propedeutic discipline, mathematics enjoyed a status in Platonic philosophy that, amidst increasing disagreement, was assigned it in the theologies of the religions of revelation. Christian and Islamic dogmatics alike saw their doctrinal structures threatened by an elementary construction of the world on astronomic and mathematical knowledge. The disturbing experience of the fact of 'irrational' numbers, the observably discontinuous movements of the celestial bodies, and, not least of all, the withdrawal of the absolute validity of a mathematical demonstration of any divine intervention, describe the historical developmental stages of the conflict. On the other hand, the development of modern physics (Einstein's general and special theory of relativity, Heisenberg's quantum physics), promoted attempts to reverse the process of the mathematical → disenchantment of the world, and to synthesize the 'meaning of the whole' in a universal formula.

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→ *Calendar, Cosmology/Cosmogony, Esotericism, Kabbalah, Orientation, Platonism*

Ulrich Rebstock

Occultism

The Term 'Occultism'

The term 'occultism' has been defined in a variety of manners since its first appearance in France (as *occultisme*), in the first half of the nineteenth century. The earliest occurrence appears to be in a 'dictionary of new words' by Jean-Baptiste Richard, *Enrichissement de la langue française* (1842), but it was thanks to the pen of Eliphas Lévi (ps. of Alphonse-Louis Con-

stant, 1810–1875), that the term acquired an increasing popularity since the 1850s. Later on, and mostly under the influence of Lévi's writings, the term passed into other languages. In English, it was probably introduced by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1861; → Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society) in one of her earliest articles, published in an American spiritualist journal ("A Few Questions to Hiraf," 1875).

'Occult Philosophy' and 'Occult Sciences'

Despite being relatively recent, the term was obviously derived from the adjective *occultus* (Lat., 'hidden'), which had a much older history. In this respect, as it has often been remarked, the term 'occultism' presents similarities with the related noun → 'esotericism,' also originating in France in the nineteenth century and derived from the much older adjective 'esoteric.' In the case of occultism, the reference was to sets of beliefs, ideas, and practices, which had been defined, especially since the Renaissance, with expressions such as 'occult philosophy' and 'occult sciences' (→ magic, → astrology, and alchemy being the most commonly included in this category). In the view of the authors who propounded them, among whom Paracelsus (ps. of Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, 1493–1541) and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535) may be mentioned as being among the most representative and the most widely read by later occultists, the object of these disciplines was the study and the use of those forces or properties of nature that had been traditionally defined as 'occult' (*qualitates occultae*), because, their reality notwithstanding, they were considered to be impenetrable to the normal human senses. In creating and popularizing 'occultism,' authors such as Lévi and his later emulators clearly aimed at reorganization and a new systematization of this body of knowledge, which had been increasingly marginalized in Europe since the seventeenth century. At the same time, this attempt at a new synthesis would add new elements to the traditional frame of → Renaissance *philosophia occulta*. In this respect, especially in its earliest phase, very important influences are those of Swedenborgianism and of Mesmerism, which offered to the occultists a wealth of ideas concerning, on the one hand, the otherworld and the destiny of man after death, and, on the other hand, the existence and the manipulation of a vital force permeating both nature and the human body. Other new elements of notice were the popularization of the Tarot cards as a symbolic system belonging specifically to the Western esoteric tradition and, to some extent, the influence of concepts and practices derived from eastern religious traditions (especially, albeit not exclusively, from India).

Important Representatives

After Lévi, occultism spread especially in France and in England. In France, the authors who contributed the most to its development were Stanislas de Guaïta (1861–1897), Joséphin Péladan (1858–1918), Papus (ps. of Gérard Encausse, 1865–1916), Matgioï (ps. of Albert de Pouvorville, 1861–1940), and Jean Bricaud (1881–1934). In the English-speaking countries, the most prominent figures were, apart from the aforementioned H. P. Blavatsky and several authors associated with the early period of the Theosophical Society (founded in 1875), Paschal Beverly Randolph (1825–1875), Emma Hardinge Britten (1823–1899), William Wynn Westcott (1848–1925), Samuel Liddell Mathers (1854–1918), Arthur Edward Waite (1857–1942) in the first part of his career, Aleister Crowley (1875–1947), Dion Fortune (ps. of Violet Mary Firth, 1890–1946), and Israel Regardie (1907–1985). Towards the end the

nineteenth century, occultist ideas began to reach other European countries such as Germany, the Austrian empire, and Italy, and found later on an audience all over Europe and America.

Main Characteristics of Occultism

Despite the variety of ideas and of practices associated to occultism, it is possible to focus on certain common features. Some have already been mentioned, but others may be highlighted. Lévi puts a heavy emphasis on the *need to solve the conflict between → science and → religion*, which was felt as particularly strident and painful in his times. In his view, the solution was to be found in the ancient wisdom of the initiates, which he equates with → 'magic,' and which has been secretly handed down from the remotest antiquity up to our days. The core of the message of this hidden → tradition consists in a symbolic, non-dogmatic reading of the sacred texts, which would allow the initiate to perceive the inner truth of all religious traditions and to see that this hidden core is also compatible with the findings of modern science. It should be noted that, in this context, Jewish → Kabbalah assumes a fundamental role in offering the keys (through its traditional methods of hermeneutics) to unlock the mysteries that lie beyond the literal interpretation of the sacred texts. This call for a solution of the religion-science (or faith-reason) problem will remain a constant feature of occultism. However, the search for a legitimation both from a religious and from a scientific point of view have not hindered occultists from criticizing the dogmatism of religious institutions and the materialism of contemporary science—while, at the same time, creating new institutional spaces for themselves in the form of occult orders and societies.

Another important element, also connected to the occultists' relationship with religion, is the fact that many of them distanced themselves outspokenly from Christianity, in some cases even developing a full-blown *anti-Christian attitude* (exemplary in this respect is the case of A. Crowley). Occultism presents therefore clear signs of the impact that → secularization was having also on the most heterodox fringes of European culture and represents an important development in the history of Western → esotericism. The estrangement from Christianity led many occultists to look for inspiration either in pre-Christian, pagan traditions (→ Paganism/Neopaganism), or in Eastern religious doctrines, or in both (→ Orientalism/Exotism). The contrast between those who gave preference to the idea of a Western esoteric tradition (independently from the role played by Christianity in it) and those who chose to align themselves with the idea of an Eastern esoteric tradition was sometimes sorely felt, and has been one of the recurring causes of dispute among occultists. This is particularly visible in the early history of the → Theosophical Society.

Another important aspect of occultism is the importance given to *the spiritual realization of the individual*, to be achieved through various techniques. Undoubtedly occultism contributed significantly to the shaping of that 'religion of the self,' which would feature so prominently in the second half of the twentieth century in phenomena such as the → New Age and the human potential movement. In the context of occultism, the traditional 'occult sciences' play an important, if controversial (even among occultists), role for the achievement of spiritual attainment. However, at the turn of the century, other techniques taken from exotic traditions, such as → Yoga, began to be adopted and to be added to the more traditional ceremonial magic and alchemy.

Finally, it should be noted that occultism tried to construct its identity in *demarcating itself from other contemporary heterodox movements*, in particular from spiritualism (→ Spiritism). Occultists felt that their ideas differed from those of the spiritualists in several respects. First and foremost was the problem of the nature of the entities from which the spiritualists claimed to receive communications. Their identification by the spiritualists as the souls of deceased persons was considered as very problematic by most occultists. For them, moreover, the world of non-human, discarnate entities was much more complex than most spiritualists would allow. Secondly, while the idea of an esoteric tradition transmitted through the ages by initiates was fundamental to the occultists, this was in most cases rejected by spiritualists, who usually preferred to emphasize the purely empirical, matter-of-fact nature of their practices and their independence from any ancient tradition. Thirdly, occultists consistently insisted that spiritualism was potentially dangerous for the practitioner, because of the latter's passivity as a medium during the contact with the entities, which bordered on → possession. Occultists claimed that their knowledge of traditional techniques such as magic could teach them how to take an active control of their intercourse with discarnate entities.

Despite the recurrent presence of these features, and the efforts made by some of the most representative authors mentioned above in constructing a specific identity for occultism, one should not lose sight of the fact that, especially on a popular level, boundaries between occultism in the strict sense and other contemporary phenomena were frequently blurred. In some cases the term occultism could be used, especially by outsiders, to describe more generally all those activities involving the study of, or an interaction with, a hidden (i.e., 'occult') dimension of reality, which was considered as yet unexplored by mainstream science. In that sense, spiritualism and psychical research would have fallen into the broader category of occultism.

Academic Concepts

Although the word 'occultism' has been used increasingly by specialists in the study of Western esotericism as indicating the specific historical current that has been described so far, it should be remembered that some authors have also used the term to indicate different meanings. Directly influenced by the popular understanding of the term, some have used it as indicating a more or less universal attitude or tradition, encompassing all ages and all cultures. In this sense occultism has easily become a synonym for loosely defined categories such as 'magic' or the 'irrational' (→ Rationality/Irrationality). It is in the latter sense, for instance, that Theodor Adorno has used the term in his famous "Theses against Occultism." Other authors, such as Robert Amadou, have restricted their definition of occultism to the idea of a Western esoteric tradition, making it a superfluous synonym of what present specialists in the field define as Western esotericism. A particularly influential definition of occultism, which had its roots in the occultist literature itself, but was reformulated by the sociologist Edward A. Tiryakian in the early 1970s, sees occultism not as a synonym, but as the practical, technical counterpart of esotericism. The latter would, on the other hand, refer only to ideas and doctrines. This definition, implying an artificial separation between the level of ideas and that of practices, has been criticized by several authors (we may mention here Robert Galbreath and Wouter J. Hanegraaff), and has been discarded by most specialists working in the field. Finally, W. J. Hanegraaff has proposed in the mid-1990s a new, original definition

of occultism. In his view, traditional (i.e. pre-Enlightenment) esotericism would have been modified so deeply and dramatically during the nineteenth century, under the impact of secularization, that it would be advisable to refer to it by another name, i.e. occultism. Occultism may be seen, therefore, as encompassing all those movements that have tried, starting from an esoteric perspective, to come to terms with a disenchanted secular world (→ Disenchantment/Reenchantment). This label would also include, therefore, movements such as spiritualism, psychical research, human potential, and New Age. Occultism understood as a specific current would then be but a particular phenomenon in a larger category. It may be argued, however, that the use of the same term for two different phenomena may render Hanegraaff's definition of difficult practical use.

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→ *Esotericism, Magic, Modernity/Modern Age, Paganism/Neopaganism, Romanticism, Science, Spiritism*

Marco Pasi

Oedipus

1. The West knows no figure, transmitted from Greek antiquity, more important, and susceptible of being read in religious history as a prism, than Oedipus. In him, an era's respective religious and nonreligious images of the human being fail. Sophocles's tragedy "Oedipus Rex," as presented in a framework of the annual dramatic contest in honor of Dionysus, in Athens

about 430 BCE, portrays Oedipus's self-revelation. The special urgency with which this piece of dramatic work was presented, has given repeated occasion to new interpretation. The more Oedipus seeks to elude his destiny as a patricide and as his mother's husband—the destiny predicted by the Delphic oracle—the more certainly it is fulfilled. And this scenario has raised questions about divine providence, freedom of will and choice, arrogance, guilt, responsibility, fate, the interconnection of events, the tragic, and their ultimately religious interpretation. In the mirror of the myth of Oedipus, every age finds its own responses to these questions. The enigmatic puzzle of the Sophoclean tragedy, borne by numerous double meanings and reversals, has made its material a source of inexhaustible interpretability. And this has lent it that 'malleability' (J.-P. Vernant) and enduring currency that still comes to expression today in so many literary, dramatic, musical, and filmic re-elaborations.

The 'Oedipus Complex'

The concept of the 'Oedipus complex,' for its part, was first formulated in a letter of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess, on October 15, 1897. And it was especially through this concept, soon to become one of the most important foundation stones in the theoretical edifice of → psychoanalysis, that the → myth of Oedipus shifted so durably into the general consciousness. According to the theory of the Oedipus complex, in every family an elementary rivalry prevails between the son(s) and the father, who stands in the way of their love for their mother, therefore of their incest; just as (in Freud's original theory) between the daughter(s) and their mother vis-à-vis the father. Freud's psychological theory has not only marked the modern view of the myth; it has shifted it, as well. Today, the myth of Oedipus presents, more generally, the relationship between law and self-restraint.

The Ancient Myth

2. The principal source of the myth of Oedipus (Gk., *Oidípous,* 'swollen foot'), is Sophocles's pair of tragedies "Oedipus Rex" (Lat. "King Oedipus"; in Gk., *Oidípous Tyrannos*), presented before 425 BCE, and "Oedipus at Colonus" (in Gk, *Oidípous epí kolóno*), presented posthumously in 401. Otherwise, the myth is only fragmentarily handed down in ancient literature (Homer and Hesiod, with dramatic texts of Aeschylus and Euripides being lost). Abundant representational art has been preserved, however, especially of depictions of Oedipus's encounter with the Sphinx. The action of the tragedy omits an actual presentation of the pre-history of the events: Jocasta, Queen of Thebes, warned of the curse that her son would kill his fathe (her spouse King Laios) and marry his mother, has Oedipus exposed, three days after his birth, by a shepherd of the mountains of Cithaeron. The infant is discovered by a childless couple: Polybos, a servant of the King of Corinth, and his wife Periboia. Left in ignorance about his birth, prudent and cunning Oedipus grows up with his adoptive parents. As a youth, and derided by jealous persons for his bastardy, he inquires of the Delphic Oracle as to his true origin, and learns that he is destined for union with his mother and the murder of his father. To escape the curse, Oedipus avoids returning to Corinth. But on the way to Thebes, he unwittingly strikes down his father Laios, delivers Thebes from the murderous Sphinx by solving her riddle—the question of the human being—and as a reward is wedded to his mother as the new ruler of Thebes. The drama itself begins only with the marriage. Oedipus begins a search for Laios's murderer, as a plague suddenly besets Thebes and blind seer Teiresias proclaims the murder to be its cause. Sign

by sign, Oedipus is revealed to be the true author. When he learns of his calamity, he blinds himself, and is led by his daughter Antigone into exile. In "Oedipus at Colonus," Oedipus repeatedly proclaims his innocence, alleging his ignorance in committing the crime. After years of sorrowful and laborious wandering, he dies in the sacred precinct of the Eumenides, on the hill of Colonus, where the gods at last snatch him up to the status of a hero. His grave is honored, because he blesses and protects his adoptive country.

Impact and Reception

3. Two particular moments have determined the history of the effect of the myth of Oedipus: the problematics of understanding and of destiny. Ernst Bloch saw every philosophical investigation ultimately as "akin to the Oedipus form."[1] As a detective story of self-blinding and self-knowledge, it still has its effects, again, in Max Frisch's 'report,' *Homo faber* (1957), and in Didier Lamaison's 'family detective story' *Oedipus* (1994). As exemplary 'tragedy of destiny,' it is especially German idealism (Schelling, Schiller, and Hegel) that has interpreted the 'tragic conflict' represented in various 'stage presentations' (Corneille, 1659; Voltaire, 1718; Hofmannsthal, 1906; Gide, 1931; Cocteau, 1934), operas (Stravinsky, 1927; Orff, 1959; Rihm, 1987), and films (Pasolini, 1967).

Modern Interpretation

4. The modern debate over whether the human being's nature is conditioned through its own universals or by history, comes to expression in the *history of the interpretation of the myth of Oedipus in the twentieth century.* As anthropological constants, Sigmund Freud saw as coming together in the 'Oedipus complex'—the rivalry that is to have led, in prehistory, to the very murder of the first parent, because he stood in the way of love for one's mother, of incest—the "beginnings of religion, morality, society, and art."[2] Claude Lévi-Strauss has exemplified the method of structural anthropology, with the example of the myth of Oedipus. The ethnological question is still disputed today, whether the 'Oedipus complex' arises in all cultures.[3] Gille Deleuze and Félix Guattari, in their *Anti-Oedipus* (1962), earnestly dispute the family entanglement that Freud emphasizes, in favor of self-determination. French legal historian and psychoanalyst Pierre Legendre, on the other hand, sees, in "Oedipus Rex," "ultimately a treatise on the foundations of proscription,"[4] and the fantasies of omnipotence of a son who finds no stability in the missing self-restraint of his father. Philologically, Freud's interpretation of Sophocles is especially called into question by Jean Bollack, who indicts the psychoanalytic interpretation of Oedipus as 'universally human' for failing to recognize the specifically literary quality of the tragedy. Finally, Egon Flaig has interpreted the Sophoclean tragedy historically, in the political context of Athenian democracy—as the pedagogical, cautionary account of a power-hungry politician who, in the service of his own continuance in power, acts rashly, and who lacks the 'composure,' the 'justice,' and the 'measure' needed to lead a polis.

1. Bloch 1960, 679.
2. Freud 1913, 439.
3. Cf. Edmunds/Dundes 1983.
4. Legendre 1989, 39.

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→ *Antiquity, Freud, Myth/Mythology, Psychoanalysis*

Martin Stingelin

Olympic Games

Organization and Conception

1. Since the first Olympic Games of modern times, which were held in Athens in 1896, the Olympic Summer Games, and since 1924, the Winter Games (Chamonix) are held every four years. Only three times (1916, 1940, 1944) have the Games been cancelled. The organizer of the Olympic Games is the International Olympic Committee (IOC), with headquarters in Lausanne (founded in Paris, 1894). At the head of the IOC stands the President, who is elected by the whole body. The 194 National Olympic Committees (NOC), and the IOC-recognized 31 International Sports Unions (Olympic sports), are understood to comprise the Olympic Movement, which is to hold an Olympic Congress at least every eight years. The rules of the Olympic Movement are collected in the Olympic Charter. The five rings symbolizing the unity of the five continents have constituted the Olympic emblem since 1914.

Ancient Games

2. The ancient games held in Olympia were the outstanding event of the four great pan-Hellenic festival games (along with the Pythian in Delphi, the Isthmian near Corinth, and the Nemeian in Nemeia). Their origin is disputed. It is presumed that, long before the beginning (probably in 776 BCE) of the first games, cultic contexts were held whose beginnings lay in pre-Hellenistic cults of the dead. With the introduction of the cult of Zeus, the solemnities assumed the status of sacred, divine games. For the further development of the games, to be sure, an additional element had to be added: it was the outstanding culture of the contest (in Gk., *agón*) that lent the games a meaning beyond that of its cultic origins.

The five-day games took place every four years, in August/September. During this time, as well as for a month and a half before, and again after, weapons were laid down in Greece and the provinces. Violation of the

divine peace was regarded as blasphemy. Participants in the games, as well as the audience, were free male Greeks. Only later did professional athleticism appear, which included non-Greeks as well. While at first there were only simple races along the stadium track, additional disciplines such as the relay race, distance race, pentathlon, boxing, wrestling, and chariot and horse racing, were added to the program. The athletes strove for victory, which brought them not only honor, but material rewards, as well.

The heyday of the Olympic era was in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. From the fourth century onward, a new, professionalized approach was in control, which corresponded to the expectations of a body-conscious, achievement-oriented audience. The games became a 'show,' calculated precisely to attract an audience. It retained this character until their end. According to a twelfth-century testimonial, in 394 the Emperor Theodosius prohibited all pagan festivals, including the Olympic Games.

The Olympic Games of Modern Times

3. The ancient exemplar revealed in Ernst Curtius's excavations in Olympia (1875–1881) inspired Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937) to cast a modern equivalent. The Olympic Movement became his impelling idea. From the ancient exemplar, the cultic and religious character was adopted. The liturgical and ritual course of the opening and closing ceremonies of all Olympic Games, whose procedure is specified in the Olympic Charter, is altogether consciously reminiscent of a solemn church celebration. Hymns, flags, oaths, and (since 1936) the flame carried from Olympia by relay runners generate a 'sacred' atmosphere, intended to foster peace and understanding among peoples. The Olympic spirit was enriched with the foundations of the English sportive understanding: in regulated competition, participants are to govern their efforts by fair confrontation. The best achievement is to determine the victor ('higher, faster, farther'). It was the concept of amateurism that merged this modern understanding of sports with the ancient exemplar. For the competitor, personal victory or the opponent's defeat must now be less important than simple enjoyment in sports ('participation is everything').

From the very outset, the Olympic project was a diffuse undertaking—although, of course, one with a centuries-old power of conviction. The emphatic claim of consecration, and presumed disinterest, always stood in contrast with egoistic demands and claims. A two-pronged situation: on the one side, the IOC abides by its unworldly, idealistic conception; on the other, there are the very worldly marketing rights accruing to participants in the Games. That this dilemma might entail the abandonment of ironclad 'basics' was shown by the admittance of professional athletes, whose participation was at least officially prohibited until the 1970s. Meanwhile, renunciation was made only reluctantly of the opportunities for income of a lucrative participation by tennis pros, or the American basketball 'dream team,' at the 1992 Games in Barcelona. Not least of all, this concession has today made the Games the commercial 'Olympic media event' that it is. Without consideration of the athletes, the schedule is pre-directed according to the TV-viewing habits of the most profitable media markets. Since 1992, for optimal enhancement of the commercial value of the Games, the summer and winter Games have been held in two-year alternation.

The situation is similar with respect to the alleged apolitical intent of the Games. The Games had always been both the object and forum of national and nationalistic interests, but the notorious climax was reached at the 1936

Games, held in Berlin. Under the sign of the Olympic rings, a criminal regime organized those 'apolitical Games' that are still regarded by Olympic functionaries as being ideal typical.

In spite of all complications, the Olympic Games are one of the success stories of the twentieth century. They are still able to confirm the grounding idea of peaceful understanding among peoples. Of course, this is less the merit of those who stage the games than it is that of the athletes and audiences.

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→ *Collective Representations, Popular Culture, Sports, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Hans-Georg Lützenkirchen

Oracle

The concept 'oracle' (from Lat., *oraculum*; from *orare*, 'to speak') is strongly marked by the ancient system of prophecy. It designates, as a way of entering into contact and → communication with gods or powers, two meanings: (1) the 'verdict,' or answer of the deity to a concrete question, usually posed in a received formulation; and (2) the place where this sentence is pronounced, usually in 'sacred' locales, such as springs or glades. Thus, oracles are always the phenomenon of a particular place (as well as, frequently, of a particular time). As institutions, they are staffed with cultic personnel (→ specialists, such as priests or prophets), whose presence as 'speakers' (mediums) or interpreters precludes an arbitrary elucidation of the 'verdict.' The inquiry can be made in view of decisions relating to affairs of state, can be of a cultic or political kind (e.g., the founding of colonies), or indeed can bear on one's future personal destiny (→ Oedipus), one's present activity ("Ought I to do this or not?"), or the elucidation of events that lie in the past (e.g. the causes of a disease).

Doubtless the best-known ancient *oracle of utterance* is that of Apollo in Delphi. Images on ancient vases show the female medium Pythia on a tripod, over a crevasse, in the vicinity of the Omphalos, the 'navel of the world.' It is often assumed that what occurred was an ecstasy, although a controlled one, in which, after the inhalation or ingestion of intoxicants, the medium fell into a kind of possession. True, this interpretation is not undisputed, any more than the function of tripod, Castalian spring, or bay tree, which are likewise cited in connection with the oracle. Nor are details of the inquiry known. Priests probably recorded Pythia's words (often ambiguously fixed in hexameters) and transmitted them to the counselees. Along with the oracle of utterance, the system of *oracle by lots* was especially important, as with the Roman *Fortuna Primigenia* in Praeneste, which was conducted with small 'lots,' or pieces of wood kept in the sanctuary, that gave simple



A healer and soothsayer of the tribe of Tikar questions this oracle in Banso, in Cameroon, by shaking out the contents of a basket. The inquirer places a gold monetary bill before him in compensation. In the basket are all manner of small objects, as cola shells, kauri snails, pebbles, ceramic pearls, shards, and old coins. The outcome of the oracle is decided not only the overall configuration of the objects shaken out, but also the way each piece lies. Kauri snails and coins, for example, represent material wealth and property. In addition, the soothsayer's intuition, feeling, and knowledge of human beings all contribute especially to the interpretation of the oracle. (Benita von Behr)

yes-and-no responses. *Dream oracles* were curative oracles especially connected with the cult of Asclepius in Greece. Here it was not the divine utterance that revealed the causes of the disease, but a dream.

For help in making decisions in situations of crisis, and for certitude in choosing one's own activities, as well as to satisfy the longing to know one's own destiny, persons avail themselves of ancient techniques once more, even today—although, as a state and cultic institution, the classical system of the oracle no longer plays any role in the West. (Cf., on the other hand, the Tibetan state oracle that resided in Nechung Gompa; → Lamaism). Thus, the 'inquiry' has shifted altogether into the area of the individual. Collections of oracles or utterances, such as the Chinese *I-Ging* ("Book of Transformations"), or the *rune oracles*, especially enjoy great popularity. They belong in the broad area of esoteric cult-reception, which is reviving many techniques of divination, while at the same time subsuming them under a diffuse concept of oracle.

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→ *Antiquity, Communication, Prophecy/Divination*

Jutta Bernard

Oral Tradition

One could say that Western culture is coming to the end of a phase in its history, which has been characterized by literacy and the dominance of the written texts. Technologies like telephone and radio as well as computers



Vedic-Brahmanic Oral Tradition

'Oral tradition'—oral transmission—is a salient characteristic of the Indian religious traditions. The hymnic collections of the four Vedas (c. 1500–1000 BCE), still looked on today as the cornerstone of Hindu texts and the highest authority in Hinduism, are regarded as having been 'exhaled' by creator god Brahma. They are classified not as human creations, but as revelation, to which the Vedic poets only 'listened' (in Sansk., *śruti*) in the formulation of the hymns they repeated. This mythic origin is thought of as the antecedent of a transmission in several scholastic traditions (*śākhā*). The means of this transmission was to have been direct oral communication from teacher to pupil (*paramparā*). These hymns of divine origin were introduced into the Vedic sacrificial cult, where no syllable might be wrongly applied or wrongly pronounced, for these were regarded as magical, and such misuse would entail lethal consequences for the person who had commissioned the sacrifice. The adoption of complicated mnemonic measures ensued, to guarantee the most precise transmittal. The hymns are composed in verse, so that the rhythmic patterns of the meters fix the correct succession of syllables. Oral teaching, melodics, and repetition are prescribed in the second, the *Sāma Veda* (Skt., *sāman*, 'song'), which arranges the hymns of the first, the *Rig Veda* ("holy song"), for liturgical use. These musical aspects, as well, facilitate rote learning. Further didactic methods are found in the form of schooling. In boyhood, the Veda pupil leaves his home and ritually enters the family of the teacher (*gurukula*). Then oral instruction is implemented, during all daily activities, as well as in a special lesson, at which teacher and pupil sit on the floor facing each other. The teacher tilts the pupil's head, in an established schema, corresponding to the sound of the syllables in the text to be memorized. This fixes the text in the pupil's mind by bodily motor conditioning. Hand gestures, representing the pitch of the notes to be sung, complete the holistic pedagogical procedure. In this fashion, the boys assimilate massive amounts of text, which are produced in utterance only in a later step in the pupil's formation. Thus, the *Rig Veda* comprises more than 100,000 double lines of verse, and the *Sāma Veda* some 1,800. Even today, family names like *Trivedi* (from *tri*, 'three') are used to indicate descent from ancestors of immense mental capacity. By means of these methods of oral retention of knowledge, Hindus have been able to preserve these hymns,

verbatim, in unbroken tradition, to the very present. It is precisely oral transmission that is of decisive importance here, since Indological research has had to cope with later alterations much more often in texts handed down by writing. There are also, it is true, oral traditions in which there was no question of exact transmission, but situational narrative freedom with a fixed thematic core, such as the culture of the epic bards. The spread of writing for as yet unofficial texts was probably actually impeded in India by its strong oral tradition. Here the criticism is often voiced that an understanding of the text may have been neglected in favor of its memorization, so that, when it comes to tradition, a tendency to uncritical belief may have been reinforced in Indian history. In today's research, 'oral tradition' denotes the transmission of myths or narratives, folk or tribal, and usually regional, that have not been fixed in writing.

Although the Vedic sacrificial ceremonies of modern Hindu ritual have given way, the oral tradition of Vedic recitation has rudimentarily survived. The accompanying photograph shows two Veda specialists, engaged in an annual recitation contest in the temple of Kadavalloor in the state of Kerala (Southern India). They are representatives of the most respected and most learned priestly caste of Kerala (*Namboodiri*), and have been memorizing the *Sāma Veda* since their childhood, as was formerly the case with the greater proportion of male offspring of the *Namboodiri*. For this, there is a traditional school, that of the *Brahmasvammatham*, in the nearby city of Trissur. The contest is called *anyonyam* ('alternating'). Two pairs of contestants from the same team alternate in the recital of uninterrupted series of verses, according to the strict prescriptions of the *Sāma Veda*: with expanded melodies, repetition, and alternating insertions. Traditional didactic method is represented by the movements of their heads and (as shown by the priest in the right of the picture) by the gestures of their hands. Today, only one other school of the same sort exists in Kerala; thus, the contest has mostly a character of self-competition. It represents a dying art. Today, most persons educated in this tradition enter normal professions, but stand in the high regard of most of society. They are glad to be consulted as specialists by Indologists and anthropologists, as, for instance, in 1975, by Fritz Staal, at the re-presentation of a Vedic sacrifice (*agnihotra*) that lasted several days.

Elmar Stapelfeldt

controlled by speech contribute to the rise of a new type of oral tradition, as do cultural trends toward deviating from traditional prescribed texts or agendas, such as the value placed on improvisation in → music, → theater and religious services. The current emphasis on → discourse, especially spoken discourse, for example in legal and political decision-making processes, also indicate a strong oral culture.

Therefore we must reassess the claims of scholars and scientists who continue to describe contemporary Western culture as a fundamentally written culture (→ Book). This view often includes the claim that writing must be seen as the very foundation of human culture and of historical understanding of culture. This emphasis on writing involves a certain maneuvering for power; written texts that have gained recognition and respect can be set up as the only grounds for making claims to knowledge so that open discussion is marginalized. This idea has been expressed in the words of absolutist legal scholars: "What is not written down in the acts simply does not exist."

'Writing' and the Proclamation of Religion

The development of written culture is relevant to the study of religion in that it requires a religious community to deal with questions concerning the relationship between texts and divine truth, between human → language and

God's word. A number of religions can be characterized by their possession of a → canon, that is, a written, established, and closed corpus of texts recognized as scripture and seen as the foundation of that religion. This corpus gains its authority from its age and from the belief that it originated with God. Some traditions claim that their texts were directly dictated by God (oral inspiration) as in the case of the → Qur'an (see sura 97:1), or were actually written down by God, as in the case of the Ten Commandments (Exod 32:16; cf. Deut 6:6). The authority of the canon also serves to establish the authority of special groups of people, such as priests, who have the exclusive right to read, expound, and interpret the canon.

By contrast, prophetic speech also claims divine origin but bypasses priestly institutions and claims to ancient authority. God is believed to speak directly through a human being, or a prophet may report a direct inspiration by proclaiming it with the introduction "Hear the word of the Lord . . ." or "The spirit of the Lord came upon me . . ." In scriptural religions this option is limited, or may be excluded, as it is important for the authority of the texts to see them as the final and complete divine revelation, which logically excludes direct oral revelation to individuals today, i.e. there is an 'end of prophecy.' Some scriptural religions do allow for continued non-verbal revelation in the form of mystical visions or 'natural revelation' through gaining spiritual understanding of the created world (→ Mysticism).

Words as Independent Entities

Most religions do not reflect a belief of unlimited access to direct divine revelation. God is believed to speak to a privileged few, usually through signs (→ Oracle). However, the word of God is sometimes personified in such a way that it does interact with the entire world, as in Judaism, where the world is created through God's word, or in Christianity when it takes on the form of God's son (John 1:1-8) and God's invisible voice is called his daughter.

Religious words can also be seen as gaining independence from the text inasmuch as even scriptural religions require oral → media. Reading scripture aloud, singing Psalms, and preaching about scripture all constitute an effort to make written revelation manifest as the oral proclamation of an abstract set of beliefs called the 'word' of God. These spoken forms give separate life to the text so that the author—God, for instance, or an ancient prophet—is made to say something without actually being directly present. Scripture can also be enlivened and set apart from ordinary discourse through music and singing, which endows the word with sacred or liturgical character.

Writing as the Preservation of Memory and Tradition

When the founders or reformers of a religion die, the community is faced with the question of how they will survive as a unit without their original leader. The identity of the group can be maintained by a posthumous appeal to the leader's 'authentic' words (Gk, *logia*). In most cases, the founder has not written anything himself or has failed to answer every question relevant to the community. Thus disciples who can claim direct contact with the founder during his or her life and knowledge of his teachings are needed to arbitrate disputes and to continue the 'authentic' teachings. The establishment of these teachings in writing usually occurs around the third generation after the founder's death, when the last of the disciples have died.

Besides establishing a chain of authority, words in this scenario are also used to interpret the community's current condition and role, and to invest the founder's fate with meaning, especially if his or her death was violent.

Thus one might say that texts of this type serve the primary purpose of 'community formation.' The texts gain authority despite their recent composition through their identification with eyewitnesses, disciple's names, and indications of exact times and places in which the events recorded took place.

These texts also include characteristic turns of phrase, which are believed to be exact repetitions of the founder's words or teachings. These are particularly important to the community because they have adequate authority for use in rituals and recitations. Community identity and the memory of the founder and his or her teachings can further be maintained through ritual uses of verse and rhyme as well as non-verbal elements such as particular movements and gestures or the order in which ritual acts are performed (e.g. the Indian Brahmin's → Caste).

Oral Tradition and its Relation to the Public

Even in writing cultures, there are certain fields of knowledge that are considered appropriate only for oral transmission (→ Mysteries). For example, the Celtic druids (→ Celts) did not record their wisdom in writing. Similarly, Plato makes a distinction between knowledge that can be written down and made accessible for anyone to study, and knowledge that is esoteric, i.e. accessible only to an inner circle and which must be protected by being transmitted only in an oral form.

On the other hand, there are ritual acts that are oral but require hearers consisting of the general public. In religious law, an objection to a marriage must be expressed before witnesses and for all to hear, as stated in many wedding ceremonies (". . . let him speak now [i.e. in front of the entire assembly] or forever hold his peace . . ."). In the same way, vows made at baptism or the profession of faith in a conversion ceremony must not be spoken in private but rather before an entire assembly.

Oral Cultures

Many cultures dispense with writing altogether, or use it in only a few specific contexts. It is important to remember that these cultures have not simply failed to develop into writing cultures, but are instead structured in an entirely different way.

In some cultures narratives or genealogies 'belong' to individual families or clans (→ Aborigines). These texts can be applied as the basis for a comprehensive elucidation of the world and of life. Although other professional literature, such as legal documentation, does not exist, the narrative texts can still serve to hold society together. The narrative form plays the role that formal documentation plays in other cultures and serves to enforce order. For example, riveting recitals of the unscrupulous wealthy person who loses everything overnight (Luke 12:15-21), of suitors who exhaust the goods of the wife of an absent man (*Odyssey*), of the city that denies impoverished foreigners hospitality (Gen 18-19) all show authoritatively to persons living in an oral culture that the strong must not take advantage of the weak or the rich take advantage of the poor. Similarly, in myths that tell of gods and heroes who hold sway over all people, even the dominant members of a society, the basic order of society is publicized, grounded, and protected through a narrative of just punishment. The conviction that the strong are not actually able to wield their power arbitrarily can function even in competition with everyday observations to the contrary.

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→ *Book, Communication, Language, Literature, Memory, North America (Traditional Religions), Text/Textual Criticism, Tradition, Writing*

Christoph Auffarth

Order / Brotherhoods

Concept

1. The term 'religious order' (from Lat., *ordo*) denotes a union of women or men in a community that obligates itself, most commonly according to determinate rules, to live together permanently or for a given time, and usually under a superior. Shutting out familial or societal areas, they devote themselves primarily to religious activities. The order community here functions as a second family, which is often made clear by the adoption of a new name. As they constitute a sign that is visible to the outside, members of orders frequently wear garb indicative of their order (→ Clothing). The assemblage of persons for the exercise of such religious practice is represented in nearly all religions, and plays an important role in Islam (Sufi brotherhoods) and in Buddhism, in addition to being familiar in Christianity.

Christian Orders

2. In *Roman Catholic* regulation, ecclesiastical law (CJC 488) determines which associations or cloistered communities are to be reckoned as orders. Persons who enter the Christian orders universally obligate themselves by the three vows of obedience, poverty, and celibacy, with the purpose of progressively gaining Christian perfection. According to their tasks and services, orders are divided into contemplative, active, or 'mixed' orders. They are also distinguished into orders of priests and orders of laity, depending on the ecclesiastical status of the majority of their members. In terms of their 'system,' they are divided into monastic, canonical, mendicant, clerical, and chivalric. This differentiation of the orders is the result of secessions and reform movements since the High Middle Ages, especially since the withdrawal of the Cistercians from Cluny. Besides the monks, who live their entire lives in common in the monastery, twenty-four hours a day, there are choir monks, or canons, who spend only parts of the day in common, especially divine service. Women, widows in particular, who wished to enter an order, seldom found admittance, so that they formed order-like associations themselves, such as the Beguines. Without ecclesiastical 'ordering,' they often fell under the suspicion of deviation from church doctrine. The knightly orders produced, on the one hand, organizations that work without ecclesiastical ties, such as the Knights of Malta, and, on the other hand, social communities whose 'orders,' signed with medals or the like, are bestowed on them in token of special recognition.

Brotherhoods

3. In Islam, particularly today, *Sufi brotherhoods* play a significant, to some extent even political, role (→ Sufism). Sufi movements emphasize the subjective, mystical experience of faith. Knowledge of God—the ultimate goal of a Sufi (Arab., 'wool-clad')—becomes possible through special practices that tend to be 'hostile to law' (antinomian). These may be of a meditative, ascetical nature, and are practiced alone or in the company of other Sufis. Beginning in the thirteenth century, Sufi movements have repeatedly organized themselves in orders or brotherhoods (*tariqa*), in the veneration of special saints who mediate salvation. The 'whirling dervishes' of Turkish Konya, who enter a meditative trance by way of special clothing and circular motion, are a familiar tourist attraction. In recent times, the brotherhoods have been the object of new esteem and regard—particularly, indeed, in the region of the former Soviet Union. The opportunity to belong to a ritual community was adopted especially among the Turkish minorities of Europe, as an alternative to the identity-loss of an existence in the diaspora. The success of the brotherhoods, both within and without the nuclear Islamic countries, is also due to a reaction to the political and cultural tendencies to secularization in the Islamic world. Thus, for example, the Mevlevije or Bectasije Brotherhoods in Turkey, long banned, have come once more to enjoy great popularity and success.

→ *Buddhism, Charitable Organizations, Christianity, Endowment/Foundation, Islam, Jesuits, Monasticism, Sufism*

Hendrik Bechmann

Orientalism / Exoticism

Exotism

1. The term 'exoticism' (from Gk., *exotikós*, 'foreign-style') denotes a certain manner of confrontation with foreign cultures. The latter are perceived as distant—whether temporally, spatially, or socially—and as different from one's own culture. This presumes, on the one hand, a division between one's own culture and the culture thought of as foreign. On the other hand, a foreign culture is necessarily perceived against the background of one's own. That perception is reflected in the conceptualizations formed of exotic worlds, of course, but also of one's own reality—the wishes and dreams, as well as the renunciations, that each given society demands of its members.

A relation to foreign cultures is therefore usually ambivalent—marked by fear and a sense of estrangement, as well as by enchantment and fascination. All of this inspires the arts, but also fosters the formation of cult and religion. Frequently, only fragments of the foreign culture are perceived, such as, for example, palm trees, beaches, teeming bazaars, veiled women, or 'bearded fanatics.' A genuine confrontation with the culture in question is impeded by the constant repetition of these deeply engraved stereotypes (→ Prejudices/Stereotypes).

European exoticism's great historical importance is owed especially to its ethnocentric variants, where it often went hand in hand with colonialism. The European view of the 'other world' has ordinarily been typified by a satisfaction in power, a pleasure justified by the supposition of a higher stage of development in the home society (→ Evolutionism).

The Foreign as the Exotic: Contacts and Projections

2. European contact with other cultural circles dates from long before the middle of the first pre-Christian millennium. During the time of the Hellenic empires (fourth to first centuries BCE), encounters between Greeks and Persians, together with Alexander the Great's campaigns of conquest and exploration (which reached India), created a religious melting pot. The Roman Empire, which succeeded Hellenic dominance, extended this process of the extension of religious concepts between East and West. To an extent, these concepts turned into new 'Easternizing' cults, such as one whose orientation was to the Egyptian cult of the goddess Isis, or another that was directed to the Persian cult of Mithras (→ Mysteries).

Frequently, the rule of the Islamic Omayyad dynasty in Spain, crusades, pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and trading expeditions were conflict-ridden sources of a first-hand experience of foreign cultures in the *Middle Ages.* That experience became structured in legends, literature, and fantasy-filled reports of fabulous journeys. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453), and the collision with the peoples of Central and South America in the sixteenth century, did open fresh horizons, but the new impressions rapidly crystallized into hostile caricatures and racist appraisals.

An ambivalent perception of the 'foreign' was shown precisely in ethnographic compositions of the sixteenth century especially, concerning the newly discovered lands of the Latin American continent. There the figure of the 'noble savage' was formed, and served as a screen for the projection of an image of the oppressed and displaced of one's own society. To many, the 'savage' represented a primitive ideal worth striving for, the figure of an incorrupt, happy, and natural human being. Reports like those of sailor-scientist Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (1729–1811) gave life to this idealized type of person in the second half of the eighteenth century, with a new proclamation of life in the → South Sea. Here seemed to be an earthly paradise, populated by noble, constantly happy 'savages.' Many artists took inspiration in this, such as Paul Gauguin, Emil Nolde, Max Pechstein, August Macke, and Paul Klee, to name but a few. A negative image was established by the evolutionistic, Darwinistic thought of the nineteenth century, in combination with a racist colonial spirit. The 'primitives' were no longer the enviable 'firstborn of this earth,' but now were the uncultured, immoral, and irreligious 'natives,' subsisting on a particularly low rung of the developmental ladder. In fact, 'fetishist' (→ Fetish/Fetishism), 'heathen,' and 'animist' were the most innocent eponyms for the members of ethnic groups and tribal cultures.

Orientalism

3. A special fascination for Europeans had always been exerted by the → Ancient East, the nearest region to Europe. Until well into modern times, the Near East was reckoned as the space of an aggressive Islam, against which Christian and European wars had been waged for centuries (the crusades, the Spanish *reconquista*). Here, political and religious interests often entered an unholy alliance. With the failure of the Ottoman assault on Vienna (1683) at the latest, the East lost much of its ominous character. The West now began its definitive overpowering of the East. Napoleon's Egyptian campaign (1798/99) did something additional, as well: it lent impulse to a special admiration for traditionally Islamic cultures. It is no coincidence, then, that, with the end of the eighteenth century, a special branch of scholarship appeared—Oriental Studies, along with its sub-discipline, Islamic Studies.

It was the Christian Palestinian literary scholar *Edward Said* who in the 1980s criticized the attitude and hidden agenda of these disciplines as



After his enlightenment, the *Mahavagga* (1, 3) tells, the Buddha sat and enjoyed the condition. A thunderstorm suddenly arose. Cold wind and rain began to assail him. And the Buddha received unexpected protection: the Cobra King wrapped itself seven times around him, and spread its hood over the head of the Enlightened One, lest he suffer some harm. After seven days the storm ceased, and the Cobra King transformed itself into a beautiful young man, who offered the Buddha homage. Might this be the reason why this legendary scene was chosen in Europe around 1930 for the scene of a popular art offering in postal card format? Actually, it probably was not. It may be supposed that this presentation of the Buddha in the Khmer style was solely chosen to show the scantily clad woman in the foreground and thus provide the connoisseur with additional reason for shopping. The suggestion is that of a favorite scenario of exotic fantasies: the temple dancer (*devadasi*) who performs lascivious dances before her 'idols'—the series of offerings that extends from Mata Hari to Fritz Lang's late work, *Der Tiger von*

manifestation of what was to become known as 'Orientalism.' In Said's opinion, the East and its mainly Islamic culture, as it appears in Western literature and scholarship, is a construction emerging from the dominance of the West. Here, the East had been erected against the West as a monolithic block. For most persons, travel in the East was altogether impossible. Thus, in this respect as well as in others, travelogues, accounts, and descriptions by merchants, missionaries, and military figures were the only sources of information. The *Tales from the Thousand and One Nights*, translated into French by Antoine Galland between 1704 and 1717, were determinative for many eighteenth-century Europeans' image of the East. These soon enjoyed great favor throughout Europe (→ Fairytale). Here the world of the East no longer appeared as the breeding ground of an anti-God (read, 'one unfriendly to Christianity') and an 'anti-Christ,' but was an enticing, sensual, mysterious place. This *Orientalism* performed several functions. For example, the East was used to transfer erotic fantasies to a distant stage. Painting was the most obvious medium: with the 'Orientalists' (J. A. D. Ingres, E. Delacroix, J.-L Gérôme), harems and baths were frequent and favorite motifs. But criticism of political and social relations, as well, or of the Christian Church, was shifted to the East.

The reception of these images by European writers (J. G. Herder, J. W. von Goethe ["West-Östlicher Diwan," with Marianne von Willemer; 1819/1827]), F. → Nietzsche, G. Flaubert (*Salammbô*, 1862) assisted in their extension. The best known examples of a mix of the East of the folktale and the East of realism are the narratives of Karl May (1842–1912), actually trivial literature, which have remained part of the Eastern image in German-speaking countries until today.

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→ *Ancient East (illustration), Colonialism, Gender Stereotypes, Islam, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Reception, Veil*

Silvia Kuske and Astrid Czerny

Orientation

1. Originally, the word 'orientation' meant directing someone or something in the direction of 'sunrise.' (The Latin root of the word is *[sol] oriens*,

'rising [sun],' 'morning.') Hence the further meaning of 'East' as an area of the earth. The chief types of orientation are (1) astronomical orientation: the laying out of cultic installations for example, according to the chief directions of the compass; (2) environmental orientation: as the erection of churches and chapels at the highest point of an area (hill, mountain); (3) anthropocentric orientation, that takes the human body as its point of departure: thus, the higher dignity is accorded the right side of the body in many (but not all) cultures; (4) cultural orientation: for example, the layout of buildings in such a way that they will 'point' toward religious centers, as Rome, Jerusalem, or Mecca.

Eshnapur/Das indische Grabmal (Ger., "The Tiger of Eshnapur/The Indian Tomb"; 1958/59). The fact that religion, here, is merely a veil for this trivial erotic aesthetics, and the image of the Buddha merely an exotic code, may also be recognized from the fact that temple dance was practiced only in Hinduism, and not before a Buddha. (Hubert Mohr and Kirsten Holzapfel)

2. Directional phenomena are found in nature even at the lowest level (bacteria). Ants, bees, and the intercontinental flight of birds or carrier pigeons are familiar examples of the accomplishments of orientation in the animal kingdom. Even at an early stage of development, the human species must have oriented itself for an optimal use of resources in space and time. Many of the wild animals hunted in the Paleolithic Age were draught animals, and hence it was important to know not only when they were on the move, but also which territory they would traverse. This lifestyle presupposed an intimate knowledge of the environment, and a corresponding orientation in it.

3. The irreversible transition from the maintenance of life by hunting and gathering, to the sedentary lifestyle of agriculture and animal husbandry, bestowed importance on an astronomical orientation to the sun (and to a lesser degree, to the stars; cf., in Egypt, the rising of Sirius), on which life itself depended. The important thing then became an optimization and stabilization of the harvest yield. One of the measures of optimization consisted in a determination of the favorable moment for planting. For this a sufficiently accurate → calendar was necessary. In many cultures, four fixed 'cardinal points' of the year were established by astronomical observation: the summer and winter solstices and the two equinoxes. Further important data could be established in relation to these fixed points, for instance by counting out a definite number of days after a solstice. The orientation of sacred premises (temples, tombs) was frequently such that key points on the horizon could be glimpsed at which the sun rose or set on a given date. Thus, the monumental stone installation in Stonehenge (England, Period II, c. 2160 BCE) provided the bearings of the sunrise on the day of the summer or winter solstice; and the sunsets on these days could be observed also over other of these monumental stones. Finally, the orientation of other stones indicated the direction of sunrise and sunset at the equinoxes. Another example is the sacred installation at Uaxactun, in Petén, in Guatemala. It consists of a temple pyramid, opposite which three other temples are positioned on a raised platform. From an observation point marked by a projecting stone along the pyramid's stairway, three points of orientation can be observed: over the north corner of the temple on the left, sunrise at the summer solstice; over the south corner of the temple on the right, sunrise at the winter solstice; and through the gate of the midmost temple, sunrise at the equinoxes.

Ritual Orientation, Cult of the Ruler

4. a) Ritual orientation is governed by the fixed points of nature, inasmuch as it corresponds to cultural (religious, political) models. It is responsible for the fact that, in China, traditionally, the important side is the left, even though most Chinese are right-handed. The superior direction was the

direction pointing to the sun, the south. Accordingly, the majority of dwellings and other buildings have their orientation toward the south. The Emperor was enthroned in the north of the palace, with a view to the south. The next most important orientation was that of the direction of the sunrise, the east; and from the viewpoint of the Emperor, the East lay to the left. Accordingly, left was also the side of honor for guests. As the southerly orientation, then, was the preferable one, and the one ritually reserved to the ruler, so also second place fell to the easterly. The (polar opposite) north (the Emperor's 'back') is the region of the demons, of winter, of bad influences by the weather.

The village of the African Dogon is a symbol of the human being: "This is a person, and must lie in a north-south direction; the smithy is the head, certain altars are the feet. The east-west oriented huts, used by women during menstruation, are the hands; residences of families fashion the breast. And the symmetrical nature of the entire group finds its expression in a foundational sanctuary, in the form of a cone (the male genital organ) and an excavated stone (female genital organ), on which the fruit of lannea acida is laid in order to press oil from it."[1]

Religious Centers

b) In ritual orientation, natural models of direction can be replaced with others. In Gothic cathedrals the altar stands at the eastern end of the nave. East is the direction of Jerusalem. It was from the East that the Second Coming of Christ was expected, and thus also the general resurrection. In similar fashion, the prayer niches in mosques, in which the mullahs make their prayer, always face Mecca. This direction is the one in which pious Muslims face, as well, as they prostrate themselves to pray. A constantly reliable determination of the direction of Mecca, in the expansion into Asia, was one of the chief motives for the development of Arab astronomy in the Middle Ages.



This compass enables Muslims to determine the direction of Mecca, to which they direct their prayer from wherever they may be. An instruction booklet featuring a numerical key to all cities of any considerable size assists the user *in via*: the faithful direct the compass needle to the numeral corresponding to the nearest large city, and then, holding the compass horizontally, determine the direction of Mecca by the small minaret. (Benita von Behr)

c) In China, when someone had just died, the corpse in state had to be positioned in such a way that the feet lay in the direction of the gates. The reason was that, in case the deceased became a spirit, that person would immediately see the gates when emerging from the corpse, and would have to abandon his property through these gates. Otherwise that person might wander about in the house and harass the survivors. For the lie of the tombs, even today the laws of geomancy (*feng shui*, 'wind and water') apply. Graves are situated in a high place, facing south, and thus are positioned in such a way that the 'energy-laden mountains' and 'shielding waters' may be able to develop the remaining energy (*qi*) of the dead as fully as possible, and thus have the effect of a blessing (*ling*) on descendants.

Concerned for their immortality, the Egyptian pharaohs of the Old Kingdom had their pyramids built in such a way that the axis would have its orientation toward the north, and that a 'shaft of wind' in the sarcophagus chamber would indicate the direction of the pole star. The pole star, as the center of Ursa Major, the constellation that revolves about it, the 'Never-Disappearing,' was linked to hope in the resurrection.

1. See Griaule/Dieterlen 1954, 96.

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→ *Calendar, Grave/Tomb, Landscape, Place (Sacred)*

Stephan Peter Bumbacher

Origin

The Question of Origins in Myth and Philosophy

1. A concern with the origins of the human being and the world—a concern with anthropogony and → cosmogony—is characteristic of all societies rooted in tradition. As early as the Indian *Upanishads*, the question is posed as to the origin of all—the ultimate, total ground, from which the multiplicity of phenomena has emerged. Interpretations of the origin of the world are found in the cosmogonic myths of all of the peoples of the earth. *Enuma Elish* and the *Gilgamesh* epic can be cited as myths of origin from the Mesopotamian culture. In a biblical context, the creation and paradise narratives attempt to answer the question of beginnings. In Greece, as well, philosophies at first still closely tied to myth attempt to answer the question of origins. Thus, the concept *arché* ('origin,' 'beginning,' 'principle'), in the Pre-Socratics of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, designates that from which 'being' arises. According to Thales of Miletus, all things have arisen from water; according to Anaximenes, from air; according to Empedocles, from the four elements; according to Democritus, from atoms. Anaximander calls the original ground of all being the 'unlimited,' or 'infinite' (*apeiron*). A classic definition for *arché* is Aristotle's: "The first, from out of which something becomes."[1]

From its very beginnings, then, Western philosophy poses the question of first origins, which is usually interpreted as the question of God (God as 'unmoved mover'). Remnants of this traditional orientation to beginnings are still found in the modern quest for wisdom, for example with Descartes, who seeks a *fundamentum inconcussum* (Lat., 'unwavering foundation'), a first, 'unshakable,' Archimedean original point in the search for knowledge. Modern science renounces the question of God, it is true, but not the quest for certitude, and thereby not the quest for a fixed, 'secured' point of departure for scientific methodology. The quest for a point of departure fixed in time, alongside the teleogical thinking directed toward a goal of history, can be designated as *the* axis of a Western understanding of reality. That question has persisted, until now, from its mythic beginnings to the present "leave-taking of the principle" (O. Marquard).

Thought without Origin: The Hindu Tradition

2. In the associations of Western tradition, the thought that there might possibly be no first beginning, no origin, is grasped only with difficulty. Only go back far enough—according to European categories of thought—and one must inevitably get to a first point of departure. In a framework of thought accustomed to move, in linear fashion, from a fixed point of departure toward a fixed target, 'being without a beginning' is sheerly unthinkable. The question of what there actually was before the first beginning, then, is seen as nonsensical—or even, as in the case of Augustine's opponents, the Manicheans, heretical.

But that the beginning can be conceptualized in an entirely different way is proven by, for instance, the *Hindu* teaching of the world ages, which reckons with the eternal return of an immeasurable multiplicity of time-worlds and space-worlds, and knows no first beginning at a determinate temporal position.

Sri Aurobindo

Granted, neo-Hindu philosopher Sri Aurobindo (1872–1950) also posits the question of the beginning: "When was the beginning, then?" But he answers: "At no moment in time, for the beginning is at every moment. The beginning has always been, is always now, and will ever be. The divine beginning is forever before time, in time, and beyond time. The eternal, infinite, and one, personal or impersonal, is an endless beginning."[2] In a framework of Aurobindo's 'spiral' concept, there is neither a first beginning nor an ultimate end, since each seeming end is simultaneously a new beginning. In the same way, birth and death become relative, whether of the individual human being or of the whole human race in a permanent process of cosmic transformation, with the rise and demise of entire world ages.

The Question of Origin in Modern Science

3. Modern science, as well, was long marked by the search for an absolute beginning. Subsequent to the Enlightenment, inquiry has been conducted into the origin of the human race, the origin of religion, and the origin of the universe, although it is a matter, here, of basic questions that cannot be univocally answered with the means of empirical science. Corresponding attempts at interpretation run the risk of themselves becoming a substitute for faith or belief.

The Study of Religion

In the *study of religion*, the search for the beginnings of religion became a downright fixed idea. As early as the heyday of → evolutionism, at the end of the nineteenth century, the history of religion was extended to prehistory, by way of ever 'more original' phases and cultural horizons. After E. B. Tylor's theory, 'animism,' a 'pre-animism' (Andrew Lang) was postulated, followed by 'dynamism' (Marett), or the 'enchantment' theory (W. Preuss), each alleging to have identified the 'most primitive' form of religion, the one nearest the origins of the human race. In his *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (Ger., "The Origin of the Idea of God"), 12 volumes, 1926–1955, Father Wilhelm Schmidt, in orientation to still surviving 'remnants' of the oldest culture, believed that he could reconstruct 'primitive religion,' in the form of a belief in a 'high God' (primitive monotheism). Here he appealed to a personal primitive revelation of God, thus appealing as well to a theological search for the ultimate foundation that would be in accord with Catholic teaching. The → polytheism of the ancient high cultures—as with all such manner of decadence theories since the Enlightenment—was regarded as a fall from an ideal primitive condition.

Is Culture 'Originally Religious'?

Still more comprehensive, it would seem, is a certain (merely implicit) premise of many cultural theories today. This proposition avers that any cultural expression, be it economic, artistic, or juridical, originally arose in the area of religion. It would have been only in the course of → pre- and early history, then, that independent cultural areas untrammeled by religion had been differentiated.

Like all other theories of origins, these theories have turned out to be false. We have no opportunity to investigate a 'primitive culture,' or 'primitive religion,' in their pure form. Accordingly, today's academic study of religion has by and large surrendered its repeated (and always futile) quest for the origin of religion.

A radical turn can be observed in the state of the question when it comes to *philosophical hermeneutics*, in an a priori renunciation of the search for an Archimedean point untainted with interpretation, and thus, with Dilthey, acknowledging that any proposition of a beginning is arbitrary. Not even empirical research ever gains the opportunity of finding a beginning without premises. For lack of adequate sources of light, the beginnings of history (including religious history) are lost in the dark.

1. Aristotle, Metaphysics, 1013a, 17ff. Cf. A. LUMPE, "Der Terminus *arché* von den Vorsokratikern auf Aristoteles," in: Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte 1 (1955), 104-116.
2. SATPREM, Sri Aurobindo oder das Abenteuer des Bewußtseins, Weilheim 1970, 227f. (French [1]1964; Engl. as: Sri Aurobindo or, The Adventure of Consciousness, New York 1968).

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→ *Academic Study of Religion, Colonialism, Cosmology/Cosmogony, Eliade, Evolutionism, God/Gods/The Sacred, Time*

Wolfgang Gantke

Orthodox Churches

Concept

1. A distinction is made among (a) the "Orthodox churches of the two Ecumenical Councils," that have accepted only the first two Councils, Nicaea I (325) and Constantinople I (381)—namely, the *Old Church of the East* and the *Old Church of the East in India*, (b) the "Orthodox churches of the three Ecumenical Councils," which also accepted the Council of Ephesus (451), namely, the *Syrian Orthodox Church*, the *Orthodox Syrian Church of the East in India*, the *Coptic Orthodox Church*, the *Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, and the *Armenian Apostolic Church*, and (c) the "Orthodox churches of the Seven [Ecumenical] Councils," which also accept the Councils of Chalcedon (451), Constantinople II (553), Constantinople III (680–681), and Nicaea II (787). These latter churches include, among other ecclesiastical entities, the



The picture shows a typical monastic religious service of the Orthodox Church, celebrated by a bishop, with several archimandrites, abbots, deacons, and monks. As spiritual superior, the bishop stands in the center of the podium, facing the altar. He wears the *sakkos* and the *omophorion* (corresponding to the Western *pallium*). To the right and left of the bishop stand two deacons, and one sub-deacon who holds the bishop's crosier. To the left of the altar stand four archimandrites (highest monastic title), wearing miters as a sign of their dignity. To the right of the altar stand several *igoumens* (abbots) and priest-monks, who wear the *klobuk* (a high hat with a veil in the back) as a sign of their priesthood and monasticism. The sub-deacons (left), who carry fans (*repids*) or candles, underscore the festal character of the divine service.

Even the divine services of a simple city parish or village are saturated with an atmosphere that 'brings heaven to earth': in the light of burning candles—reflected in their multiple images in the icons—with their splendid liturgical raiment and their solemn, beautifully harmonized singing. (F. Schnider)

Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, the *Russian Orthodox Church*, and the Orthodox *National churches in the Balkans.* According to their self-understanding, these churches all stem from the Byzantine (East-Roman) Church. Confessionally, they all denominate themselves 'the Orthodox Church' (in the singular).

The Orthodox Churches and the Western Churches

2. Already in late antiquity, there were distinctions within the Roman Empire between the traditionally Greek/Hellenistic East and the traditionally Latin West. In the West, a polarity developed between secular (imperial) and ecclesiastical (papal) power. A hierarchically structured papal church appeared (→ Papacy). The East knew no clear division between secular and spiritual power. Further, the Eastern Church remained composed of independent (autocephalous) local churches, headed by a patriarch or archbishop ('metropolitan'), together with synodal councils. Over the course of history, dogmatic, liturgical, and canonical differences between West and East led to a multiplicity of tensions and conflicts. In 1054, the Papal Legate and the Patriarch of Constantinople exchanged bulls of excommunication. The capture of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204 was traumatic for the Eastern Church. The prohibition of *communicatio in sacris* (Lat., 'community of sacraments') with priests not standing in full union with Rome by the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1729, and the denial of the character of Roman Catholic sacraments as instruments of divine grace by the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1755, led to the Eastern Church's official breach with Rome. Only in the twentieth century did a rapprochement finally occur: the overwhelming majority of the Orthodox churches participated in the preparation and founding of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in 1948, with the churches from the regions under Communist power following in 1961. Contacts with Rome were strengthened at the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). The "Pan-Orthodox Conference" of Rhodes (1961) decided to participate in official theological conversations with Catholics, Anglicans, and Lutherans. In 1995, Pope John Paul II and Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomaeos I of Constantinople jointly acknowledged their churches to be 'sister churches.'

The Liturgy

3. The Orthodox house of God is modeled after the biblical temple in Jerusalem. The narthex (entrance hall) corresponds to the temple entrance courts, the nave to the temple hall, and the sanctuary, divided from the nave by an iconostasis (image wall), to the Holy of Holies. Arriving at the liturgical service, the believer abandons the worldly everyday (the 'earthly'), and transfers to the sanctuary of God (the 'heavenly'). The liturgy has the character of a divine apparition ('theophany'). In the celebration of the Eucharist, the risen Christ enters into the holy of holies of the temple both as High Priest and as sacrificial Victim.

The mystery of the individual feasts and/or the ecclesiastical year is celebrated with a multiplicity of prayers and hymns. No music of organ or orchestra is used. Only the human voice, of the celebrants and the deacon, and of the choir, proclaims the word of the liturgy. The liturgy lasts a fairly long time (for non-Orthodox visitors), but gives the believer the freedom to walk about in the house of God, and to pray before various icons. The liturgy usually makes use of an old sacred language (such as old Church Slavonic). Not only abroad, but even in the Orthodox countries themselves, there is a growing tendency to use the contemporary popular language in

the liturgy. The liturgical language (old or new, respectively) corresponds to the church calendar that is used (the old Julian or the new Gregorian). But nearly all of Orthodoxy still calculates the Easter season according to the old, Julian calendar.

The Orthodox liturgy involves all of the senses of the believer, and thus leads him or her into an 'atmosphere of the Holy.' For the eye, there are the rites, the icons, the frescos, the vestments, and the gleaming wax lamps; for the ear, the singing of the officers of the liturgy and the choir; for the sense of smell, the aromatic scent of incense and lamps; for the taste, the holy gifts of bread and wine. The faithful enter into the sacred act. They stand before God, they bow and cross themselves repeatedly, they fall on their knees and touch the floor with their foreheads, they kiss the icons, and they light lamps and candles.

Clergy and Laity

4. Considered historically, the Orthodox churches constitute a clerical religion. Even earlier, however, laity were included in the national Orthodox church councils. But the leadership of the Church ultimately remained in the hands of the clergy (patriarchs, metropolitans, holy synods, bishops' conferences). The secularization process of the twentieth century, with the separation of church and state, has brought it about that educated (even theologically educated) laity are consulted by the bishops in certain areas, so that the influence of the laity has grown in the churches and in the parishes. In the Russian Orthodox Church, the status of laypersons is now canonically regulated. In the parishes, the parish councils are responsible for all questions (administrative, charitable, and so on), with the exception of those pertaining to the liturgy.

Among the people, *monks*, as 'God-bearing fathers,' enjoy great respect, occasionally even more than do the ordinary, married secular clergy. Pilgrimages to monasteries, especially to those with *startzy* (elders), who possess the gift of 'reading hearts,' mark the spiritual life of many believers. In post-Communist Russia, the number of monasteries is increasing (480 in 1999), and monasticism is growing strong. (Things are otherwise in, for example, the Serbian, Bulgarian, and Greek churches).

In the Russian Orthodox Church, *works of charity* are centrally administered by the Patriarchate's Department of Beneficence and Social Services. Of special importance are the medical programs of the central Clinical Hospital of Saint Alexei, as treatment is provided there free of charge. In 1990, a church youth organization was founded, which, among other things, engages youth helpers in the construction of churches and monasteries, organizes pilgrimages, and offers foreign contacts. In the parishes, catechesis for the laity, via Sunday schools, adult circles, and groups preparing for baptism, are held in high regard. The church also maintains its own kindergartens and schools. In today's critical economic situation, much value is also attributed to the material and spiritual care of socially deprived segments of the population.

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→ *Christianity, Europe II*

Franz Schnider

Orthodoxy / Orthopraxis

Orthodoxy may refer primarily either to right faith or right behavior. When we consider religion as a social phenomenon, orthodoxy as right behavior is the more relevant understanding of this term. On this understanding orthodox persons are concerned to follow certain patterns of behavior such as giving alms, praying, fasting and appearing at religious services. Conformity with these patterns identifies certain individuals as parts of a given community, while failure to conform identifies others as other—heterodox, outsiders.

Orthodoxy may also be understood as referring primarily to right faith, i.e. adherence to a correct set of doctrines and rejection of beliefs condemned as heretical or unorthodox.

Although concern with theological questions tends to be somewhat distant from the lives of ordinary laypersons, a concern with orthodoxy as right faith became especially prevalent as a result of the Reformation, which polemicized pious behavior as empty ritualism.

→ *European History of Religion, Fundamentalism, Group, Heresy, Religion*

Christoph Auffarth

Osho Movement

1. The Osho Movement is a new religious movement, whose name is the one last adopted by its founder, who had become known as Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. Other names of the Movement are Shree Rajneesh Foundation and Neo-Sannyas Movement, the latter being derived from the Sanskrit *samnyāsa*, 'renunciation,' 'abandonment of all that is worldly,' or from *samnyāsin*, 'one who has surrendered all.' This abandonment is traditionally the fourth and last stage of a Hindu's life, in which he abandons all possessions and status. 'Sannyasin' is also the name adopted by the members of this movement. Until 1986, they wore only orange outer → clothing, and a necklace of wooden pearls (called a *mala*) bearing the likeness of Rajneesh.

History

2. The founder, Rajneesh Chandra Mohan, was born in 1931, the son of a Jain merchant, in Kuchwara (Madhya Pradesh) in India. He was a docent of philosophy in the University of Jabalpur, until in 1966 he gave up his scholarly vocation. After three years of public lectures in many parts of India, he founded an → ashram in Bombay, where he settled with a few disciples. His group gradually grew, however, with an influx from the United States and Europe. As their → guru, he adopted the name Bhagwan ('Divine Lord'),

and initiated his disciples into Neo-Sannyas. After local public pressure, he moved to Poona, in 1974, with his discipleship, where a large ashram appeared, purporting to be the greatest therapy center in the world, and which by the time of its temporary dissolution in 1981 was visited by as many as 300,000 persons. Then the group settled in the United States, on land purchased in the vicinity of Antelope, Oregon, and founded and built a city, Rajneeshpuram ("Holy City of the King of the Full Moon"; → Commune). It developed into a well-nigh autarchical community entity, with as many as 4,000 inhabitants and up to 15,000 visitors at once, its own infrastructure, and its own administration, including even a police force. Like the ashram in Poona, Rajneeshpuram was built and maintained by unpaid and strictly hierarchically organized labor of young persons, while meditation courses, nourishment, lodging, and so on, had to be paid for. Only a lengthy, regular term of labor entitled the young persons to gratuitous maintenance. Work, then, for the Osho Movement is not a means to the end of survival, but is seen as → meditation, as an 'end in itself,' and an 'opportunity to meet yourself.' Besides Rajneeshpuram, followers of the Sannyas Movement founded ashrams, vegetarian restaurants, discotheques, and the most varied small businesses, all over the world, all organized in the Rajneesh Service International, a million-dollar organization. Rajneesh always returned to Rajneeshpuram, and left the leadership of the city in the care of Ma Anand Sheela. Under her direction, occasional punishable offenses were committed, including conspiracy and attempted murder, leading to a serious crisis within the Movement, and the imprisonment of Sheela and other members of her governing clique. Rajneesh, who took his distance from these deeds, and rejected the group around Sheela, was indicted in 1985 for violations of immigration law, but was later only expelled from the United States. One of the consequences of the crisis was that the orange garments were abandoned, and sometimes publicly burned. After a brief odyssey, Rajneesh returned to Poona in 1986, to the old ashram, where he kept on rallying disciples. At this time he changed his name, abandoning 'Bhagwan'—a joke, he said, that had been in the world long enough—and thereafter calling himself Osho, which, in his interpretation, stood for the subject of 'oceanic experience,' as described by William James. On 19 January 1990, the sickly Osho died. His more than six hundred books, mostly transcripts of his addresses, in more than 41 languages, are still published today, in large editions. The ashram in Poona, still visited by hundreds of thousands of persons annually, as well as other Osho Centers throughout the world, still enjoy great popularity.

Teaching

3. In his lectures, Osho returned to the most varied traditions, from → Tantra, → yoga, and the Indian Upanishads, to Buddhist Mahayana literature and Zen masters, to Lao Tse, Sufi traditions, ancient Greek philosophers, the Gospels, Gurdyieff, Martin Buber, and Friedrich → Nietzsche. Just so, Osho was influenced by Western psychologies, especially humanistic and transpersonal psychology. True, Osho was not concerned to build a doctrinal edifice; rather, he saw his message as "a certain alchemy, a science of transformation." It was a transformation to be reached by the help of Tantric techniques, just as by group psychotherapy, and whose goal is the dissolution of the ego and of critical thought—a total acceptance of things 'as they are,' and an absolute dedication. By limit experiences, says Osho, modern persons, alienated from their original being, can be delivered from their constricting egos, and reach enlightenment in the condition of the All-One-Being. To this purpose, vari-

ous therapy groups and meditation methods are offered. Especially, a fear of sexuality and death are to be overcome. In the groups, in an effort to transcend these spheres through their acceptance, free sexuality, and aggression and violence, are experienced. Only after the appearance of AIDS was the practice of free sexuality gradually appraised as being of less importance, and special emphasis placed on appropriate protective measures.

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→ *Anti-Cult Movements, Ashram, Commune (ill.), Esalen Institute, Guru, New Age, New Religions*

Karl-Peter Gietz

Paganism / Neopaganism

Paganism

'Paganism' is a term historically applied to any and all religions outside the Abrahamic traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and in particular to the polytheistic religions indigenous to Europe (→ Heathen). In the twentieth century, various species of revived, reconstructed, and invented paganism have gained adherents throughout Europe and North America. In recent religious studies—and sometimes on the borderline between religious practice and historical research—attempts have been made to conceptualize 'paganism' (with a lower-case P) as a 'world-religion' or 'root religion,' while 'Paganism' (with an upper-case P) should refer to its newer, self-conscious manifestations.[1] Only the latter, a modern self-identified Paganism, or Neopaganism, diverse in its sources and its manifestations, will be described in this article.

Origins and History

1. The first developments of modern Paganism are evident in the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century. Other contributions come from occult magic as developed by the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, the Woodcraft societies which attempted to adopt ritual elements from Native American culture, various ideas popularized from academic anthropology, folklore studies, and the witch-cult theories of Margaret Murray.[2]

The Birth of the Wicca Religion

a) In England during the 1940s and '50s, Gerald B. Gardner led a small group in the development of a system of religious witchcraft, which he alleged to be a perpetuation of an earlier initiatory tradition. With the repeal of the 1736 Witchcraft Act in 1951, it became possible for the initiates of Gardner's system to undertake various sorts of publicity, in addition to

Gardner's own books on the topic. Gardner's coven, its successors, allies, and kindred rivals eventually formed a large and varied movement sometimes denominated as *Wicca* or *Wicce*, which became a cornerstone of later Paganism, and served as a model to many other Pagan groups.

The Gardnerian witches and their imitators maintained that their religion was a revival of suppressed pagan worships from earlier ages, and they identified themselves with the pre-Christian religions of Europe, and with those condemned by medieval and Renaissance witch trials. In modern Pagan lore, those trials assumed vast proportions, and supported a narrative in which modern witches viewed themselves as survivors of genocide. More recently, some Wiccan adherents have become critical of their received history, acknowledging the inventive aspects of Gardner's organizing, and the mythic dimensions of the 'burning times' story.

Ancient Gods and Goddesses Revived

b) With migration outside of Britain, and by becoming engaged with the mass counterculture of the 1960s (→ New Age; Esalen Institute), Neopagan witchcraft became more diverse, and it was joined by a variety of other groups that rallied to the generic Pagan banner. Some of these were efforts to reconstruct ancient pagan religions on the basis of historical or archeological ideas, focusing on one or another ethnic or historical window, such as the Druids, ancient Egypt, Hellenic mystery cults, or pre-Christian Scandinavian religion. In addition, some Pagan groups were confessedly inventive, such as the Church of All Worlds, which named itself after a religion in a science fiction novel (Robert Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land*). Discordianism is a Neopagan religion dedicated to the ancient Greek goddess Eris, founded on the basis of an putative vision in a bowling alley. Inventive Paganisms often include environmentalist and feminist ideologies among their motives (→ Environmentalism).

Organization

2. Many contemporary Pagans describe themselves as 'solitaries,' and maintain no ongoing affiliation to any religious group. Their practices may be entirely private, and can be learned from book study, contacts on the Internet, and classes or workshops that require no membership investment.

When groups are organized, the most typical form is a 'coven' or comparable association of relatively few members, all of whom know each other personally. Such small groups can be extremely *ad hoc* with their own eclectic ritual agendas and doctrines, or they may participate in a 'tradition' with well-defined organizational filiation and standards of orthodoxy and orthopraxis. Some such 'traditions' are themselves institutionalized as larger-scale organizations, but many are not. Gardnerian witchcraft is highly decentralized and offers no administration above the coven level.

There have been various efforts to create larger-scale coalitions and umbrella groups to include differing sorts of Pagans, but none has been universal, and few have been enduring. Camping festivals throughout North America and in Britain have served as important venues for expressions of Pagan community, and opportunities for different Pagan groups to interact. The work involved in the production of such festivals has resulted in a number of persistent groups that are focused on festival organizing, maintaining land for camping events and rituals, and regional networking.

Doctrines

3. Pagan groups vary in the emphasis they place on doctrinal belief. Some are extremely open to diversity of opinion, while others are tightly cat-

echized. Among those who do define their creeds, the beliefs vary from group to group.

Most Gardnerian-derived Pagans maintain that all gods and goddesses are reflections of a single God and Goddess pair. In practice, the Goddess tends to predominate, with the God often relegated to a consort role. In Dianic Wicca and some other feminist Pagan groups, thealogy (*sic*) emphasizes the Goddess to the exclusion of the God (→ Women's Movement/Spiritual Feminism). Pagan reconstructionists often subscribe to → polytheism without any sort of emanationist or symbolist apologies.

Pagan religions typically emphasize some form of nature spirituality, many times taking on environmentalist tenets as religious doctrine (→ Environmentalism; Nature Piety). They often adopt non-mainstream positions on gender and → sexuality. They usually advocate → magic (or 'magick') as a spiritual practice. Some promote the idea of → reincarnation, or theories about the 'astral plane.' None of these features are universal, however.

Rituals

4. There is a great diversity of ritual forms within Paganism. The effort to distinguish among rival 'traditions' of recent vintage, the creative demands of reconstruction, and the openness to innovation in inventive Paganisms, all have led to a variety of ceremonies and systems of practice that resist uniform categorization.

Gardnerian witchcraft involves a three-degree system of → *initiation* that is in many respects reminiscent of → Freemasonry. These → rituals enjoin formal secrecy on their initiates. Other features of Gardnerian ritual—many of them adopted by other Pagan groups—include working in a *circle*, ritual *nudity* ('going skyclad'; see ill. at → Nudity), and addresses to the four quarters of the compass identified with the four classical elements of fire, water, air and earth. Ritual implements of various traditions include the dagger or *athame*, wands of several designs, cups, knotted cords, cauldrons and swords. A superficially Eucharistic ceremony of 'cakes and ale' is not uncommon.

Covens or other small groups may meet monthly for ritual work. In Wicca, it is common for such meetings to be timed to the phases of the moon. *Seasonal rituals* are also present among the Gardnerian practices, and prominent among the customs of Paganism generally. Celebrations may be held for the equinoxes and solstices, and even more commonly for the calendar midpoints between them.

Ceremonies may include ritual designated as magical in its intent. The most common sort of → *magic* among Pagans is directed towards healing, whether for a sick individual, social conditions, or environmental pollution. Other magic may be intended for a wide variety of individual or group benefits. Pagans generally acknowledge the possibility of malign magic, but insist that wise practitioners will abstain from such conduct.

1. On these controversial attempts, see Harvey 1997 and particularly York 2003.
2. As standard descriptions of modern pagan history see Luhrman 1989 and Hutton 1999.

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→ *Antiquity, Celts (with time chart), Druids, Environmentalism, Esotericism, Europe, Gender Stereotypes, Magic, Nature, Nature Piety, New Age, North America, Occultism, Polytheism, Reception, Sexuality, Tradition, Witch/Persecution of Witches, Women's Movement/Spiritual Feminism*

Matthew D. Rogers

Pagan Religions and Paganism: The Pre-Christian Religions of Ancient Europe and the Mediterranean Regions, and Their Reception [Time Chart]

Era 1: Late Antiquity: Paganism as formation of reaction to Christendom

253–268	Under the influence of his mentor Plotinus, Emperor Gallienus fosters Greek philosophy and the Mysteries of Eleusis	Egypto-Greek philosopher Plotinus (205–270) develops the Platonic teaching to the religio-philosophical system of "Neoplatonism."
361–363 (reg.)	Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus (Julian the Apostate)	After a personal, philosophically grounded conversion, Julian fosters the Greco-Roman religion at the cost of Christianity (reconstruction of temples), lecturing privileges for pagan rhetors, pamphlet *Against*

		the Galileans. His utopia of a peaceable coexistence of Christian and pagan worship fails. To this day, Julian remains a figure of identification for critics of Christianity and free thinkers.
394	Battle at the Frigidus (Julian Alps)	Christian Emperor Theodosius I defeats the (last) pagan counter emperor Eugenius.
438–485	Proclus (412–485) as Head of the Platonic Academy in Athens	High point of "Neoplatonism": Proclus, who, in his personal piety, adores the sun, and is a successful healer, seeks, in the footsteps of his teacher Syrianus, a harmonizing of the normative 'pagan' theological delineations of antiquity, and founds a 'theological reading' of Plato. Works: Syrianus, *Agreement of Orpheus, Pythagoras, and Plato with the Chaldaean Oracles* (following the tradition of philosophers Porphyrius, c. 234–310, and Iamblichus, c. 240–325). Proclus, *Elements of Theology; Platonic Theology* in Six Books. The Athenian Academy remains a refuge of the old believers, up to its compelled closing in 529.
c. 1355–1452	Gemistos Plethon	Plethon designs a system of "Hellenic religion," with a national direction in terms of civil religion,

		using Neoplatonic 'allegorics'—the pagan counter-design to Roman Christian state ideology of Byzantium breaks down (banning of Plethon to Mistra), with his sojourn at the Council of Florence (1439), and in common with his pupil, Cardinal Bessarion, Plethon sets the most decisive impulse to refound the Platonic Academy, which occurred in 1459 (v. in loco).
1453	Capture of Constantinople by Osman Mehmed II	The (Hellenic) ancient cultural continuity ends. The intellectual transfer of books and scholars to Italy gives strong impulses there to humanism and its reception of antiquity.
Era 2: "Renaissance," Humanism, and Baroque: Revitalization of mythology in representational art, architecture, and literature; "Political paganism," "esoteric paganism": Hermeticism, "natural magic," and "occult philosophy"		
1326	Triumph of the Condottiere Castruccio Castracani in Lucca	In ancient Roman style, Castracani stands as a Roman Emperor on a 'triumphal chariot.' First example of the revitalization of the triumph as the ritual of a 'political paganism.' Further stations: 1443, *adventus* of Alphonse the Great into Naples (through the first triumphal arch; c. 1480–1495, monumental image cycle of Caesar's

		Triumphal March of Andrea Mantegna for the Court of Mantua (attempt at a reconstruction in terms of history and antiquities); 1509, Louis XII's entry into Milan, which Leonardo da Vinci co-shaped (e.g., the Triumphal Chariot of Victory).
1422	Discovery of the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo	Publication: Venice 1505; beginning of a speculative, esoteric 'Egyptosophy.'
1459–1522	Florentine Academy under the Patronage of Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464) and Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492)	Reception of Plato in the tradition of religious Neoplatonism; attempt at a synthesis of Christianity and ancient philosophy; representatives: Pico della Mirandola; Marsilio Ficino (→ Platonism; Renaissance); translation of the Corpus Hermeticum by Ficino into Latin (pub. 1471).
1510/1531	Agrippa of Nettesheim: *De occulta philosophia*	Reception of, e.g., ancient philosophy, the art of healing, and magic as an esoteric intellectual religion (magician type: Dr. Faust).
1541	Physician Theophrastus of Hohenheim (1493–1541) dies	As "Against/Over Celsus" (Paracelsus), he stands at the beginning of modern medicine and natural healing, introducing chemical methods, as well as methods of popular healing.

1515–1547 (reg.)	Francis I and the Courtly Culture of Fontainebleau	High point of the French Renaissance: cult of Diana, inspired by his beloved Diane de Poitiers; representation of the royal state as Olympus; court poet Pierre de Ronsard (1524/25–1584) and his colleagues of the poets' circle *Pléiade* glorify the King and his regime with the help of ancient myths of gods and heroes.
1575–1634	Inquisition's Trial of Benandanti in Friaul	The Benandanti can be described as shamanistic healers, who experienced flight in a cataleptic trance, and battled the demonic powers (*malandanti*) for the fertility of the community and a good harvest.
1651–1714	Louis XIV represents himself as *Roi Soleil* (Fr., "Sun King")	He is thereby attached to the imperial political mythology of the ruler as (Apollo-) *Sol Invictus* (Lat., "Unconquered God of the Sun") (Aurelian, Constantine I).
Era 3: Late Enlightenment and age of revolution: classical aesthetics ("art religion"); philhellenism and pagan revolutionary cults		
1717–1768	Johann Jakob Winckelmann	Foundation of the archaeology of art studies design of a paganizing regard of art that celebrates physical and especially male beauty (Apollo Belvedere; → Art Religion)

1772ff.	Johann Wolfgang Goethe's *Genie-Oden* (Ger., "Genius Odes")	celebrate a 'cult of the creative' and vital powers of nature, in the spirit of the *Sturm und Drang*. Among the key mythic conceptions arises the form of → Prometheus, the rebel.
1787	Wilhelm Heinse, *Ardinghello oder die glückseligen Inseln* (Ger., "Ardinghello, or the Blessed Isles")	With this artistic novel, reflecting the German art scene of Rome, Heinse writes the first 'Dionysiac novel,' a high point of free-spirited, 'hedonistic paganism.'
1789–1795	French Revolution	Paganism as state and civil religion: worship/cult of nature ("Sacred Mountains"), philosophy, and reason (Robespierre's *Culte de la Raison*), along with hero cult; attempt to establish an agrarian pagan calendar (→ Revolution, French), that adopts the ancient Egyptian system of decades.
1796/97	*System Program of German Idealism*	In this anonymous fragment, variously ascribed to Hölderlin, Hegel, or Schelling, a demand is raised for a 'new mythology,' indeed a 'mythology of reason.'
1790–1806	Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843)	Poetry constructing a 'new mythology,' with the intent of connecting antiquity and Christianity in the

		spirit of Enlightenment and revolution (mythic concept of Dionysus/Bacchus-Christ).
Era 4: Modernity: Romantic revitalizations, academic and artistic paganism, politicizations		
1859	Johann Jakob Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht* (Ger., "The Maternal Law")	Contrary to Bachofen's conservative Christian intent, his work is 'counter-read' in the spirit of matriarchy, and reinterpreted: by Friedrich Engels, by the Cosmics around 1900, and by the women's movements of the 1920s and 1970s.
1862	Gustave Flaubert: *Salammbô*	Attempt at a historical reconstruction of life (including cultic practices) in ancient Carthage, in the genre of the dramatic novel. In parallel with the painting of the 'Orientalists' (Delacroix), the antiquarian, fussily recherché scenarios here paint a picture charged with (colonial) fantasies of an elegant, cruel East. Thus Flaubert presages the pagan aestheticism of symbolism and *décadence* (Stefan George).
1872 1883–1885	Friedrich Nietzsche: *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (Ger., "The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music") *Also sprach Zarathustra* (Ger., "Thus Spoke Zarathustra")	Classical philologist → Nietzsche (1844–1900) is doubtless the most influential propagandist of a pagan *Weltanschauung* in modernity: he radicalized Romantic art-religion with the concept of the "Dionysiac,"

1888	*Antichrist* (Ger., "Antichrist")	wrote with *Zarathustra* a 'pagan gospel,' and thrust the anti-Christian impulse right through to anti-Semitism. At the end, he identified himself with Dionysus.
1899	Charles Leland: *Aradia, or, The Gospel of the Witches*	Scholar of folk traditions Leland (1824–1903) publishes invocations of ancient divinities (Diana), and conjurations of a Tuscan *strega* (Ital., 'witch') of unclear origin. Although probably largely fictitious, Leland's publication belongs today to the basic texts of the modern Wicca religion and feminist witch movement.
1899–1903	Circles of Artists and Intellectuals of the "Cosmics" in Munich (Schwabing)	The circle to which, e.g., Alfred Schuler, Stefan George, and Ludwig Klages belong, seeks to inaugurate the revitalization or maternalistic and 'Dionysiac' cults (cult of the Magna Mater/ Cybele and Dionysus/ Bacchus).
1929/1933	Walter F. Otto: *Die Götter Griechenlands*, or *Dionysos* (Ger., "The Gods of Greece," or, "Dionysus")	The academic presentation of the 'figures' of the Greek gods becomes to classical scholar Otto the sketch of a Hellenistic theology, on the basis of Nietzsche, Schelling, the Cosmics, and Heidegger.

1935 (November 9)	Nazi hero cult: Transfer of the "Movement's Fallen" of 1923 to the "Temple of Honor" at *Königsplatz* (Ger., "King's Square") in Munich	As a → political religion, alongside the Teutonic, National Socialism also used backdrops of a Greco-Roman paganism. Hitler, and his official architect Albert Speer, designed, for purposes of military religion especially, gloomy scenarios and rituals out of the aesthetic arsenal of an archaicist, brutal, 'Doric' antiquity (e.g., plans for a "Germania-Berlin"). To the cult of the hero were dedicated over-proportioned presentations of naked combatants, in the classicist manner, for example that of sculptor Arno Breker.
1962	Hermann Nitsch publishes the first "manifest" of the Orgic Mystery Theater ("Orgien Mysterich Theater," O. M. T.)	Collaborating in the inauguration of "Vienna Actionism," the Austrian artist designs "Actions," as cultic plays, after the exemplar of, e.g., the ancient Greek cult of Dionysus: Bloody sacrifice, the shredding (*sparagmós*) of (dead) animals, Bacchic-like wine rituals. Reversing the Freudian theory of sublimation, vital energies are supposed to be cathartically released, by way of an orgiastic 'basic excess.' In a special castle in Prinzendorf, maintained for this purpose, Nitsch gradually produces his "Partituren" (Ger., "scores"), in 'plays' lasting sometimes for days.

Era 5: Postmodern Paganism as part of the alternative culture and internet religion

1971	Zsuzsanna Budapest founds the first coven (cultic group) of a feminist Dianic Wicca	The spiritual → women's movement prefers ancient myths, rites, and sketches of femaleness. Its purpose is to practice new forms of a pagan (nature-) piety. With Zsuzsanna Budapest (→ Witch/Persecution of Witches, with illus.), as also with others, the ancient cults are transmitted by way of imaginations and scientific theories of the nineteenth century. Some instances are: matriarchal theories through J. J. Bachofen, rites of fertility and regeneration through J. G. Frazer, 'female festivals' through Jane E. Harrison.
1998	*Declaratio Religionis Romanae* (Lat., "Declaration of the Roman Religion") of the neopagan Internet organization, *Nova Roma* (Lat., "New Rome")	A cooperative charter of an Internet "Republic" has the purpose of virtual reliving of ancient Rome, with all of its offices, cults, and rites. The organization counts itself among the 'reconstructionist Pagans.' The internet generates new forms of veneration and organization (*online*-Temple, Networks).

Hubert Mohr

Pain

1. Bodily pain, occasioned by corporeal injury, represents a total, holistic reaction calculated to protect the health of the organism. Persons can feel pain from birth onward. Further, within a multifaceted process of learning and integration during individual development, a person becomes heir to the ability to bear, and, precisely, to process or manage, repeated painful physical experiences (of fright or fear, shame and embarrassment, guilt, disappointment, illness, timidity). As fundamental human experiences, bodily and emotional pain are both bound up with one's individual life history, and, as such, experienced as having an acutely or chronically painful, defeating, meaning. Persons are involved in community, and as such, marked with more than their biological premises. They are also formed by the perception, evaluation, interpretation, and communication (reporting) of pain—again, owing to the historical and societal reality of their immediate, 'existential' experience (→ Socialization). One of the functions of religion, among other purposes, is to make pain comprehensible and understandable, and therefore endurable (→ Suffering).

Experience of Pain in Worship and Religion

2. In connection with worship and religion, experiences of pain appear in the most varied forms. They can be part of individual religiosity and piety (e.g. penance through mortification of the flesh, self-castigation, self-wounding, or self-injuring, all on grounds of a consciousness of real or imagined → guilt), or indeed assume social or collective functions (e.g., self flogging, martyrdom, initiation). Pain and suffering take on a manifold collection of meanings, in the most widespread rites of initiation among indigenous peoples. From a religious viewpoint, pain is frequently regarded in a character of → sacrifice, and as a sign of a sanctified existence in contact with the ancestors (and in participation in the divine). In symbolic and mystical death, the personhood of initiands is extinguished, by way of ordeals that are corporeally or psychically traumatizing. Under the effect of pain, a permeability of the personhood is produced ('transpersonality'), which is then solidified by spiritual taboos that stabilize relationships, and mythic notions of contact with the world of the ancestors. Simultaneously, the rites performed occasion a regeneration and solidification of the tribal community as such. The pains that women and girls suffer in many countries of Islamic tradition at their circumcision, on the other hand, win no mythic elevation of this sort. Their mutilation is the production of social notions of chastity, virginity, and honor.

Pain in Intercultural Comparison

3. *Christian theology and piety*, in the Western cultural milieu, provide a manifold, indeed a shifting, fund of responses and behavioral challenges in confrontation with pain. As a phenomenon that can generate myth and cult, an experience of pain on the part of Christianity's living source appears at the wellspring of the Christian religions. By way of his torture and execution, → Jesus of Nazareth became the quintessential Man of Sorrows. Representations of pain have dominated the world of Christian images throughout the centuries. In Nocera Terinese, in Calabria, a usage still prevails in which, in every Good Friday procession, a young man is presented who whips himself, in an obvious reference to the Passion of Christ. These *vattienti* (roughly

translated, 'self-strikers') are part of Catholic piety in Southern Italy. In the course of history, the custom became part of a folk festival, and was gradually extracted from the reference to → penance characterizing a religious movement. Nevertheless, on grounds of its socio-political, symbolic signification of independence, pride, and comradeship, it continues to bestow an identity on the community. At the same time, participants also reveal the dualism of death and life, sadness and solace, pain and joy.

In the present, in Western industrial countries, attitudes and actions in dealing with pain within the Christian religions have changed. In parallel fashion, new approaches have arisen at the hands of the → liberation theologies of Central and South America. The content of both has been the integration of a practical 'love of neighbor,' in the real defeat of pain, which has led to certain new manners of addressing pain by Christians of the 'First' and 'Third World.' Previously, any dealing with pain seemed sporadic, and pathetic, so that the exclusion and repression of persons in the 'Third World' could become conscious in neither the 'First' nor the 'Third' (theological fatalism). According to a remarkable viewpoint of murdered Bishop Romero of El Salvador, the Church will heal when pain is shared.

In *Islam*, pain is accounted a test sent by God, so that, in patience and perseverance, it can be endured, when it is borne as a foreordained lot, in trust in the divine grace. God often creates suffering as a punishment for human sin, in order that a person may be converted, may 'turn back.' In Egypt in 1998, some 14,000 men were imprisoned and tortured without having first been put on trial, simply because the police related to their milieu as possibly being one of Islamic extremists. Believing Muslims saw even this violation of human rights as a God-given destiny.

At the very center of *Jewish* thinking is the confidence entertained by the 'pious' in the Torah and their sanctifying obedience to it. Suffering and pain, either befallen individuals or imposed on the whole community, are consciously interpreted as the 'birth pangs' of the Messiah, and thereby as warranty of future glory (→ Apocalypse).

In the Buddhist and Shintô worldviews, physical pain, just like other suffering, is seen as simply belonging to humans as decreed by fate (→ Suffering). A spectacular form of demonstratively provoked suffering is found among Hindu → Sadhus, as part of their role as religious persons and as constituting a religious group. To be sure, paramount here are sensationalistic aspects of the elimination of pain, through → trance.

In the *Chinese and Confucian* tradition, pain and suffering, while by no means the effect of divine destiny, are an essential attribute of existence. In the framework of a cosmic order, at whose center stands the human being, pain is interpreted as a disturbance of currents of energy, within polar relationships that ought to be standing in equilibrium.

Magical and demonic conceptualizations of the emergence of pain and sickness characterize a world image to be found still today among indigenous peoples, in different forms, in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Examples appear in New Guinea, Melanesia, and on Bali, as well as with the Navajo Indians of the Southwestern United States, and the Cuna Indians of Panama. With the prairie nations of North America, in the context of their initiation, experience of pain becomes the subject of the supreme ceremony of ritual life: the sun dance. At the climax of this dance, individual young men prove their will, and their power of perseverance, by dancing around a centrally located shoot that has thorns that wound the upper chest. The

initiands continue the dance until all of the thorns have been torn out of the shoot and are piercing the flesh. The end being pursued in this ritual or ceremonial is, on the one hand, a religious one, but on the other, a military one. It qualifies a young man for reception among the warriors, and whites have been denied admission to the sun dance since 1975.

Western Battle with Pain

4. Scientific research into the phenomenon among the industrial countries of the West has waged a general struggle with pain, but has also occasioned deep alterations in the evaluation of pain. More and more, pain is appraised as a disturbance, and an evil, to be excluded through special techniques and therapies. A pathological fear of pain ('algophobia'), the widespread abuse of 'pain-killing' drugs, and the immersion of 'pain patients' in a passive attitude, have meanwhile provoked interpretations heavily colored with cultural pessimism. Political philosopher Jerzy Kolakowski speaks, indeed, of a veritable culture of analgesics, and concludes that a society growing less capable of bearing its own suffering is more easily inclined to tolerate the suffering of others. Deficit or immaturity with respect to the ability to deal with spiritual or mental pain stands in close relationship with psychic diseases (e.g. alcohol and drug abuse, through which a fear of pain becomes tolerable; masochism). On the other side lies a ritualized conquest of pain, now enjoying a new vogue in → New Age milieus. Seminars are offered here in 'personal experience with pain,' in which the 'fire walk' is practiced (a passage by foot through glowing embers).

Pain, Violence, and Power

The various aspects of the experience and management of pain stand at the opposite pole from the intentional *infliction of pain*. This act is closely amalgamated with the exercise and maintenance of power and 'authority.' The relationship can be observed in the area of the family, when corporal violence serves as a method of rearing children. Until recently, in many Western countries this behavior was regarded as socially legitimate. In an extreme form, real human pain, as punishment, is transferred into the political fiction of governmental authority. To wound or to kill human beings is also a foundation of the structural logic of war, even though theoreticians of war never speak of it. Public institutions or persons who address pain in their discourse include Amnesty International, medicine, psychology, and tribunal law, which are concerned with evidence relevant to injury, poets and other authors who deal with pain, and artists.

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→ *Asceticism, Body, Emotions/Feelings, Illness/Health, Martyr, Psyche, Suffering, Socialization/Upbringing*

Monika Frank

Palestine / Israel

History

1. Palestine/Israel is the designation for that part of the Near East that today makes up the territory of the state of Israel and the Palestinian Autonomous Region. Beginning in the fourteenth century BCE, Israelite nomads wandered into the region. According to biblical narrative—which is not attested by archeological evidence—the 'twelve tribes of Israel' were bound together in a sacred alliance that reverenced the god YHWH. Simultaneously, the seafaring people of the 'Philistines' settled the coasts. About 1000 BCE, David succeeded in uniting the tribes in a single realm, and overcame the Philistines. David's son Solomon had a temple erected in the capital → Jerusalem. After Solomon's death, the realm split into the northern state of Israel and the southern state of Juda. In 721 BCE, Israel was conquered by the Assyrians, and in 597 BCE, Juda by the Babylonians. The Temple was destroyed, parts of the population were abducted to Babylon. Beginning in 538, the second generation of descendants returned, after the Persians had taken power in Babylon. A semi-autonomous state appeared, ruled by priests, under ultimate Persian control. In the third century, the region was Hellenized; Jewish uprisings led to occasional temporary autonomy. From 63 BCE onward, the Romans exercised rule over Judea as part of the Roman Province of Syria. In this space of time falls the history of → Jesus's activity, the point of departure for the appearance of → Christianity. The first uprising against the Romans (66–70 CE) was ended with the destruction of the Temple. After the crushing of the second revolt (131–135 CE), the Romans renamed the region in Palestine "Philistine Land," and prohibited Jews from living in → Jerusalem. Then the → diaspora began. As the *Erets Yisrael*, however, the "Land of Israel," Palestine remained the point of reference in matters of religion and nationalism. In competition, Christian and Islamic claime to Palestine were raised: in the fourth century, Christianity became the state religion, and Palestine the Christians' 'Holy Land.' Since the Islamic conquest in the seventh century, the region has stood under various Islamic governments that marked the land and its inhabitants in their ethnic, religious, and cultural identity.

The Middle East Conflict

2. Since the end of the nineteenth century, especially in the context of → Zionism, a Jewish immigration occurred once more, concentrated in five great waves of immigration (*aliyot*, literally meaning 'ascend' to Israel). In 1917, the British occupied Palestine. With the *Balfour Declaration*, they promised the Jewish people a 'national home-state' in Palestine, without prejudice to

LEBANON
SYRIA
Banyas Spring and sanctuary of the "Green Prophet," al-Khadr
Banyas/Caesarea Philippi
City of the Scholars and Kabbalists; Graves of Yizhak Luria ("Ari") and other rabbis
Zefat/Safed
Kafarnaum/Kapernaum/Kefar Nahum
Synagogue from the fourth century; place of Jesus's activity
Montfort/Qal'at Qurein
Grave of the Baha'u'llah ("Glory of God")
Bahji
Elijah's Cave, Carmelite monastery, shrine and mausoleum of Mizra Ali Mohammed el-Bab
Akko
Tabgha
Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves; church of Primate
Haifa
Carmel
Lake Gennesaret (Yam Kinneret)
Bitanya
'New' baptismal site
1 Grave of Rabbi Meir
2 Grave of the Nabi Shu'eib (Jitro/Jethro)
3 Grave of Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon (Maimonides)
Church of the Annunciation
Nazaret/Nazerat/En-Nasra
Oldest kibbutz (1910)
Deganya
Mythic Harmagedon of the Revelation of John
Belvoir
Meggido/Tell-el-Mutesellim
Tabor/Har Tavor/Djebel et-Tur
Church of the Transfiguration
Caesarea
WEST-
BANK
Jacob's Well; Temple of Baal
Nablus/Sichem/Shekhem
Grave of John the Baptist or of Nabi Jahia
Sebastije/Samaria/Shomron
"Mount of the Blessing"; sacred place of the Feast of Pesach
Garizim/Djebel et-Tor
Shiloh
Ma'ale Efraim
Tel Aviv/Yafo/Yaffa
Jordan
Grave of St. George, Church of St. George, and Mosque of al-Khadr
Lod/Lydda
Bet-El
White Mosque; grave of the Nebi Saleh
Ramla
Jericho
Ma'ale Adumim
El-Maghtas
'Old' baptismal site of Jesus; today a military off-limits
City map of Jerusalem
Jerusalem/Yerushalayim
Nabi Musa
Grave of Moses in Islamic tradition
Birthplace of King David; Rachel's Grave; Grotto of Jesus Nativity and Church of the Nativity
Bethlehem
Efrat
Qumran
Former center of the community of the Essenes; site of discovery of the "Dead Sea Scrolls"
DEAD SEE
Gaza
Hebron/Hevron/el-Khalil
Kiryat Arba
'Eizariya/Bethany
Grave of Lazarus
GAZA
Haram el-Khalil: Graves of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives
Grush Qatif
Masada/Mezada
Fortress of Herod; last bastion of the Zealot uprising against the Romans
Sodom/Sedom
Sede Boquer
Academic college; Grave of David Ben-Gurion
J O R D A N
I S R A E L
EGYPT
0 50 100 km
F.D.2005

PALESTINE/ISRAEL

Sacred topography
- Mountain
- Ancient Israelite biblical site
- Judaism: medieval and modern
- New Testament site / Christian sanctuary
- Crusader fortress
- Islam
- Samaritans
- Druses
- Baha'i
- National memorial / Zionism
- Jewish settlements since 1967

- Occupied area
- Autonomous Palestinian areas
- Occupied areas that are a subject of negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian autonomous authority; partly autonomous Palestinian areas



The new state of Israel, established in 1948, embraced the places that, by then, for the history of the Jewish people, had been but narrative. They were then within arm's reach. But they were unattainable. New places, then, became symbols of the state: the new soldiers, for instance, pronounced their oath in the wilderness fortress of Masada, where the last defenders against the Romans preferred to die rather than to submit. The soldiers swore: "Never another Masada!" In the Six Days' War of 1967, the Israelis occupied the Old City of Jerusalem, heart and soul of the national identity—but legally consigned to the Palestinians. Today, recruits are sworn in on the square before the Temple mount, on which the Islamic Dome of the Rock stands. In the picture, Minister President Netanyahu and his followers celebrate the thirteenth anniversary of this conquest. The skullcaps indicate that this is a sacred action and a sacred place. The national flags, with their *Magen David* (the 'Shield of David'), also have a religious meaning, since, more than 3,000 years ago, David captured the city from the Jebusites, and selected Mount Zion for the sanctuary of God. (Christoph Auffarth)

the rights of others. The time of the British mandate, however, is marked by conflicts between immigrating Jews and the Arab population, both of whom claimed the land. In 1947, the United Nations General Assembly decided on the separation of the region into an Arab and a Jewish state. On May 14, 1948, the state of Israel was proclaimed on Jewish territory. The 1948–1949 war for Israel's existence, begun by the Arab states, was won by the Jews. Survivors of the → Shoah, and Jewish refugees from Arab states, immigrated to the new state of Israel. For the Arab population, the years 1948–1949 became the *nakba*, the catastrophe of flight and expulsion. Israel won all of the wars of the Near East conflict, and in 1967 took over Palestinian areas as well. But the national question of the Arab inhabitants, designated 'Palestinians,' has remained an unresolved problem. By means of terrorism, the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), founded in 1964, has attempted to call the world's attention to that question. In 1987, the *Intifada* began in the occupied territories: the Palestinian uprising against the Israeli occupiers. In 1988, the Palestinian National Council in Algeria proclaimed the establishment of the State of Palestine. Only in 1993, however, did negotiations between Israel and the PLO substantiate a readiness for mutual recognition. The implementation of previous agreements was sluggish, however, and was impeded by acts of terrorism on the part of Jewish and Muslim fundamentalists. The ultimate status of the territories of Palestine has not yet been determined.

Religious Communities

3. True, Israel was founded as a Jewish state; but it accords all religious communities religious freedom and autonomy with respect to their public feasts and festivals and the administration of sacred or holy places (cf. map). At the beginning of the year 2000, the inhabitants numbered some 6.2 million, of whom some eighty percent are Jews. Of the twenty percent non-Jews, fifteen percent account themselves Islamic, two percent Christian, and three percent Druse and other minorities. Reliable statistical data are not available on the Palestinians living in the autonomous or still occupied areas. Their number is estimated at some 1.9 millions in autonomous or still occupied land west of the Jordan, and some 1 million in the autonomous Gaza strip.

The Sunnites form the great majority; even in once-Christian Arab cities like Nazareth or Bethlehem, Christians today are in the minority. So far, however, precise information can be given on religious communities only in Israel.

Judaism

a) Israel's *Jews* can be divided into two large groups. The *Ashkenazim* (the Middle and Eastern European Jews from the 'northland,' with a reference to Jer 51:27) immigrated to Palestine, beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, and created the Jewish state with its Western orientation. Although Ashkenazim exerted a strong influence on fundamentalist movements in Israel, the majority of this group tends less to a religious lifestyle and more to a Western, secular one. Today, the Jews from North and South America, as well as from Australia, are reckoned as members of this group. *Sephardim* was the term used to designate, at first, the originally Spanish Jews (from Heb., *Sepharad*, 'Spain'), who settled around the Mediterranean after their expulsion in 1492. Many Sephardim also fled to Islamic North Africa, and joined Eastern Jews who had already settled in the Near East and North Africa since the destruction of the Temple. Today, many common elements bond the two groups, so that the concepts Sephardic and Oriental or Eastern are often applied synonymously. Most Sephardim fled the Arab states to Israel in the 1950s.

While religious pluralism and tolerant attitudes vis-à-vis non-Jewish communities are altogether prevalent in Israel, this cannot be claimed for intra-Jewish currents. Official Jewish authority has only the (Orthodox) High Rabbinate, on whose double summit sit an Ashkenazi and a Sephardic rabbi. Israel's Orthodoxy can be divided into so-called 'Ultra-Orthodox' and 'National Orthodox.' The Ultra-Orthodox strictly follow Jewish religious law (*Halakha*), and believe that Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel can be established only after the coming of the Messiah. Certain Hasidic groups, especially, reject the state of Israel, pay no taxes, and cooperate with the Palestinians. The National Orthodox, also called the National Religious, live according to the *Halakha*, but endorse the state of Israel, which they look on as a first step toward the coming of the Messiah and redemption. Among them are also extreme nationalistic coalitions such as the religious settler movement. Many Israelis, however, are not Orthodox; indeed, most have a non-religious leaning. On the basis of the legal standing of persons, however, all are constrained to bow to the stipulations of Orthodoxy. Also, two minorities live in Israel who are not recognized by Orthodoxy: some 15,000 Karaites, who traditionally appeal only to the five Books of Moses, and about 800 Samaritans, who acknowledge only the five Books of Moses and the Book of Joshua.

Muslims

b) As for the non-Jewish portion of the population, Sunnite *Muslims* constitute the clear majority. Some ten percent of them are Bedouins. In two villages of Galilee, furthermore, live some 2,500 Circassians, who originate from the Caucasus, and are non-Arab Sunnite Muslims.

Christians

c) *Christians* are the second-strongest minority in Israel. Among the thirty confessions represented in Israel, the Roman Catholics form the strongest group. There are also numerous 'Orthodox' communities united with Rome, such as the Melchites, Maronites, Greeks, Syrians, or Chaldeans. To the churches separated from Rome belong the Greek and Russian Orthodox, Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians (Abyssinians), Syrian Jacobites, and Protestants.

d) The Arabic-speaking *Druses* live especially in the Carmel mountain range in Galilee, and in the Golan Heights taken over by Israel in 1967. Their secret religion, which originates in an eleventh-century separation from Shia Islam, permits no mixed marriages or conversions, and reserves its doctrine to the initiated.

Druses

e) The → *Baha'i*, as well, persecuted in Iran, have their sacred places in Israel, the Temple with the shrine of the Bab in Haifa, and the shrine of the Baha'u'llah in Bahji, in the vicinity of Nahariya. The Baha'i who fulfil their functions for the sanctity are the only ones living in Israel.

Baha'i

4. The rather indistinct separation of state and religion has provoked constant tensions. Instead of religion, the secular founders of the state would have preferred to posit the nation as the element conferring identity. With a view to the cooperation of Orthodoxy, however, compromises were struck (*Status Quo* accords). Religion, then, has been a strong social force ever since the establishment of the state. The Status Quo and the religious parties have influenced institutions and laws; religious traditions and symbols have even penetrated the everyday life of secular Israelis. Beginning in the 1970s, a reinforcement of Eastern traditions has been observable, such as ethnic festivals, or pilgrimages to tombs of the venerated. The political elite, as well, have made selective use of religious symbols and content, to strengthen nationalism and social integration. Phases of biblical statehood, and Jewish insurrections, were emphasized, and archaeological finds were used in view of a new approach to national history, such as the fortress of Masada or the "Shrine of the Book" in the National Museum, which houses the oldest manuscript of the Torah. The → civil religion thus arising addressed secular Israelis, as well. Since the 1967 conquest, both a politicization of religion and a religious revision of politics can be observed. The captured biblical territory reinforces the Messianic expectations of the National Religious and the settlers. The Orthodox seek to 'tip the scales' of Israeli coalition governments, and thus to extend their rights, while non-Orthodox believers and secular Jews feel this to be a violation of the democratic character of the state. Areas of tension include, for example, exemption of the Orthodox from military service, as well as laws rooted in the *Status Quo* and bearing on autopsy, abortion, archaeology, and public Sabbath rest (→ Sunday/Sabbath). The polarization of society also comes to expression in the contrariety of the two largest cities: while the Zionist creation Tel-Aviv represents the capital of Western-liberal laissez-faire, Jerusalem with its sacred places attracts the pious of all shades. The murder of Minister President Rabin by a National Religious student in 1995 shows the menacing import of polarization.

Judaism and the State of Israel

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→ *Ancient East, Christianity, Fundamentalism, Jerusalem, Judaism, Islam, Mediterranean Region, Qumran, Shoah, Zionism*

Annekathrin Kleefeld

Palestine / Israel (Near East / Eastern Mediterranean): Time Chart

Era 1: Emergence of the three monotheistic religions

1st millenium BCE	Emergence of Jewish religion	
1st millenium CE	Emergence of Christianity	
7th millenium CE	Emergence of Islam	

Era 2: Crusades and Ottoman Empire

end of 11th until end of 13th cent.	Crusades	At the Synod of Clermont, Pope Urban II summons Christians to war with Islam. With the purpose of delivering the Holy Land from Islamic rule, masses of persons set out in the direction of the East. Capture of Jerusalem: 1099. By 1270, six more Crusades.
1453	Fall of Constantinople	In consequence: dismantling of Muslim rule in the Eastern Mediterranean region and on the Arabian Peninsula. Consequently: Complete Ottoman sovereignty in the Eastern Mediterranean area, and on the Arabian Peninsula. 1517: Ottomans take power in Egypt. From now on, the Ottoman Sultan has the title of Caliph.

end of 18th cent.	Slow collapse of the Ottoman Empire	With the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the influence of the European powers in the countries of the Near East grows.
1787	Wahhabism	With the death of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, founder of Wahhabism, a puritanical reform movement on the Arabian Peninsula. Under Muhammad al-Saud, Wahhabi powers capture Mecca, and protest the Ottoman Sultan.
Era 3: Western imperialism		
1798–1801	Napoleon's Expedition to Egypt	With a host of scholars and scientists, Napoleon Bonaparte explores Egypt. The research is gathered in the *Description de l'Égypte*, which becomes an essential source for knowledge of the Egypt of the time. At first, Napoleon succeeds militarily as well, but cannot hold out against the British in the long term.
1844	Founding of the → Baha'i religion by Sayyid Ali Muhammad, known as 'the Bab' ('the Gate')	The Baha'i are understood as the most recent of the monotheistic world religions. Their second founder Baha'u'llah (1817–1892) died in Ottoman captivity in Palestine. The spiritual and administrative center of the

		Baha'i is in Haifa. In 2001, the terraced gardens of Carmel were dedicated, where Baha'u'llah is buried.
1869	Opening of the Suez Canal	With the Suez Canal, the importance of the region for trade grows for the great Western powers. Egypt becomes a protectorate of Great Britain.
1897	→ Zionism	Theodor Herzl convokes the first Zionist Congress, in Basle. Its programmatic goal is a 'home place for the Jewish people in Palestine.'
19th/20th cent.	Salafiya	Modernistic theologians such as Gamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida seek to bring Islam into line with Western European thought.
1909ff.	Jewish settlements in Palestine	Tel Aviv is the first Jewish urban foundation in Palestine. The first *kibbutzim* appear two years later. By 1914, 12,000 Jews already live in a total of fifty-nine economic colonies.
1915/16	Expulsion of Christian Armenians from Anatolia	The 'ethnic cleansing' prescribed by the Turkish state becomes genocide, as some 1,000,000 Armenians die in pogroms and hunger marches.

1917	Balfour Declaration	The British government supports the Zionists in the "creation of a national homeland in Palestine for the Jewish people."
1918	End of the Ottoman Empire	
Era 4: Nationalism, pan-Arabism, Islamism		
1919	Egyptian Revolution	Saad Zaghlul, Chair of the Wafd Party, directs the uprising against the British: Egypt becomes independent in 1936.
1924	Abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate	Under Mustafa Kemal, surnamed Ataturk ('Father of the Turks'), laicization is established in Turkey. From 1928 on, Islam is no longer the state religion.
1925/26	Wahhabite insurrection	Ibn Saud captures Mecca, thereby creating the base for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (officially founded in 1932).
1925–1927	Druse insurrection	The Allies had granted the Druses wide-ranging autonomy (1921). In 1925, they rebelled against the French governor.
1928	Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt	Against the background of the national humiliation of the colonial dependency, Hassan al-Banna (1906–1949) founds the Community of

		Muslim Brothers (*Jama'at al-ihwan al-muslimin*). Goal: liberation of the Muslim world from the West and its influence. In 1949, al-Banna is murdered by the secret police. Along with Sayyid Qutb (see below), Banna ranks as one of the fathers of worldwide Islamism.
1933	Beginning of oil exploration on Arabian Peninsula	Oil, in the coming decades, replaces coal as the most important energy source of the industrialized nations, and is the foundation of their mobility (Benzine/gasoline: cars, ships, air travel), The principal 'oil states' (Saudi Arabia, later, the United Arab Emirate, Kuwait, Iraq, and, to an extent, Iran) become the objects of central policies of world political and economic interests.
1945	Founding of the Arab League in Cairo	Members: Egypt, Iraq, Yemen, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan.
1946	Independence	Transjordan becomes a kingdom; Syria and Lebanon become independent republics.
1947	UN Resolution on Palestine	The United Nations provides for a division of Palestine, and declares Jerusalem an international zone.

1948	Founding of the State of Israel	The end of the British Mandate in Palestine is followed by the founding of the Israeli state, followed, once more, by a number of wars with the neighboring Arab countries.
1954	Nationalization of Suez Canal	Egyptian Head of State Nasser nationalizes the Suez Canal, which, in 1956, leads to war with Israel. France and Great Britain support Israel, but are promptly collared by the UN. End of the gunboat policies of the European colonial powers. The position of power in Palestine is now in the hands of the United States and the Soviet Union.
1958–1961	United Arab Republic	Under Jamal 'Abdul Nasser, Egypt and Syria form a political union, as an expression of the Pan-Arabism propagated by Nasser. Yemen joins, in loose federation.
1964	Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)	Founding of the Palestinian Liberation Organization as an official organization of the Palestinians. Yasser Arafat becomes Chair in 1969.
1965	Sayyid Qutb	Qutb publishes *Ma'alim fi t-tariq* ("Signposts"), for which he is executed a year later. Unlike al-Banna, Qutb no longer proceeds

		against the West as such, but does foresee, in the Westernization of Arab society, a departure from Islam.
1967	Six Days' War	Israel occupies the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula, and initiates the settlement of the occupied Palestinian areas. The conquest of East Jerusalem, with its Wailing Wall and the Islamic holy places (Dome of the Rock, Al-Aksar Mosque), restores to the Jewish religion its ancient center, but provokes ongoing conflicts in the area of religious politics—the latter being further inflamed by renewed Messianic expectations on the part of fundamentalist Jewish groups.
1971	United Emirates ('Gulf States') become independent	Great Britain yields the last colonial bastions 'east of Suez' to the extensive nationalization of oil.
1973	October War ("Yom Kippur War")	For the first time, Arab countries introduce oil as a 'weapon.' The elevated price of oil allots the oil-producing countries, especially the 'gulf states' of the Arabian Peninsula, an enormous wealth, and a speedy accession to the Western consumer culture and lifestyle.

1975ff.	Civil War in Lebanon	The civil war in religiously heterogeneous Lebanon is generated by the increasing confessionalization of social and political conflicts. In the process, the expulsion of Palestinians from Israel and Jordan has a disintegrating effect.
1977	Sadat visits Jerusalem	The visit to Israel by Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat stumbles on a lack of understanding in his own camp. On the part of the West, the gesture is welcomed, forming as it does the basis for the peace negotiations at Camp David between Egypt and Israel, under American leadership (1979 Peace Accord). Egypt is excluded from the Arab League, to be readmitted only in 1989.
1979	Islamic Revolution in Iran	After the overthrow of the Shah, Ayatolla Khomeini takes the country in hand and forms an "Islamic Republic." Leadership is reposed in an elite of the Shiite clergy (Mullahs). The persecution of religious minorities and of the Baha'i increases.
1980–1988	First Gulf War	Iran and Iraq battle for oil fields. In Iran, the Shiite martyr cult is placed in the service of the military leadership.

1981	Egyptian President Anwar al-Saddat murdered by Islamist Group *Jihad Islami*	
1981	Coptic unrests in Egypt	In the Shubra quarter of the city of Cairo, bloody conflicts arise between militant Muslims and Christian Copts. Following the unrest, numerous Islamists are arrested, along with leaders of the opposition. Coptic leader Pope Shenuda III is banished to the Wadi Natrun Monastery for four years.
1984ff.	Kurdish insurrections	Kurdish uprising in Turkey, in 1991 in Iraq. The Kurds battle for the autonomy promised them as early as 1970.
1987–1993	First Intifada	Uprising of the Palestinians against Israeli occupation.
1990–1991	Second Gulf War	The entry of Iraqi troops into Kuwait triggers the Second Gulf War. Besides the United States, Great Britain and France take part.
1993	Oslo Accord	In Oslo, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization enter into an accord, providing a limited autonomy for the Palestinians. The vague prospect of independence is included. Accord is to be renegotiated in 1995.

1995	Israeli Minister President Yitzhak Rabin murdered	The deed of a militant Jew, friendly to the radical settlement movement, is an indication of the deep division within Israeli society.
1997	Iran: President Muhammad Khatami	Reform politician Khatami seeks a gradual rapprochement with the West. The stalemate in religious policy leads to an incessant power struggle between the conservative 'Guardian Council' (Ayatollah Ali Khamenei as successor to Ayatollah Khomeini, d. 1989) and moderate forces.
2000	Second Intifada	Opposition leader Ariel Sharon pays a provocative visit to the Muslim sanctuaries on the Mount of the Temple in Jerusalem. Outcome: the Palestinians declare the peace process to have failed, and begin a new insurrection.

Katja Dorothea Buck

Pantheism

Two Scientists

1. "That conviction of reason—bound up with deep feeling—that is revealed in the experiential world, forms my concept of God. Thus, it can also be designated, in the customary manner of expression, as pantheistic (Spinoza)." So wrote Albert Einstein in 1934, thereby inserting his 'relation to the world'—that, in another connection, he also designated as 'cosmic piety'—into the tradition of Jewish philosopher Baruch de Spinoza (1632–1677).[1] Spinoza's formulation, *sive deus sive natura* (Lat., 'god or nature') had delivered for subsequent times the pattern of equating God and the world. But it did this from contrary points of departure: the world is God or through God ('acosmicist pantheism'), or the world in its entirety is divine ('pancosmicist pantheism').

Pantheism in the Enlightenment and Romanticism

2. The history of the word 'pantheism' begins with John Toland (1670–1722), in whose *Pantheisticon* of 1720 it is, granted, actually deism that continues to be represented. In the eighteenth century, the concept of pantheism finally serves to determine more precisely the possible intermediate positions between a theistic basic consensus and the newly founded natural sciences. Subsequently, with the 'pantheism battle' between Moses Mendelssohn and F. Jacobi of 1785 as point of departure, various positions were emphatically championed; ranging from the view that pantheism is atheism ('polite' atheism, A. Schopenhauer), all the way to the thesis that pantheism is 'genuine monotheism' (H. Scholz). The pantheism of the early Schleiermacher, designated by Eduard Spranger as a 'pantheism of feeling,' or 'religion of inner-worldly emotion,'[2] brings a new component into the discussion on pantheism. A latent or explicit pantheism became an element of the Romantic philosophy of nature, a nature mysticism corresponding to the form of intellection belonging to pantheism. In this specific connection, pantheism can develop into a 'religion of education,' and enter into competition with Christianity: "A pantheism of emotion consisting in a world piety has [. . .] to a large extent determined German intellectual life, and this as a substitute for a resolute Christian religiosity."[3]

3. Independently of bonds to a Romantic philosophy of nature, pantheism plays a role not to be underestimated in the European frame of reference, be it as a "secret, mystical religion of our time" (W. R. Corti), or be it as a widespread 'scientists' religion' (B. Gladigow). In a framework of the American nature philosophy and theology of the second half of the twentieth century, it is primarily Charles Hartshorne and Stephen Toulmin who undertook the attempt further to develop the pantheistic model of the interpretation of the world. Hartshorne, with his sketch of a 'divine relativity' provides a new pattern for the defeat of the classic dilemmata between divine person and pancosmism: 'surrelativism,' as a connection between panentheism ('everything is within God') and 'theopantism' ('yet God is over all'). It is especially Stephen Toulmin who connects pantheism to a modern nature theology whose cosmological perspective ('return to cosmology') integrates ethical components at the same time. In varying degrees of density, fundamental pantheistic motifs permeate scientific and 'postmodern' images of the world: what is common to them is that they connect a 'theoretical anti-dualism' with a pathetic 'sense and feeling for the world-whole.' There result, from this bond, a renewed connection between nature theology and 'cosmos,' and a new connection between ecology and 'world.'

1. Einstein, Albert, Mein Weltbild, Frankfurt/M. 1980, 18 (Engl.: The World as I See It, London 1940); see Fowler, D. R., "Einstein's Cosmic Religion," in: Zygon 14 (1979), 267-278.
2. Spranger, Eduard, Weltfrömmigkeit, Leipzig 1941, 13.
3. Klein, J., "Pantheismus II, philosophisch," in: Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 3rd ed., 5 (1961), 41.

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→ *Environmentalism, God/Gods/The Sacred, Mysticism, Natural Science, Nature, Nature Piety, Paganism/Neopaganism, Polytheism, Romanticism*

Burkhard Gladigow

Papacy

Title and Claim

1. The pope (from Gk., *papas*, 'father') is the spiritual and secular sovereign of the Catholic Church, with his seat in Rome: he is plenipotentiary of doctrine, ordination, and leadership, including the power of sanction. His full title reads: "Bishop of Rome, Vicar of Jesus Christ, Successor of the Prince of the Apostles [Peter], Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church, Patriarch of the West, Primate of Italy, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Roman Province [of the Church], Sovereign of Vatican City State."[1] The title contains claims meant to provide sacred assurance of an absolutist position for the pope in doctrine and discipline, in a strictly centralistic hierarchy: since the death of the divine founder, the pope has been his vicar and representative (legitimate conveyor of God's revelation); an uninterrupted succession begins with the Apostle Peter ('apostolic succession'), whom Jesus himself has appointed as supreme apostle. Jesus's declaration, "You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church" (Matt 16:18-19) is in resplendent meter-high gold letters on the cupola of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome. The pope carries the insignia of the keys for closing and opening the gates of heaven. The papal tiara, a triple crown worn on special occasions, consists of a series of three diadems, one atop the other, and was interpreted, in confrontation with secular rule, as representing the pope's claim of superiority even over kings and emperors. A pope exercises his office for life, once the conclave of the College of Cardinals has elected him. All of this makes him appear to the outside as an absolutist ruler.

Representing an Institution

2. On the other hand, the pope is tied and controlled in many ways:

a) His election is held in conclave. Walled into the Sistine Chapel, the cardinals must vote until they have agreed—often a lengthy battle. To the outside, the proceedings within are presented as if the vote had eventually followed God's decision ('unanimously'): white smoke frees the voting men, and proclaims to a waiting people, "Habemus papam" (Lat., "We have a [new] pope!"). Only de facto, but without exception, the pope is chosen

from among the members of the College, to which he remains obligated. He already has a long probation behind him. An Australian bishop who as pope sells the treasures of the Church for money with which to succor the poor (as in Morris I. West, *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, 1963) is unthinkable.

b) The pope is part of an organization that, in the late Middle Ages, developed into a bureaucracy, and thereby became an exemplar for state order in Europe. A system of limited competencies and mutual control narrows the margin for decision. The pope cannot take decisions alone. But *en revanche*, it creates competency in the preparation of decisions. There are respective specialists. Possible successors have long since belonged to the elite of the 'government.' Contrariwise, tradition is steered and directed when able bishops are not summoned to the cardinalate and thereby do not become eligible.

c) The pope, therefore, is a representative, and not the ruler, of the Church. He becomes the object of criticism of the institution. In person, he represents the institution to the world outside—without, however, being able really to show his human side: first role, then personality.

Critique and Identification

3. a) Since the French Revolution, the geopolitical power of the popes has failed, as Napoleon dissolved the ecclesiastical state and humiliatingly imprisoned Pope Pius VII. It is true that the Congress of Vienna in 1815 restored the ecclesiastical state, and that the movement of → Romanticism fostered a limited advance for the papacy; but its powerlessness was unmistakable. Still, the more the real power shrank, the more fundamental was the claim: progress in the economic and scientific areas, and the revolutionary political changes occurring, were met with conservatism on the part of the papacy. At the First Vatican Council (1870), the 'infallibility' of the pope in matters of dogma was defined. The modern constitutional states were met with papal reaction and rebuff. In 1929, the sovereign Vatican State appeared by the Treaty of the Lateran, struck with Fascist Italy. That, and fear of the atheism of the Communist movement, had the effect of causing the 'Holy See' to shut its eyes to the horrors of the Second World War. Pius XII's (1939–1958) silence in the face of the Shoah involved the Vatican deep in guilt. Only his successor, John XXIII (1958–1963) sparked a development in which the Vatican finally faced events of the present constructively, although with varying results. The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) opened a new dialogue with the other religions and Christian confessions ('ecumenism'), as well as with the socialist states. Since that time, the Vatican has addressed current social and political problems. Subsequently to the Council, → liberation theology appeared in Latin America, whose partly revolutionary approaches have gone too far for Rome.

A Polish Pope

b) Itinerant John Paul II (1978–2005), to be sure, repeatedly emphasized the shameful positions in which many persons live, and called for improvements. But, on the other hand, he strictly rejected political activities of a revolutionary kind, and actually maintained contacts with the world's dictatorships. He acted very conservatively in questions of sexual morality: he condemned any form of birth control, required strict → celibacy of priests, and refused women church offices. In dealings with the questions of the present, the Catholic Church currently finds itself in a phase of orientation in which tensions constantly arise among parts of that Church. Bishops de-

mand more independence of Roman central authority, both in the theological and the secular areas. At the same time, the laity, especially in the West, demand more freedoms (e.g., through a 'participation of the laity' in the making and implementation of ecclesiastical decisions, for example at the parish level). Nevertheless, almost no one in the Catholic Church criticizes the papacy fundamentally. Today, it is true, the Church has precious little direct power; but it wields a great deal of influence over some one billion Catholics worldwide.

c) By contrast with the → Orthodox Churches of the East, which have patriarchs or metropolitans in supreme authority (autocephaly), the autonomous Coptic Christians of Egypt have called their supreme hierarchs 'popes' since antiquity. Both popes, the Roman and the Coptic, recognize each other.

1. Denzler 1997, 9.

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→ *Catholicism, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Hierarchy, Orthodox Churches, Specialists (Religious)*

Stephan Rademacher (§§ 1, 3), Christoph Auffarth et al. (§ 2)

Parapsychology

What Does Parapsychology Seek?

1. It is the aim of parapsychology to investigate, by means of academic scientific methodology, phenomena not to be reconciled with scientific images of the world known and acknowledged up until now. Here parapsychology recognizes the fundamental scientific premises that a phenomenon can be regarded as having been demonstrated only when it is inter-subjectively verifiable and experimentally repeatable. The results of parapsychological research have thus far been unable to supply a conclusive demonstration of the existence of the phenomena it investigates, in the sense of the premise just cited. Also, as for the repeatedly cited introduction of parapsychological methods in connection with various clandestine government-sponsored activities, no results are known that could be valid as a proof in the scientific sense.

"Psi" Phenomena

The subject area of today's parapsychology is that of the so-called *Psi phenomena* (after the initial letter of the Greek word *psyché*, 'soul'; → Psyche), among which a group of abnormal manners of experience and behavior are comprised. These can be divided into the following sub-groups:

a) *Psi cognition*, or *extrasensory perception* (ESP):

- *Telepathy*: transferal of psychic or mental content from one person to another without the intervention of known channels of communication ('thought transmission')
- *Clairvoyance*: registration of 'objective' facts that are shared by none of the persons involved
- *Precognition*: registration of future events that cannot be foreseen rationally

b) Psychokinesis (Pk): intentional influence over physical or biological systems without the intervention of recognized scientific interaction

Concept and Its Origin

2. Berlin psychologist and philosopher Max Dessoir introduced the concept of *parapsychology* in 1889. This concept is the one used by Dessoir to designate a group of extraordinary phenomena repeatedly reported in many cultures and in all ages, but neither explainable nor demonstrable in a framework of Western science. His effort had been preceded by, among other things, the founding of the groups, still active today, named "Societies for Psychical Research," in London (1882) and in the United States (1885). These societies had set themselves the goal of systematic and unprejudiced research into the 'occult.'

Prehistory

From the end of the eighteenth century, scientific interest in the 'occult' was stimulated especially by the mass movements of mesmerism and → spiritism. These were settled on the borderline of religion, → occultism, and the modern scientific cognitional claim.

Mesmerism

a) The designation 'Mesmerism' goes back to Franz Anton Mesmer, who first presented his method in 1775. Extending his hands over a patient's body, and combining this with a forerunner of hypnosis (→ Trance), he achieved astounding curative effects. Mesmer himself related this to 'magnetic' forces; critics spoke of fraud, or presumed auto-suggestive procedures. It is worth noting that, while the effect of autosuggestion has indeed come to be regarded as demonstrated, the phenomenon has not been adequately explained. True, Mesmer's curative method was by no means new in his time; but he was one of the first to generate a modern, scientific explanatory model.

b) The content of the → spiritism propagated by American John Fox, beginning in 1848, was primarily a contact with spirits of the departed. It subsequently stimulated numerous pertinent experiments throughout Western culture, even outside the spiritistic association that was developing into a religious community.

Parapsychological Experiments

Against this background, the founding of organizations like the Society for Psychical Research is to be understood as the first attempt to relocate an investigation of paranormal phenomena from the salons to scientific laboratories, and to practice serious research. In 1930, it was American psychologist Joseph Banks Rhine (1895–1980) who, at Duke University, first developed parapsychological experiments that satisfied the requirements of intersubjectivity and reiterability, as well as applying a set of safeguards that excluded any kind of deceit. At first, it was experiments in telepathy that were conducted, in which simple graphic signs were to be transmitted by a

'sender' to a 'receiver' sitting in another room. The series of symbols used was random. The results were then analyzed according to accepted methods of calculating probability, and results significantly above the standard deviation were evaluated as an indicator of the emergence of telepathic effects. In the following decades, parapsychological experiments were refined, and were extended to all relevant subject areas.

These experiments marked the beginning of academic parapsychology. Subsequently, chairs of parapsychology were established in several universities—in Europe in Edinburgh, Utrecht, and Freiburg, where, in the school of psychology, a chair of parapsychology was established. This chair was first occupied by Hans Bender (1907–1991), and since then by Hans Mischo. Along with performing laboratory experiments, Bender was especially known for his investigation of so-called poltergeist phenomena. Critics did reproach him with excessive credulity.

Current Situation

3. Since then, the methodology and theory of parapsychology have been objects of constant further development, and numerous interdisciplinary projects are carried out in cooperation with related human and physical sciences. Nevertheless, parapsychology still stands under pressure to legitimate itself, since a conclusive demonstration of the existence of Psi phenomena has not been forthcoming. Reports of success on the part of one generation of parapsychologists are relativized by the next, while the number increases even of parapsychologists who adopt a skeptical attitude. This increase in skepticism has had different consequences: various parapsychological institutions, such as the parapsychological institute at the University of Utrecht, have been closed, and other institutions undertake new fields of activity. Thus, the original "Parapsychological Consultation Center" founded by the "Scientific Society for the Promotion of Parapsychology," and currently headed by W. von Lucadou, operates primarily as a psychological and 'psycho-hygienic' consultation center. In the course of recent years, Hans Mischo has led large-scale empirical investigations on the theme of so-called youth occultism. Besides the classic areas of research, the psychological and sociological aspects of belief in 'paranormal phenomena' are now also being subjected to investigation. Meanwhile, the purposes of classic parapsychological research are being formulated more modestly, and a conclusive proof of the existence of Psi phenomena is now scarcely expected in the foreseeable future.

From the side of occultist and esoteric currents, it is objected to parapsychology that 'suprasensory' phenomena cannot be produced at will under laboratory conditions, so that the attempt to demonstrate the reality of such phenomena in a framework of the methodology of the rational sciences is, a priori, doomed to failure. This argumentation is countered, at least by way of approach, with recent knowledge of parapsychology, as they indicate that subjective components, such as the psychic apprehension of individuals in individual circumstances, as well as belief in the possibilities of an experiment succeeding, have an essential influence on the course of the same.

Whether, after more than a century, parapsychology can perhaps come up with a scientific legitimization after all, waits to be seen. Here, more essential impulses could be expected, if at all, in a framework of interdisciplinary research, than through the extensively exhausted classic parapsychological experiments.

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→ *Natural Science, Occultism, Psyche, Psychopathology, Science, Spiritism*

Joachim Schmidt

Peace

Current Situation

1. On the level of the individual human being, peace means harmony with oneself, one's fellow human beings, the environment, or with God—a harmony that can be attained by way of efforts like that of meditation, observance of divine directives, or reflection on the conditions of a nonviolent cohabitation. This peace is regarded as the prerequisite for outer peace. While Jewish, Christian, and Islamic religion surmise the cause of the lack of peace in a false or faulty relationship with God, Buddhism seeks to exclude, from the human being's impulsive life, all that can lead to violence and war.

'Peace' denotes the ideal condition characterized by the absence of strife, struggle, and war. Thus, it is not available to positive definition. But normatively, peace should not constitute a special case, in the sense of an interruption of a normal condition, war. Instead, it ought to constitute the normal case. 'Peace,' therefore, is the contrary of → 'war,' with which it is necessarily associated.

2. Together, war and peace form a complementary opposition, which can be accompanied by clear sexual attributions that often are ascribed to them. Following such constructions, peace is understood as 'good,' and 'feminine,' and war as 'masculine.' Even militarists call peace 'good,' and a goal worth striving for, while war must be only a means to the attainment of this end. Given the fact that peace can be ascribed feminine connotations, it follows that in a context of the asymmetrical sexual hierarchy of 'masculine' and 'feminine' a downgrading and depreciation of the concept of peace is observable. The characterization of war as masculine is historically not inappropriate, inasmuch as war has always been a central component of male upbringing. At the same time, but the other way around, there is a line of tradition in which symbols and images are referred to positively, that present 'woman' as protector of peace. Since mid-nineteenth century, this line of approach has been taken up by elements of the feminist movement, which—without contesting the sexual ascriptions of the militarists (peace = womanly, war = manly)—do reverse their appraisals.

3. Along with the construction of such pre-political counter-worlds, which appeal to individual aspirations, there are also visions of peace that

are explicitly political, such as the conceptualization of the return of paradise on earth, for example in the form of the communistic primordial society. Another such conception is the Christian notion of the establishment of the reign of peace by Christ the Prince of Peace (as the vision of the 'Third Reign' that ultimately goes back to the Revelation of John, or of the Christian idea of the emergence of an age of peace), or by the hidden Mahdi in Islam. The exploitation of visions of peace for interests unconnected with peace, or even set over against it, is abundantly attested historically. The designation of *pacare* (Lat., 'to pacify') for Caesar's military campaigns against the Gauls is well known.

4. Nourished by a yearning for peace, and bolstered by the power of ancient myths, religious and ideological utopias, and visions of the future, the history of humanity has repeatedly seen initiatives and movements for peace. For modern peace movements, since the nineteenth-century appearance of the national states, the notion of 'everlasting peace' has been the prime consideration. It goes back to medieval theology, and arose in the tradition of the *Pax Romana*, on the one hand, and on the other, the Hellenistic-Jewish idea of the Prince of Peace and the Reign of God—the Reign of Peace *simpliciter.* In particular, the Christian conception of this reign of peace, the 'New Jerusalem,' has always been a powerful stimulus for the peace movement. First and foremost, after the War of 1812, in which it was the question of free trade that was at issue, Congregationalists and Unitarians founded the first peace society organized as an association. In opposition to this war, they connected the idea of free trade with that of peace, establishing the specific Anglo-American line of tradition in the peace movement. Independently of other groups, it was English Quakers, mainly, who in 1816 introduced the beginnings of the European peace movement. France and Switzerland followed. Austria (1891) and Germany (1893), on the other hand, entered into the international peace movement only belatedly, with the founding of peace societies. However, the idea of peace had been promoted since mid-nineteenth century by the non-denominational and the Freethinkers.

Pacifism

Subsequently, a distinction had to be made between the peace movement and pacifism. The decisive trait of 'pacifism,' a concept introduced around 1901, is the total renunciation of any form of violence. After the First World War, pacifist initiatives were successfully undertaken in Europe, for example in Germany where the right to refuse military service was first demanded. In connection with the transfer of power to the National Socialists, the movements for peace and pacifism were destroyed, and many of their activists went into exile. After the Second World War, in a framework of the 'Cold War,' the West German peace movement was regarded as having been infiltrated by Communist elements, and was marginalized. In the societal system of West Germany, the peace movement was long unimportant quantitatively, and grew in strength only after the early 1980s—as in other countries such as the Netherlands—against a background of the nuclear arms race upon which the great powers had embarked.

The Churches

5. Collaboration with the peace movement was refused by the Catholic Church, which had likewise come out for peace about 1900. The Evangelical Reconciliation Union and the Peace Union of German Catholics were founded in 1914 and 1919 respectively. The best-known peace group today,

Pax Christi, was born on July 14, 1944, in the state prison of Compiègne, among members of the French underground. In a context of prayers for peace, Pax Christi repeatedly celebrated the Way of the Cross. Since 1952, the Pope has recognized it as a "peace movement of the Church." All of its actions, such as its encouragement of refusal of military service, are drawn from the pacifist spirit.

The Peace Movement

6. Characteristic of 'the' peace movement is heterogeneity. It has always been bound up with the most varied social and ideological movements and their ideas, such as free trade, international justice and equality (League of Nations, the U.N.), human rights, an anti-nuclear stance, socialism, feminism, anti-globalization, preservation of nature—even with nationalism. To this heterogeneity corresponds a plurality of symbols, as there is no single, universal peace symbol. The 'peace sign' itself originates with the British anti-nuclear movement, and today it has become an important symbol of the Christian peace movement—especially in Germany, with its inscription "Swords into Plowshares," introduced by peace supporters in the German Democratic Republic. Granted, its reference is to a biblical citation, but it also stands in the symbolical tradition of Soviet socialism. Since the Vietnam War, the presence of the 'peace sign' in the media has become ever more important for the popularization of the peace concept. True, it does thereby subject the peace movements to the rules of the world of the media (simple, catchy symbols, spectacular actions) and interests (audience ratings, sales figures). Further, actions such as sitting blockades and nonviolent resistance have the character of stereotyped rituals. Accordingly, peace movements in our modern, media-oriented society must communicate with ever-new actions, and in modern forms of communication (Internet), in order to continue to attract the interest of the public to themselves and to the idea of peace.

The peace movements are caught in a dilemma. They wish to institutionalize the positive value of 'nonviolence' and peace against political resistance, but they seek to do so without using any violence themselves. At the same time, they find themselves in a defensive role vis-à-vis both their potential appropriation or utilization by extraneous interests, and a slide into the everyday, along with ritualization.

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→ *Atheism, Conflict/Violence, Gandhi, War/Armed Forces*

Ulrich Nanko

Penance / Penitent

Concept

1. When someone inflicts harm on another, the injured party may demand compensation for the injury. The injury must be 'repented.' In case of conflict, one appeals to a judge, to establish the seriousness of the injury and the degree of guilt attaching to it. Especially with a murder, for example, an injury can be 'condignly' compensated only by the death of a member of the opposing party; still, the 'capital' punishment (from Lat., *caput*, 'head') can be replaced with a money payment, the 'mulet' for homicide. But before the compensation—the re-balancing between the two parties—there stands another procedure. For example: when someone has violated a speed limit, he may have caused no injury, but he must pay a penitential fine, because he has injured the societal 'order.' Thus, first a clerical or secular court establishes the penance, which is not intended as an advantage to the injured party (consideration of the latter is a subordinate one, a civil process), but is to serve for the satisfaction of or restitution to the order of the state and the order of God. Judges may establish the amount that God or the state receives as compensation, as defined in their books of penal law.

2. The Hebrew Bible presents the concept of *conversion* as homonymous for 'doing penance.' Here conversion is understood as the abandonment of the wrong path, and the cessation of any veneration of foreign gods. With John the Baptist as well, baptism and conversion were the last chance for redemption, rescue in the nearing 'Judgment,' and this notion permeates the beginnings of the mission to the heathen. In post-apostolic times, one must confess one's sins before the Sunday Lord's meal (→ Lord's Supper/Eucharist); otherwise the meal has not been clean. Church Father → Augustine explained that outside the Catholic Church there is no salvation, and that therefore the sinner must seek refuge in the Church, humble her/himself, and publicly submit to penance. Only in the Middle Ages did the 'private penance' come into use, and the forgiveness of sin could be rehearsed as often as desired, in a non-public process between priest and sinner. The performance of a particular penance was established for every imaginable case, and listed in penance books. The practice arose, furthermore, of 'transforming' onerous penances or punishments, and replacing them with other deeds, such as money payments. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were ever new waves of out-and-out enthusiasm for penance, throughout the Church of the West, for example in the form of ascetical reforms, the foundation of mendicant orders, movements, and renewal of monasticism. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, emerging from Italy and spreading in Central Europe, there appeared a self-scourging movement, that of the Flagellanti of Central Europe, who submitted themselves to bloody, public, scourgings by way of penance. Martin Luther initiated criticism of the medieval teaching on penance. For him, penance ought to last lifelong, and as foundation of the forgiveness of sin he saw God's pardon rather than the human being's sorrow. According to Catholic understanding still today, Penance is one of the Seven Sacraments of the Church, and has been instituted by Christ.

Islamic Penitential Practice

3. In the → Qur'an the concept of *tawba* (Ar., 'sorrow'; properly, 'return') arises often. The validity of *tawba* depends on three things: (1) confession of the sin, (2) sorrow (*nadam*), and (3) the firm intent to refrain from sin



For hours, this Hindu penitent lies under a blanket of cow dung in silence, while his relatives keep the little oil lamps burning. This ceremony to the honor of the goddess Durga has the purpose of clearing and removing one's guilt or that of one's family, pronouncing a vow, or obtaining a grace. Cow dung, along with butterfat (*ghee*), milk, yogurt, and urine, is one of a cow's five sacred products, to all of which are attributed the salvific effect of ritual purification. (Benita von Behr)

in the future. When these conditions are fulfilled, God always accepts the sorrow, not because he is obliged to, but because he is pleased to. On the other hand, a 'deathbed regret' will not do (Sura 4:18). The Qur'an and later juristic writings imposed penitential fasting, when persons had not fulfilled their religious duty, or were being punished for some transgression. This fasting is called a *kaffara* (Ar., 'atonement,' 'expiation'). It can last three days for smaller transgressions like the breach of a vow, or for a great transgression, for instance the unintentional killing of a person, two months. The type of penance imposed is fitted to the type of the offense, in the form of (a) collective penance or (b) special penance. As a collective penance, one could cite the Muharram Processions of the Shia in Iran, as well as in other regions where a Shia majority prevails. The passion plays of the month of Muharram present the story of the passion of the Imams (Husain ibn 'Ali's battle and death at Kerbala), and the other martyrs of the Shia, in theatrical style. Self-scourging, and self-wounding with chains or swords, as a sign of grief for the imam martyrs, are established components of these festivities. In the scourging, the self-sacrifice is ritualized, and rendered reiterable in a fresh experience: now, by shedding his blood, the believer performs an annual penance for his own part in the guilt of a historical rejection of the 'party' (Ar., *shia*; → Iran) in these concrete situations. The Muharram rites last ten days, and are organized by city associations.



At midpoint in the cycle of festivals celebrated in the little farming town of Gurdia Sanfromondi (diocese of Telese), a spectacular ritual is performed: the penitential procession of the Flagellanti and the *Battenti* (It., 'Strikers'). On Sunday, the seventh day of the festival cycle, which has begun on the Monday after the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary into Heaven (September 8), a seven-hour procession is performed through the streets of the town, in which groups of figures from the history of Jesus's Passion (*misteri*) participate, along with both of the penitential groups and their assistants. While the self-scourging of the Flagellants is now only symbolical, the rite of the Battenti actually draws blood. Their faces veiled with a cowl, and a crucifix in their left hands, they torment themselves, by wounding their breasts with the *spugna* (It., 'sponge'), a waxed slice of cork studded with sharp nails. Assistants intensify the pain by occasionally cleansing the cork with white wine, along with the place on the breast being struck. In 1989, in Guardia Sanfromondi, more than six hundred *Battenti* performed this penitential rite, which is a widespread one today in Catholic countries (Spain, the Philippines). (Hubert Mohr)

The question of whether someone appreciates one's guilt is often regarded as of more importance by religion than by the state. Thus, in the religious area, mere sorrow often suffices to render God gracious again. But for the state, the highest purpose remains the restoration of order.

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→ *Flagellants, Guilt, Pain, Sin*

Ayfer Yavuzyasar

Perception / Sensory System

1. "On Sundays, my father takes me to Mass, and when the ladies sing Hosanna I think I won't get out of there in a thousand years. Hosanna, Hosanna, they screech, without letup, and nobody can put the brakes on them, not the Chief of Police or anybody [. . .] The beautiful things about Mass are: all the lamps are lit, and all the flowers smell wonderful [. . .] The bad things about Mass are: you have to kneel too long, it lasts too long at Easter [. . .]"[1]

No one's tastes are the same, and so neither are their sense impressions. The Neapolitan grammar-school girl describes Sunday Mass in her



Pallazolo Aereide, Sicily, June 29, 1 p.m. “Now! A roar, as if a storm were brewing. Canons sputter sparks, and shoot long, colorful paper strips high into the air over the statue of the Patron. Cherry bombs explode, the church bells resound, applause, tinny music. The Paolo! Paolo!—cries, again . . . Clouds of smoke hang in the air and darken the sun, little colored cards rain down, with the saint’s picture on them.” German journalist Barbara Baumgartner portrays the high point of the local festival year of a farming town west of Syracuse, as an event that bewitches and stuns the senses. All senses are engaged, the whole town is buzzing, when, on the feast of his patronage, Saint Paul is borne from the church to the piazza by the male village youth—at least downtown; uptown has its Saint Sebastian. The feast of the saint of a quarter gives occasion to reverse the country drab of the everyday in one grand explosion: instead of ocher and gray, now yellow and red prevail, instead of the quiet of the noonday heat the noise of the crowd and the playing of the *banda*, the music band, instead of the abandoned spaces of siesta time the seething, shouting → mass. For many, this is too much, as for Sicilian writer Leonardo Scascia: “But what is a religious festival in Sicily? The simplest answer would be, ‘anything but a religious feast.’” But is this not being a ‘spoilsport’?

composition as a gladsome and painful 'festival of the senses.' She hears women's voices and singing, she smells perfume, she sees the sheen of the lights, she perceives her own bodily posture. Her knees hurt, as will happen in tradition-conscious Catholicism, and her ears fall off when the choir starts, but what happens to her eyes and nose makes up for it. A fascinating, unforgettable 'social field of stimulation' opens there, experienced and undergone physically, and inscribed through the disciplinary work of religious socialization right into the composition book. The Mass seems practically like a "collection of suitable circumstances" (J. J. Gibson), it seems an experiencing and trying of the senses in 'sacred play' (B. Lang). And we must add, a sensory elevation occurs that separates this special circumstance as 'cultic,' 'ritualistic,' vis-à-vis other patterns of perception.

The Sensory Apparatus: External Perception and Proprioception

2. a) As our example shows, the senses and perception make religion 'experienceable,' thus, in an elementary sense, rendering religions loci of sensory awareness. What does this mean? Like any animal, the human being is required to take an orientation in her and his environment, in order to live and survive. Sources of danger must be discerned, sources of nourishment must be made accessible, information must be transmitted, partners of the species found. To this end, every animal organism disposes of a special sensory apparatus. In the case of the human being, as of the higher species as a whole, the familiar five senses (see Table below), sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch.

b) Besides these outer-directed senses, animal organisms also possess inner-directed perceptions (body perception, 'proprioception'). In the human beings, these are:

- The sense of balance, in the inner ear;
- 'Kinesthesis': the feeling of motion or motor activity;
- The perception of position in space—standing, sitting, lying—;
- The experience of feeling of pain, which is essential for human organism: a personal corporeal alarm system, indicating illness and wounds.

c) Each sense functions as a system of perception, whose product is the 'stimulus-arousal transduction' between organ of perception and brain. The decisive thing is that the information does not deliver an immediate image of our outer and inner world, a mirror image, or 'impression' or 'print' as if made by a stamp (and whatever is expressed in traditional metaphors). It never consists of anything but coded signals, from which the central nervous system composes 'its picture' of the whole, its construct. Thus, human perception is in large measure a 'construction process': perceptions are continuously compared with stored perception patterns ('percepts'), and complemented in terms of these—"You only see what you know." The experiences that we have had since earliest childhood (and particularly there), the images of the holy and the saints, all find their representations in channeling and automated pattern-recognition. 'Inner perception' complements the outer and can lead a life of its own, in memories, fantasies, hallucinations—bases for epiphanies and visions. Witness everyday linguistic usage itself, in which the word 'perception' names, on the one hand, one's own percept, but in which it also speaks of perceptions by 'another person' or another religion—and thus calls for preconceived and stereotyped conceptualizations of 'otherness,' including, perhaps, their positive discernment and reception (→ Prejudices/Stereotypes).

True, sensory perception is largely 'automatic,' automatized, and unconscious. Contrary to appearances, however, it is a vigorous venture. The pupils of the eyes, for example, constantly screen the field of vision in minuscule movements ('saccades'). The old notions that a look is penetrating, that it shoots seeing-arrows, that the eye is 'sunlike,' a little sun, and shines outward, have their sensory-psychological foundation here. In a wider sense, it is correct to say that the senses are 'busy.'

Body-Space-Communication

3. a) This anatomic-physiological 'basic equipment' that forms an important part of mental grasp, of 'cognition,' is, in the case of the human being, culturally—and thereby religiously—shaped as well, but it is also addressed, 'stimulated,' and thematized, and this in many ways.

Body

It is the body that perceives, although it is seldom perceived, and with health and normal movement remains nearly insensible. Thus, the believer feels it all the more strongly when the body 'reports,' with a pleasant or unpleasant sensation.

→ Liturgy and custom prescribe postures that believers are bound to observe. They are to hear the instructive words of the → sermon sitting, attest their reverence by kneeling, indicate their submission to a highest being in prostration (→ Proskynesis). An elaborate liturgy is concerned with alternation, the body is periodically quieted and activated. Frequently onerous or even painful corporeal sensations are intended. When the Italian girl's knees press down against the hard 'kneeler,' when Muslim or Tibetan monks or nuns cast themselves to the ground for the umpteenth time in the rite of proskynesis, when pilgrims creep up the steep cliff of Irish Croagh Patrick



The elderly woman touching the figure of the Savior on a large processional cross in San Giuseppe al Trionfale (Rome) is performing a gesture in which reverential greeting and ritual reception of salvation are mixed. The wish to become a sharer in the power of blessing (→ Charisma) emitted by a saint or wonderworker

to honor their saint, when the member of a brotherhood in Sicilian Trapani helps carry his *mistero*, his Passion assemblage, through the city to complete exhaustion, the feelings of → pain or weakness are not coincidental or meaningless: they are the result of an imitation, a mimetic participation. The faithful carry out the history of the mythic exemplar, and physically insure their faith: the burden of one's → body is at once a martyring burden of penitence, a gesture of humility, and a mirroring approach to that which is to be reverenced.

That religion can set bodies in motion just as successfully and impressively as can politics is well known. The advent of the ruler (→ Epiphany) occurs as does the entry of the bishop to the place of the episcopal throne, with grave and dignified footfall, the pedestrian pilgrimage leads the faithful long distances over asphalt, or even through night and mist. Even experiences of flight are possible, in mystical trance or ritual procedure, such as in the flight ceremonial of the Middle American Totonaki (→ Central America, with picture). An especially varied program of movement is the one carried out by Muslims on the pilgrimage to and within → Mecca, when, among other things, they circumambulate the Kaaba seven times and run back and forth between the two former hills of Safa and Marwa (the *sa'y* rite). The course measures 385 m and must be traversed a total of seven times, at a special gait (*harwal*). Afterwards the pilgrim must stand in prayer at the Jabal ar-Rahma from noon to sunset in the radiance of the sun, and cast stones in Mina.

Religion not only harasses and challenges the believer's body, however; it pampers it as well, and enfolds it in care and protection. Gestures of shelter and tenderness, the intimate joys, to be hugged, snuggled and kissed, are a privilege of small groups, such as Wicca covens (→ Paganism/Neopaganism), monastic communities, or the Hutterite settlements. But they also gladden Christian churchgoers at the Kiss of Peace. An old, established rite of the healer is to lay the hand, as the most important bodily tool and instrument, the organ of touch and care, on the part that hurts. The surface tension of the dermal organ then alters, and warmth flows. That 'good vibrations' generated in this way contribute to a sense of well-being is known from infant psychology. In the demonstrative public act, the concerned touch assumes characteristics of civil religion, when the politician cuddles children or Lady Di cares for AIDS patients alongside Mother Teresa. The most immediate bodily contact, sexual union with its orgasmic sensations, it is true, is extensively excluded from religious ritual (→ Sexuality). In cases where it is attested, as in ancient agrarian religions, it is in a highly determined symbolical framework that has as its goal not sensory pleasures but an activity of signification—namely, the warrant of → regeneration.

by embracing or kissing him is an old one. It is found even in the New Testament, where a woman is healed from a hemorrhage by touching the hem of Jesus's garment (Luke 8:43-48): "Someone touched me, for I noticed that power had gone out from me"—the experience of believers' multiply-attested perception that, contrariwise, the act of touching stimulates an affluence of the power of blessing. Nor is the living person needed: a residual power suffices, → relics, or, as here, an → image. Celebrated objects of such touches are the tombs of Sufi sheiks, in Islam, which shed blessings (*baraka*). Beyond this phenomenon, which, in order to objectify it, has been called 'contagious magic,' there appears a basic communicative form of spiritual desire, a palpable proximity that offers the boon of a tactual intimacy with the sacred person.

Spaces of Perception

b) Abstracting from the body's self-perception, the sensory organs serve environmental → orientation. Outer perception transmits the place and position of the body in space; without it we can neither move, drink, nor eat in safety. Individual, distinct bits of sensory information combine in the brain into an overall picture, and we may speak of a subjective and an objective space of perception. Objective perception space is determined by the physical condition of the surroundings, and is organized, in correspondence with the senses, into field of vision, sound- and smell spheres, and → materiality; the coordinates of weight- or falling direction of the position of the body in space, air pressure information, as well as sensation of warmth. Originally calculated to guarantee the organism's survival in a potentially hostile and



From the minaret of a small German 'backyard mosque,' a muezzin intones the call to prayer. He has laid his hands on his cheeks, in order the better to hear and control his voice. The office of 'proclaimer' (in Ar., *mu'addin*, 'one who issues the prayer call,' *adan*), of which there are at least two at every mosque, represents one of the key offices of Islamic worship. With his *adan,* the muezzin not only announces the community prayer (*salat*; → Islam), five times each day, but also has the task of reciting litanies and extracts from the Qur'an. The call to prayer, like the ringing of a church bell in Christianity, serves to announce and coordinate prayer time and ritual practice.

The melodic voices of the Muezzins, wafting over the roofs of an Islamic town, also generate a highly impressive sensation, an auditory representation of the *umma*, the 'community of believers.' As with the visual points of Christian belfry and Muslim minaret, controversies over the call of the muezzin in Western countries are questions of power—in this case, of domination of hearing. Today, as well, in its age of mechanization, the present rite has entered: amplifiers and loudspeakers facilitate the technique, and reinforce the effect, but diminish demands on the art of the presentation (cf. → Film II, with picture).

insecure natural environment, the sensory system is confronted, since the inception of cultural orientation, more and more by artificial surroundings, beginning with the 'cultural landscapes' of the planters to the 'stone deserts' of the modern metropolises (as well as of ancient ones). There arises a multiplicity of highly culture-specific—and we may add at once, highly religion-specific—perceptions of spaces, each with its own environmental design, each with its own religious repertoire of visual stimulation, 'acoustical design' (M. Schafer), and constellation of scents. Buddhist, Islamic, and Christian → architecture address the senses as differently as do the cultic ensembles to which they belong. Thus, they possess an independent aesthetics, in the broad sense: a panorama of perception. Depending on the compass of that panorama—be it a living space with a home altar and wall decoration, be it a church square, a sacred spring, or indeed an entire sacred → landscape—the religious aesthetic formation of the environment shifts believers' senses into a certain perceptual space. This space addresses its senses not only by

attention-attracting objects such as church towers, minarets, or stupas, but directs, orients, and even deludes and dislocates the senses by way of streets or sacred architecture. Axes—symmetrical arrangements—not only lead the visitor to the center, but also permit the organization of great masses of persons, from the ancient American Teotihuacan (founded around the second century BCE) to the Nuremberg Reich Party tracts. On the other hand, the intentional asymmetry of the → labyrinth can lead a person astray—if not directly into the claws of a monster. That gods are conceived larger than life, gigantic, indeed colossal, is a fact antedating ancient Egyptian sculpture, Phidias's statue of Zeus in Olympia, or the some 32 m high Apollo Helios astride the entry of the harbor of Rhodes, the "Colossus" (in Gr., *Kolossós*). That 'high' corresponds to 'holy,' that heaven is 'above' and hell 'below,' every child of the Near-Eastern and European religious tradition, and many a region besides, has learned to think very well.

Information, Symbols, and Codes

c) This interpretation seems obvious to those who have grown up in this tradition; but it is not self-evident. Orientation in perceptive space does not occur in human beings—as it does, for instance, in frogs—'on its own,' in an automated stimulus-response reaction. The uncoupling of the instinct apparatus in man concerns not only the option to react to external stimuli with hesitation, consideration, or entirely without reaction, but also the opportunity to charge stimuli communicatively as culture-specific vehicles of information. This function endows the sensory stimulus with an additional dimension that can be established arbitrarily: it becomes a sign, whose meaning must be unified and known (→ Symbol/Sign/Gesture). The 'language of the bells' (A. Corbin) can be decoded in the Christian parish only by that person who, in the first place, is a Christian, and in the second, knows the local codification of the bell-strokes—one who is able to distinguish the call to prayer (Angelus) from the alarm ('Fire!') or the bell for the dead. Identical sound-events can broadcast religious messages as well as secular ones, and must be correctly interpreted by the auditor. Even this simple example shows that the effect of sensory stimuli in cultural perceptual space is not only that of steering behavior, but also that of informing. And it shows that perception not only exhausts sensory channels, but is organized in 'sign sentences' and systems ('codes') that presuppose a knowledge in the believer that that person must learn. Now, religious communities, their specialists and their followers, can play very well with that knowledge: flowers or bodily gestures, colors, buildings, or articles of → clothing are subjected to the social coding of perception. A rich, sometimes highly specialized, even esoteric symbolism can develop around the cultic ordering of, for example, colors to deities. Of course, if it was specified in the agreement between Piero della Francesca and the Prior of the Brotherhood of Santa Maria della Misericordia that the proposed panel of a Madonna of Protection in the city of Sansepolcro in Umbria be gilded and colored with adequate ultramarine blue,[2] then the aim of contract consists in supplying the viewer's gaze with values of prestigious stimuli. However, not everlasting ones: after all, it is gold that everyone today (still) associates with wealth—scarcely, any longer, that precious Renaissance tint, 'ultramarine.'

The 'Play with the Senses'—Cultic Use of the Perceptual Apparatus

4. It is trivial that cultic acts presuppose sensory activity in order to be available to experience. Not so trivial are the methods and 'tricks' with which religious communities and cultic specialists operate in order to increase the → meaning, and intensity of feeling, of that which is ritual and liturgical. In



Sacred places are often so situated as to use the conditions of the → landscape to attract believers' eyes. The notion that → mountains, hills, and rocks are dwelling places of the gods, or at least are 'closer to heaven,' is to be found first of all in ethnic religions. Thus, the Oratoire Saint-Joseph, a Catholic church of pilgrimage in Montréal, is an eye catcher for the faithful and a mark of orientation as well. Its elevated position on the crest of a hill functions as an artificial landmark, and attracts pilgrims' attention to their goal even from afar—a target with a cupola, elevating natural conditions to the level of the monumental. The sacred ensemble itself, referring to miracle-worker Frère André (1845–1937), was dedi-

no case should the reproach, 'sleight-of-hand' or 'manipulation,' be invoked: many cultic means are anthropologically 'self-evident,' in that they address the sensory apparatus both obviously as purposefully, and thus practice an unconscious 'play with the senses.' Here the address to the senses always occurs in an eminently singular manner, established by tradition and religious milieu. The cultic framework, the sphere of cult, is the result of a testing of aesthetic arrangements that can be centuries old. Furthermore, this sphere is frequently broadened cognitively, by way of a network of mythological and symbolical meanings. A brief typological survey, in order of increasing complexity and intensity of means, may, perhaps, afford clarification.

- *Signals:* The above-cited bell signals, the cry of the muezzin, the swinging of the bullroarer before initiation rites among the → Aborigines, standardize the ritual procedures of a community, call it to divine service, and divide sacred → time from profane.
- The *material nature* of objects and substances (→ Materiality) utilized in the various cults, as in the case of sacred images, sacred apparatus and materials used in worship, supports and explains messages of faith (steps ascend to the 'high altar'; the 'Holy of Holies'—for example, in Orthodox church structural design—is sealed off from the profane or profaning by an image screen, the iconostasis). But it generates 'sensible' (and meaning-filled) impressions and experiences itself, produces an atmosphere, and accentuates prestige values, like the ultramarine of the Madonnas.
- *Ritualization:* Distinct senses can be ritualized separately. An especially striking example is the Hindu rite of the 'Viewing' (in Sanskrit, *darshana*; in Hindi, *darshan*) of the gods. It consists of direct eye contact between

the believer, who 'takes' the sight (*darshan lena*), and the deity presented in the divine image, who 'grants' the sight (*darshan dena*). A 'wind' or 'current of energy' (C. Mallebrein) of spiritual strengthening is thought to overcome and 'fill' the venerator. Great, wide eyes betoken the presence of the divinity in the image, and attract the believer's gaze. They are painted on, or inserted, on the occasion of the production of the divine image, in a concluding rite. Even aniconic objects of devotion, such as stones, can be made serviceable for visual communication, by way of eye-sketches or markings. Another example is that of the 'smoke sacrifices,' widespread in ancient Eastern and contemporary Asian religions. The burning of aromatic essences, of incense and myrrh, is part of a tradition that survives today in Catholic and Orthodox divine services. In the form of incense sticks and aroma therapy, such experiences occur once again, at the end of the twentieth century, even in secular communities—in the border area of 'wellness,' alternative therapies and Buddhist reception.

- Sensory stimulation is eminently suitable for *dramatic presentation* in ritual: → liturgy and → ritual process each possess their repertoire, accommodated to each religion, which can range from single gesture (→ Symbol/Sign/Gesture) to simple forms such as → baptism, where the body is immersed in → water, or at least the head is moistened, to complex and large-scale events such as a festival (→ Feasts and Celebrations), sacred → drama, or *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The ancient Greek bloody (state) → sacrifice is a good example. Persons and the sacrificial animal are adorned and crowned; a procession to the place of sacrifice is held; there is a bath (for purification) in anticipation, and then the hands are washed at the altar; incense is burned, and, ordinarily, a flute is played. The climax of the drama, the slaughtering blow, is marked by a shrill female cry (in Gk., *ololygé*); later, the time comes for direct participation in the sacrifice, when the innards are roasted in the altar fire and eaten, and then the remaining meat is boiled and distributed. Even before the concluding meal, a thick smoke has covered the scenery, mixed with the odor of the blood of the slaughtered animal, when bones and fat, together with some wine and cake are burned—heaven in olfactory satisfaction.[3]
- *Reinforcement or strengthening:* In the framework in which cults are celebrated, sensory impressions are not only directed and purposely addressed, but also artistically and skillfully reinforced: candles illumine the sacred image, torch processions (as at Lourdes) trace the route of the procession and render community visible, the organ accompanies community singing, the → rhythm of the drums guides the steps of the Santeria disciple into trance. The aesthetic 'steering' and directing applied in these cases elevates the mechanical sensory stimulation to the status of an actual emotional stimulation: it elevates, 'euphoricizes,' overwhelms. This extreme enhancement can also move in the opposite direction, however: to attenuation of environmental stimulation, or even its exclusion.

5. In a comparison of the church of Steinhausen in Germany, a little jewel of the Upper Swabian Baroque, with the Japanese garden and temple of the Tenryu-ji in → Kyôto, in all of its severe austerity—if one joins the Dome of the Rock in → Jerusalem, in all the brilliance of its late antiquity, with the Calvinist New Church in Delft, denuded of any images—the contrasts could not be greater. Here is the splendor of color, cupids, lofty and gladsome figures of saints, mosaics, lavish ornamentation; there is absence of adornment, there are clear lines, no images, covered colors—here sensuous

cated in 1937, and is an arresting example of how architectonic forms of perception-stimulus and physical strain bolster spiritual purpose. The axial symmetry of the installation is determined by two opposite raised poles: statue and inscription of the monument to Joseph, on the one pole, in the foreground, challenge pilgrims, "*Ite ad Josephum*" (Lat., "Go to Joseph"), and indicates to them the way. The central axis along which they approach the sanctuary, the other pole, attracts them to the center, while the colossal size of the building makes the pilgrims seem small to themselves. Now they must climb to the building by way of the 'Sacred Stair,' a mighty triple set of steps. That some of the faithful creep up the steps on their knees is seemingly in emulation of famous exemplars like the *Scala Santa* (Lat., 'Sacred Stair') in Rome; of course, it is equally inspired by the overwhelming architecture of the present construction, and is a gesture of repentance and piety. None of which is in any way diminished by the fact of the pair of streets that, in tribute to the automobile, cut through the axis of the stairway.



That which is perceived with the senses must also be interpreted, as we observe in a special type of images of the Madonna, the 'Black Madonna.' In the optical construction of the holy, the black color of → icons of → Mary and sacred statues of European history of religion are visual signals requiring interpretation. Gods and saints were regularly presented as fair-skinned, just as the majority of the European and Near Asian population have always been light in color. Furthermore, black traditionally suggested the devilish and demonic in mythology. Black face-color was therefore a sign of something—sign of exactly what, however, had been forgotten, even by the time of the Enlightenment. Hence, ever more new patterns of explanation attached to the images of the Black Madonnas: they were supposed to represent the Beloved of the Song of Solomon (Song 1:5-6), who cried, "I am black and/but beautiful"—"*nigra sum sed formosa*"—or to be direct descendants of the dark Greek underworld deity Demeter of Phigalia (Jacob Grimm). More realistic were legends—however

color, there aesthetic minimalism, here artistic presentation, there studied simplicity, here overflow of stimulus, there severest reduction. We are in the presence of two extreme possibilities of sensory variance and cultic framework—both of them, in their opposition, bearing testimony to different conceptualizations of faith, as well as supplying a platform for a correspondingly different religious practice. The feeling of community in parish churches, the contemplative 'sense' of the monastery, the reductionism of a hermitage—and then the edifice representing the state religion—counter each other not only in the stylistic opposition of their practical functions, however, but also in their respective contemporary value. In the quiet of pre-industrial times, the retreat of the hermitage possessed another psychoaesthetic rating and importance from that of its value in noise-polluted modernity. Here, monasteries are more and more sought out as 'oases of quiet' by 'stressed-out' city dwellers. The annual saint's day, and the accompanying church festival, the feast of the consecration of the church, brandished (and still do, in back 'farm country') a far greater attractiveness as sensual experience of the exception than the media-dominated 'event society' of the twenty-first century, where entertainment opportunities have become a free-time-devouring 'must.' Religion as founder of entertaining mass events (→ Masses) now seems to have to share its role with → sports and with musical and media 'events' of → popular culture.

However, it is precisely the *reduction of perception* that has achieved its own stimulus today, and it lives in a long liturgical, contemplative, and ascetical tradition.

Keeping silence, as a liturgical tool, was introduced in many sacred traditions, as an 'emphatic means' for the makeover of stimulus. Thus, the words of transformation (consecration) of the Catholic Mass have been simultaneous with the 'canonical silence.' At priestly ordination, during the act of ordination itself, 'epicletic' silence prevails—the silence of 'invocation.' The 'silent services' of the Quakers create the transition to contemplation—'ceremony-free meditation assemblies,' during which there is neither singing nor praying aloud, but only the awaiting of the individual participant's direct enlightenment by the Holy Spirit.[4]

The classic places of the reduction of perception were hermitages, wilderness monasteries and cloisters—stagings of inaccessibility. Here, renunciation of the world was synonymous with the asceticism of the senses. Instead of squandering itself on a destructive multiplicity of objects, the gaze of the contemplative specialist could be turned within, to reflection and meditation. True, the poverty of sensory stimuli sometimes has the contrary effect: with external stimulation lying fallow, production of images in the → fantasy, emerging from the unconscious, pierced the consciousness of the monks all the more stoutly—the sleep of the senses gave birth to monsters. The proverbial "temptations of Saint Anthony" were not confined to the Egyptian wilderness, however. Hallucinations, in the form of → visions and auditions, occurring because of the poverty of stimulation, are possibly also to be explained, precisely in the case of conceptions of demons and witches, by sensual deprivation in outlying areas—or, to put it another way, by a (too) low demand of external stimuli.[5] The extreme condition of 'sensory deprivation,' since the body is robbed of most or all of its senses, could even have been intentionally introduced by → cave artists of the Old Stone Age.[6] It can be relived today by the Western metropolitan person in the *samadhi* tank—a closed, windowless, and sound-muffling container in

which the client is floating in a brine, or rather, is hovering without orientation—provided that the client awaits the coming of fantasies long enough. Besides tanks and caves, the senses' perception can be altered by intoxicants or drugs (→ Intoxication/Drugs/Hallocinogens). Drug-induced alterations or broadening of consciousness, in their sense-bewitching results, can have the same effect as their ritual production by → yoga and other → breathing techniques.

6. The senses are given downright doubtful marks by the religions, their founders and theological guardians. The history of doctrines is pervaded by a basic mistrust of these aggregates of turning to the world. The ambivalence of the senses—which, depending on the respective position of each, occasions the senses' experience of creation (and therewith of the creator), or else seduces them from the divine, through sensuality, to sensory rapture and inappropriate deviation from the divine—must address the alternatives: is the human being a sensory being to the greater glory of God or to that of the Devil? Thus, according to → Augustine and other Church Fathers, the eye is the 'window of the soul,' so that it occupies a special, if precarious, position among the senses: the 'lust of the eyes,' *concupiscentia oculorum*, stands at the start of a career as a sinner. Augustine has pangs of conscience even at a glance at a lizard catching flies—at any optical amusement that would afford thrust to the vice of *curiositas*, eagerness for sensation, and the thrust to be entertained.[7] Buddhism, again, sees in the 'craving' or 'desire' (in Sanskrit, *trsna;* in Pali, *tanha*), arising after pleasant sense impressions, one of the factors that condition 'attachment,' and therewith the cycle of births. In the → meditation of mindfulness (*satipatthana*), the purpose is to observe the appearance and disappearance of sense impressions exactly, without developing desire or repulsion. Sense impressions, too, are to be recognized as impermanent, as not constituting an 'I,' and ultimately as unsatisfying.

Because sensory stimulations are more or less exclusively evaluated and devaluated as a potential for seduction and temptation, and sensory organs are ordered to a corporality that is to be defeated, constructs of applied ethics come to include *hostility to the senses*, in which sense perception is polemically equivalated with sensuality. The enemies, in a like ethical rigorism, are 'sense pleasures,' which are identified with the familiar bodily stimulations of → dance, → music, alcohol, and women (the authors are usually men). The followers of English Puritanism, or of Swabian Pietism, or indeed Islamic groups such as the Wahhabites or the Algerian Mozabites, therefore sought, through continence and proscription, to keep the influence of seductive sensory stimulations as ineffective as possible. This can lead to systems that, to an outsider, seem downright joyless. The Mozabites in the Algerian Sahara, for example, are forbidden ostentious luxury, drugs including tobacco, perfume, and dancing or music even at weddings. Women may neither weep over a dead person, nor speak loudly, nor laugh. By the way, the economic result of this out-and-out 'Calvinistic' sensory ethics is that the profit of an enterprise cannot be consumed; it is therefore reinvested.[8]

When what is available to the senses is devalued as 'superficial' or 'external,' a spiritualized form of sensory perception frequently supervenes: that of 'inner sight,' of the *visio Dei*, of the 'third eye.' Here is the only means by which the experience of 'true belief,' of a 'perfect emptiness,' of a 'sacred' experience of the beyond that is inaccessible to the senses, can succeed. The

much constructed after the fact—that saw the Madonnas as darkened by having been burned, as related in Altötting (Bavaria), or in the Swiss pilgrimage place of Maria Einsiedeln, whose miraculous image from the fifteenth century is shown in this small, indulgence-conferring, representation of today. It seems most probable, however, that the color black indicates a reverend age, and thereby semiotically fixes the devotional tradition, establishing it in the most distant time. The observation that wood eventually grows dark, that candle-smoke can give images a coating of soot, is re-shaped as a sign of prestige. Finally, images are purposely exposed to smoke, providing statues with a black skin-color after they have been painted, as in Einsiedeln. Not coincidentally, 'Black Madonnas' are to be found precisely in the most visited, most famous, pre-modern places of → pilgrimage of Europe: in Tshenstochau in Poland, in Loreto in Italy, in Le Puy in France, on the Catalanian Montserrat, in Altötting, and, as we see, in Einsiedeln. The embarrassment of a black color not understood has somewhat softened in modern times: Beginning in the nineteenth century, with Lourdes, then with Fatima, and most recently, Medjugorje, the age of the White Madonnas has dawned.

Table

	Visual System	*Auditory System*	*Haptic System (Touch, Vibration)*	*Orientation in Space (Balance)*	*Smell and Taste (Olfacto-Gustative System)*		*Temperature*	*Pain (Nociceptive System)*
Kind of Perception	Seeing	Hearing	Feel	Kinesthesis, physical balance, movement and ac-/deceleration	Smell	Taste	warm/cold	Sensation of pain
Stimulus	Electromagnetic vibrations	Mechanical (air-) vibration	Reconfiguration of skin; extension and shifting of the joints and muscular organs	Turning, acceleration, gravitational attraction	Chemical substances in the air	Chemical substances impinging on the tongue	Temperature changes	Painful materials (?)
Place of Reception of Stimulus	Eye (retina)	Ear (cortical organ in the inner ear)	Skin, connective tissue, mucous membrane, cartilage	Inner ear, hammer/anvil/stirrup: 'vestibular apparatus'	Nose	Tongue (taste-buds)	[as with haptic system]	[As with haptic system]
Receptor Cells	Photosensors: rods and cones	Mechano-sensors (inner and outer follicles)	Mechano-sensors (Meissner/Pacini/Merkel particles)	Mechano-sensors: (follicles in the macula/cupula)	Chemo-sensors	Chemo-sensors	Thermo-sensors (free nerve-endings?)	Chemo-sensors (free nerve-endings?)
Number	7 mid. rods, 120 mid. cones	13,500 inner follicles, 3,500 outer follicles	500,000	23,000	20,000,000	300,000	200,000	3,000,000
Channel Capacity (in bits/sec.)	3,000,000	35,000	100,000	10,000	10-100	10	1,000	?
Information	Light-dependent environmental structures: shape and color	Sound sources/events and their localization	Contact with the ground, shape of objects, materiality, mechanical characteristics	Direction of gravitation (orientation upward and downward; straight vs. slanted; dizziness vs. rest)	Sources of scent (aroma vs. stench, disgust, sexual stimulation)	Nutritional value and wholesomeness (fresh nutrients vs. decayed)	Outside temperature, body temperature (cold vs. warm)	Injuries, pathological alterations in organs
Devotional-(Cultic-) Ritual Activation (Examples)	Sacred → orientation (directions of the sky), → landscape (formation and experience of), sacred buildings with towers, architectonic visual direction and illumination, visual contact with sacred statues (Hinduism: *darshan*), light refraction and direction at church windows	Spoken forms of liturgy: → prayer, recitation, intonations, → sermon, → singing, → music, rhythm, audition	Touching, hand-clasping, embracing, kiss (of peace), anointing, bodily contact in the → masses (of persons), contagious → magic, ritual sexual intercourse	Courses of movement (motoric): jumping, walking (circumambulating the altar, etc., → procession), dancing, running (Greek *agon* as part of a religious exercise), kneeling and prostrating oneself (→ Proskinesis), ritual ball-playing, → flying)	Sacrificial odor (blood, incense sticks, foods, carthartic incensing in rites of purification)	Ritual → eating and → drinking, festive meal, sacrificial meal (e.g. → Lord's Supper [bread and wine])	Cold vs. hot foods, seasonal festivals (summer vs. winter), fire cults (sacrificial cults, hearth fire, midsummer fire	Carrying weighty cultic images or statues of saints and *Misteri* (scenes from the Passion) in Good Friday processions (→ Mediterranean Region)

Cultic Exclusion of Stimulation (Sensory Deprivation)	Nocturnal rites (→ Mysteries), cave devotions, veiling of sacred images, sacred material and apparatus (tabernacle, relic shrine [to an extent]), bounding and ritual seclusion (laity, women/men, uninitiated), masking	Silence/quiet: asceticism, mystical silence (Quakers' "Silent Services")	Isolation (monasticism, hermits), untouchables (→ Caste), touching restrictions (→ Taboo)	Immobility (as ascetical vow → sadhu), swaying, temporary weightlessness (*samhadi*-tank, floating in a salt lake, lying therapy (incubation in ancient cult of Asclepius)	Purification of body and clothing before cultic actions, odor control in the case of the Osho ashram	→ Fasting, ascetical and mystical abstinence from nutrition, "fed by light"	Ascetical self-inuring (e.g. of Indian → Sadhus) against heat and winter cold	Anesthesia, insensitivity to pain in → trance (walking through fire, self-wounding)
Cultic Reinforcement (Sensory Extreme)	Monumentalizing, colossalizing (pyramids, over life-size statue of Zeus by Phidias in Olympia), candles, staging by brightness and texture, bearing of torches, light-procession at Lourdes, meditative visualization techniques, quest for visions, epiphany	Use of musical instruments: organ, drums, phonetic symbols for beginning/end/climax of rituals, bells, castanets, cannon shots at Ramadan	Orgy, festive → masses (of persons), sprinkling or washing with fluid material (→ water, → baptism, → blood, mud)	Experiences of dizziness; flight ritual of the Totonaki in → Central America, rotary movement of the dancing dervishes	Inhalation of aromatic essences and/or hallucinogens such as intoxicants and means of trance (oracle of Pythia in Delphi, consumption of cannabis at the rite of *chillum*, → intoxication)	Satiation at feasts of the saints and the temples, (→ Daoism; Caste)	Indian sweat lodges, cold-asceticism through nakedness (→ Sadhu)	Self-scourging/flagellantism (Shia Ashura ritual in → Iran), tests of courage at rites of initiation
Sign System (Codes)	Color symbolism, gesturing, arts of the image, tattooing, hairstyle, clothing	Speech, music	Intimacy	→ Dance; Martial Arts; Olympic Games; Yoga	"Aromatizing clocks" in Shintô temples, → purity, aroma therapy	→ Vegetarianism, diet		→ Mysticism, → Possession, Practices of → Penance

Table modified, and supplemented with data bearing on religion after: Plattig, *Karl-Heinz, Spürnasen und Feinschmecker. Die chemischen Sinne des Menschen, Heidelberg 1995, Table 1: "The Human Being's Eight Principal Sensory Modalities," pp. 4-5;* Gibson, *James J., Die Sinne und der Prozess der Wahrnemung, Bern 1973 (Engl. [1]1966), Table 1: "The Systems of Perception," p. 75.*

tradition of theology and philosophy (of religion) that equates piety with faith and the knowledge accompanying it, and limits cognition to the development of information (as also do parts of today's systems and approaches with regard to information), in this case prevails over sensory approaches to things and concepts. However, must not this 'inner option,' in the age of a 'flood of images' in the media, and of an overflowing sensory hedonism, operate as a beneficent abstinence? Perhaps a Buddhist (or Zen Buddhist) legacy—mindfulness—offers a path between pleasure and satisfaction, and the new storm of images: observing, perceiving, 'noticing'? Is this not the (not only religious) work with the senses that we have to do today?

1. D'Orta, Marcello (ed.), "Gott hat uns alle gratis erschaffen". Neue Schulaufsätze neapolitanischer Kinder (Ital., Dio ci ha creato gratis: il vangelo secondo i bambini di Arzano, 1992), Zurich 1993, 108f.
2. Baxandall 1972.
3. According to Burkert, Walter, Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth, Berkeley 1983 (cit. German edition, Berlin 1972, 10-14).
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→ *Feelings/Emotions, Landscape, Light/Enlightenment, Masses, Materiality, Music, Orientation, Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Vision/Auditory Experience*

Hubert Mohr

Pietism

Determination of the Concept

1. 'Pietism' (from Lat. *pietas*, 'devotion') is an umbrella concept for intra-church devotional and renewal movements in → Protestantism. It especially denotes a movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Germany and certain neighboring countries. Its aim was a religious interiorization of the → Reformation achievements, and their translation into practical living ('tätiges Christsein' [Ger., 'active being-a-Christian'], *praxis pietatis* [Lat., 'practice of piety'). Connected to this was a criticism of prevailing ecclesial relationships, and a 'hope of better times.' Social concentrations were at Halle and Würtemberg, in West Germany, Netherlands Reformed pietism, and—to the extent that it was ascribed to Pietism, the *Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde* (Ger., 'Herrnhut Community of Brethren,' 'Moravian Brethren') of Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf (1700–1760). Besides these, there is 'Radical Pietism' (or better, 'Spiritualism'), which crystallized around charismatic individuals (e.g., Johann Wilhelm Petersen, 1649–1727, and his spouse Johanna Eleonora, 1644–1724, Johann Georg Gichtel, 1638–1710, Eva von Buttlar, 1670–1721). Due to its attempt to separate from the official church and its distinct traditions of theology and piety, Spiritualism essentially distinguishes itself from church Pietism. While the Pietism of Halle was subsequently altogether absorbed into Lutheranism and disappeared as an independent tradition, there are lines of continuity, especially in Württemberg Pietism, that extend to the present. As for the Moravian Brethren, this group spread all over the world as a particular church.

Pietism was a new style of piety, characterized by intensive, continuous Bible reading, a special collection of music for singing (special songbooks, composers such as N. L. von Zinzendorf and G. A. Freylinghausen), an intensive promotion of meditation, and new forms of religious gatherings (from 'conventicle' and 'Love Meal' to 'Sunday school'). A new kind of application of piety was characteristic: to social activity, on the one hand, and to the individual person on the other ('battle of penitence,' constant self-check of one's life of faith by keeping a diary, and similar activities). The Protestant inclination to missionary activity arises from this source as well.

Pietist traditions survived in the awakening movement (from c. 1780), in the community movement (from c. 1880), and in further modernized neo-pietistic developments of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Along with these immediate effects, neither are the mediate ones to be underestimated—effects both on recent Protestantism as a whole, and on determinate traits of modern cultural history, literature, and philosophy (e.g. Goethe's "Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele" [Ger., "Confessions of a Beautiful Soul"], Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling, 1740–1817). Modern individual culture, associations, and social action were marked by Pietism as well. Widespread cultural phenomena of today, such as the keeping of a diary, friendships by letter, or general interest in the history of one's own life (autobiography; → biography), have their historical roots in this devotional movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Historical Description

2. Pietism's point of departure and demarcations are disputed in scholarship. One source of inspiration, however, was a very popular piece of edifying literature by theologian Johann Arndt (1555–1621). His *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum* (Ger., "Four Books of True Christianity"), appearing

between 1605 and 1610, were later held in an esteem barely surpassed by that of the Bible itself, and, as with the latter, passages were read from it daily. Arndt takes up certain objections raised by the radical wing of the Reformation, which alleged catastrophic results of the doctrine of justification when it came to devotion and morality: even though the state of grace is bestowed only by God himself, this does not mean that human beings may sit idly by. Rather, they need to strive by every means for the sanctification of their lives, and concern themselves with the reestablishment of the image of God (Gen 1:26). In this fashion, Arndt attempted to instill recognition of God in the soul (books 1–3) and in nature (book 4).

P. J. Spener

As a 'movement,' Pietism can be considered sociologically with help from the works of Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705). In 1670, in Frankfurt/Main, Spener founded a *Collegium Pietatis* (Lat., "Association of Devotion/Piety"), a pious conversation group or circle for Bible study and mutual edification, which met in his study. After this exemplar, such 'colleges' or 'conventicles' sprang up in many places—small communities of pious Christians, within the Protestant church communities, and frequently beyond their local boundaries. The conventicles soon had to deal with the reproach of 'separation' from the church. Intra-church resistance formed within 'orthodoxy,' whose center for the area of Lutheranism was the Wittenberg Theological Faculty. It saw Catholicizing tendencies in the ideal of 'active Christianity,' and at the same time feared chiliastic fanaticisms, with their undermining effect on Church and government (→ Millenarianism/Chiliasm). After an antecedent proximity to radical spiritualism, Spener and the leading thinkers of Pietism shifted cautiously away from the anti-ecclesial tendencies of the latter, and accentuated the practical and active aspects of their plans for reform. This was concretized in Spener's *Pia Desideria, oder herzliches Verlangen nach gottgefälliger Besserung der Wahren evangelischen Kirche* (Lat./Ger., "Devout Desires, Or a Heartfelt Longing for a Betterment of the True Evangelical Church Pleasing to God"; 1675). The work describes the decline of the Church of the time, as well as means and ends for its improvement by way of a reform of theological studies and parish life. Connected with this was a 'hope of better times'—an expectation of the end time, radicalized vis-à-vis the Lutheran tradition.

Francke's Pietism at Halle

Based in Berlin, in 1692 Spener secured the installation of August Hermann Francke, first as pastor, then as professor as well, in the new university. Francke the visionary made use of his organizational talents to realize many of Spener's plans, in the 'Orphanage' that, from 1695 onward, also became a kind of 'forge of the elite' for Pietist theologians and teachers, in collaboration with the Halle theological faculty. In the 'Orphanage's' articulated scholastic system, children of the middle class and the nobility were soon trained as well. A system of scholarships for needy students became available and ensured both a connection to the university and an economical instructional and pedagogical staff. The Bible printery (founded 1710) and the production of medicines by the Orphanage dispensary achieved worldwide importance. The operation was conducted over an extensive network, reaching, across royal courts and middle-class associations, to Siberia, North America, South Africa, and India. Emissaries from Halle journeyed for years, seeking to establish trade relations. Personnel maintained by Halle likewise staffed the mission of the Danish King (begun in 1706), at his trading station of Tran-

quebar, in Southern India. For their part, mission reports printed in Halle dynamized the further spread of Pietism in Europe. The Halle letter and diary culture, together with the native-language publications of the Halle Orphanage, strengthened European languages, for example in the Baltic.

Devotion and piety were strictly regulated in Halle Pietism. In the footsteps of the founder, an obligatory *Schema of the Pathway of Faith* was proposed, consisting of an initial struggle of repentance and of the defeat of one's lusts, the 'breakthrough' of the experience of rebirth, and finally, the sanctification of one's life. Progress in the life of faith was meticulously supervised. The reproach of hypocrisy soon brought discredit upon the initial thrusts. (Only) after Francke's death, it is true, did Halle Pietism attain to its greatest degree of effectiveness; but its original energy and exuberance rapidly faded. The institution of the Orphanage became independent, however, and is an exquisite treasure house of the history of the Middle German and European culture and history of the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Further Developments

In its other regional centers, as well, Pietism had permanent effects. Especially worthy of note is *Württemberg Pietism,* which reached formulation from about 1720. It was originally drawn from the biblical theology of Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752) on the one hand, and the philosophical and speculative direction of Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–1782) on the other. Oetinger's pupil, Philipp Matthäus Hahn (1739–1790), as a founder and driving figure of Pietist communities, was one of the progenitors of further development, outstripped only by lay theologian and autodidact Johann Michael Hahn (1758–1819). In the year of the latter's death, under the leadership of Gottlieb Wilhelm Hoffmann (1771–1846), pious families founded the Korntal settlement, near Stuttgart. In countless locales, brotherhoods sprang up that, typically in a private framework at first, and later in community halls as well, came together for edifying meeting hours. Unlike the Korntalers, however, these remained members of the land church ('hour people'). These communities also stand in the shadow of the founding (1881) of the *Gnadauer Verband* (Ger., "Gnadau Association"), the center of the community movement.

Pietism in the Twentieth Century

3. Today's application of the expression 'Pietism' stands in the historical tradition described above. But it is difficult to delineate. As a theological and ecclesial counter-position, unlike historical Pietism, it is no longer orthodoxy, but reception of the Enlightenment, rationalism, and liberalism that stands in the foreground. Accordingly, Pietism presents itself first and foremost as a conservative movement taking the field against certain new elements of church and theology. Such elements include, for instance, historical criticism in biblical research, the mythological interpretation of biblical content, and the softening of traditional theological moral conceptions (e.g., abortion counseling under church auspices, blessing of homosexual unions), or the development of pluralistic religious conceptions that sever the attainment of salvation from an exclusive bond to Christian faith, and, frequently, undermining the missionary concept. Elements of the awakening and community movement, and related American developments, are integrated here, such as tent missions and similar large events, held for the purpose of evangelization (e.g., *Campus für Christus* [Ger., "Campus for Christ"]).

Unlike the elements of the Free Church and Evangelical spectrum, today's

Pietisms regard themselves as intra-church movements, as a rule; however, a possible departure from the land churches repeatedly becomes a subject for debate. On many individual points, Pietist positions overlap with Evangelical ones. Thus, the *Kein anderes Evangelium* (Ger., "No Other Gospel"; cf. Gal 1:6) movement, founded at the end of the 1960s, decries historical biblical criticism, and especially the sociopolitical accentuation of Bible interpretation in → liberation theology, feminist theology, and other new theological developments. Despite no little overlapping of personnel, Pietist and evangelical movements alike take a clear distance from the second conservative devotional movement in contemporary Christianity, that of the → charismatic movement, which is divided into an intra- and extra-ecclesial wing.

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→ *Charismatic Movement, Protestantism, Reformation*

Christoph Bochinger

Pilgrimage

1. In almost all religions, pilgrimages are time-honored migrations to outlying sacred places. This phenomenon of religious mobility is attested among peoples of ancient times, as well as for India, Ceylon, China, and Japan. Judaism, Islam, and Christianity also have their traditions of pilgrimages, as do many tribal religions.

This devotional journeying is underlain by the belief that the local presence of a deity, a hero, or a saint in this specific place makes transcendence in immanence especially effective and available to experience, and thereby especially efficacious for one's own concerns. Thus, from the standpoint of cultural history, pilgrimage can be described as "symbolical movement of conditioned bodies through semantically fixed geography."[1] The dimension of physical implementation by way of directed relocation[2] thereby assigns the phenomenon to the area of ritual performance with bodily involvement—'corporal piety' (Lat., *devotio carnalis*).

2. From the critical perspective of forms of a *devotio spiritualis* that would be ordered to interiority, this style of piety seems suspect. Structurally, against the pilgrimage as one of the very favorite, if not *the* very favorite, forms of the practice of piety, stand three argumentations on the part of the writing religions' professional theology.[3] The first aims at the spatial location implied: pneumatic or pantheistic conceptions of the ubiquity of the deity must come into structural conflict with conceptualizations of locally bound operational power, as well as with the communication of this operational power through a touching of the saint/hero/god. The second argumentation is directed against the quest for salvation at such far-flung



destinations. From an ascetical or monastic point of view, the *mobilitas* of the pilgrimage can be replaced by less endangering, but analogously effective, disciplinary exercises of the body in *stabilitas loci,* such as flagellation or fasting. The third argument is directed against the dangers for the body of these pathways to faraway goals. Along with vagrancy, and 'curiosity' (a vice, from a certain religious point of view), pilgrimage implies sexual transgression (in Lat., *luxuria*). In the lengthy tradition of the Christian criticism of pilgrimage, then, there repeatedly appears Jerome's letter to Paulinus, topically: "Not to have seen Jerusalem, but to have lived a good life in Jerusalem, is praiseworthy."[4] And Thomas à Kempis: "The frequent pilgrim rarely becomes good."[5]

3. In Christian cultural space, the motives of the pilgrimage can be distinguished as piety (Lat., *devotio*), punishment (*punitio*), and commission (*delegatio*, when a pilgrimage is undertaken by a mercenary pilgrim, in the name of someone else). Conceptions of the imitation of the saints (*via perfectionis*—Lat., 'path of perfection') as an act of the following and discipleship of Christ (*imitatio Christi*) are connected, in the area of the pilgrimage of piety, with the *invocatio* of the saints as *intercessores.* Here the impetration of their help in need is executed at the place of their quasi-magical presence. Punitive pilgrimages include the great ones, such as the one to → Santiago de Compostela as a penance for a serious crime, and the small ones for lesser transgressions. Responsibility for the punitive pilgrimage, again, can be shifted, in return for payment. Belief in miracles, the accumulation of relics, veneration of images, and the sale of indulgences therefore supply the main motifs of the Protestant criticism of pilgrimage. At bottom, however, the pilgrimage is the symbolical and real translation of theological knowledge and religious mentalities: the temporally and locally bounded

"In the spring, there was a pilgrimage. From one place to the next. On dusty streets, and in the clear air of this beautiful time of year that is now in its whole strength. One surrendered to meditation, until arrival in the next village, in order to thank the Madonna or to supplicate her. In the middle of the night, they set out: the old, the young, dogs, cripples, horses, children. Everyone had a candle and a rosary, to recite their singsong prayers the whole way. This was all a very old custom. Our parents have done it in this way, our grandparents, the grandparents of our grandparents." (Tommaso Di Ciaula, Das Bittere und das Süsse, trans. W. Raith, Berlin 1982 [Ital. original 1981]).



Mexico City on December 12. As every year, the streets teem with people celebrating the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The pilgrims have arrived in the city by bus, bicycle, or on foot. They fill the square around the monumental Basilica of the Pilgrimage on the Hill of Tepeyac, place of the Apparition said to have taken place during the early years of the Spanish colonization, and stream into the church to pray before the image. This young man, too, has finally reached the metropolis and kneels for a moment of rest and meditation. His pilgrim's pack, a container for water, and a portable lamp bear witness to a journey by night and on foot. The image that he brings of the Virgin of Guadalupe publicly marks him as a pilgrim, and guarantees protection along the way. The Virgin's image in the picture is surrounded by a border of flowers, a reminder of the legend of the creation of the picture. In supernatural fashion, it is recounted, her picture appeared on the agave-cord screen of Indian visionary Juan Diego, amidst a cascade of roses, which he had picked here at Mary's behest. On the left, besides, is the Mexican flag, showing the close connection between the veneration of Our Lady of Guadalupe and Mexican nationalism. As the outstanding figure of Mexican folk-Catholicism, she is today regarded especially as the guardian of the 'simple folks,' and is called upon for assistance in illness, as in all needs little and great. Further, the *Virgencita* ('Little Virgin') is guardian and protector of the capital, the country, and Latin America. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

peregrinatio ad loca sancta (Lat., 'pilgrimage to the holy places') stands metonymically for the human being's lifelong *vita peregrina* ('pilgrim life'). After all, he and she are "as an alien in the land," the land of earth: *homo viator* ('the human being [as] itinerant').

4. Religious mobility is therefore developed by way of a cultural sacralization and application in steady performance, and in this way is bounded off from profane mobility, which in many ways takes place on one and the same 'route'—in the adjacency of a mixture of functions: merchant, beggar, medieval wandering scholar, spy, tourist—on the same cobblestones, side by side with the 'pious pilgrim.' When the geography of the sacred places is only semantically fixed, by way of hagiography, and precipitates in a network of routes, then migration for reason of poverty, trade routes, secularized curiosity, education in travel, and so on, can all flow into this 'container' as adoption of sacred mobility from below. The normative determinations of the style in which a correct pilgrimage is made, therefore, together with the extensive literature on abuse, define (1) a symbolical motion to sacred places, and (2) the conditioning of bodies. Both in the history of words, then, as well as in that of function, various historical successes and failures are to be observed in the differentiation of 'traveler' versus 'pilgrim,' when—above and beyond pilgrim's attire, pilgrim 'notes' or characteristics, pilgrim law, pilgrimage leader, pilgrim churches and hospices—the umbrella meanings are gradually constituted, such as pilgrim space, pilgrim route, and pilgrim body.

Thus, only after the middle of the eleventh century was *peregrinus* used no longer only for 'foreigner' or 'traveler,' but also for 'pilgrim.' As early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the distinction once more eroded, when the *Rituale Romanum* revised the benediction formula from that of the *peregrinus* to that of the *viator* ('traveler'), and when the early modern territorial states, in the wake of new controls on mobility, expressed prohibitions of certain attire, therewith labeling all pilgrims 'travelers.' The symbolical inventory of the 'correct pilgrimage' therefore contains extensive

→ rites of passage from the profane body to the pilgrim body: departure from the home *communitas*, the blessing of pilgrims, the drawing up of a will, the donning of the pilgrim's attire, rites of incorporation into the new, temporary *communitas*, group training with demonstrative and liturgical programs, collective prayer and song, an asceticism of nourishment by way of the rationing of food in the hospices, sexual asceticism, an asceticism of comfort in the *labores peregrinationis*, devotion instead of sightseeing and curiosity, 'marching' instead of 'hiking.'

On the other side, outlandish punishments, time limits on stays in the hospices, dating of certificates of group, mobility control of the entry areas of pilgrimage streets by way of a corridor, etc., were indicators that documented a constant concern to protect sacred mobility from diffusion in profane mobility. The corresponding obligation of the practitioners to love of neighbor, the routine intention of extracting the pilgrims from the money economy and inserting them into an alms-supported 'gift' economy, make it clear that the motto *pauper et peregrinus* (Lat., 'poor and pilgrim') can institutionalize massive religious interclass mobility, and has succeeded in leaving its mark down to our very day.

1. Hassauer 1993, 59; programmatically, here and following, pp. 57-139; cf. also Hassauer 1987.
2. "Prière debout, prière marchée" (Fr., "Prayer standing, prayer walking"), Dupront 1973.
3. Kötting 1950.
4. *Non Hierosolymam vidisse, sed Hierosolymis bene vixisse laudandum est* (cited again in ecclesiastical law: *Decretum Gratiani* [Lat., "Decree of Gratian"], caus. XII, q. 11, c. 71)
5. De Imitatione Christi, 1, 23: *Qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur*.

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→ *Mecca, Orientation, Procession, Road/Path/Journey, Santiago de Compostela, Tourism*

Friederike Hassauer

Place, Sacred

Sacred places are holy places remarkable for their special disposition, or for a → memory connected to a particular place, where religious rites are performed. Scholarly dispute concerning their actual function notwithstanding, the oldest places of worship can be dated back to the Old Stone Age (→ Cave). The stone settings of the megalith cultures that began in Europe at the end of the New Stone Age (from 3000–2000 BCE), and to a certain extent lasted to the middle of the Bronze Age (1500 BCE), are likewise to be interpreted as sacred places, although their exact meaning is uncertain (→ Pre- and Early History). From the eras that followed, places of sacrifice are multiply attested. In many religions, permanent architecture serves for the practice of cult, such as temple, mosques, or churches (→ Architecture [Sacred]). Frequently, older sacred places are taken over by recent religions and reinterpreted. In today's non-institutionalized, churchless religion (e.g., in the context of → New Age), new rites are once more practiced at old sacred places (→ Celts; Druids), or presumed old sacred places, although the rites and their interpretation, despite frequently claimed continuity of cult, originate almost exclusively in today's spirituality.

→ *Architecture (Sacred), Celts, Druids, Power, Pre- and Early History, Teutons*

Jürgen Wolf

Platonism

Concept

1. The world of thought, the maxims and teachings, the myths, and the concepts of the Greek philosopher Plato and his school are among the most influential traditions of European thought. 'Platonism' rested not only on an astonishing ancient continuity of doctrine—the Platonic Academy lasted a good nine hundred years, until 529 CE—it also influenced, just as did → Aristotelianism, the philosophical formation of theory until well into modern times. From the viewpoint of religious history, Platonism was effective in a twofold manner. Over the course of time, in late antiquity and in the Renaissance, it was transformed into an esoteric theology and → intellectual religion, and has been appealed to by religious movements down to the present (→ Esotericism). Of equal importance with this 'religious Platonism' is the influence exercised by the Platonic store of thought on the religious theologies of late- and post-ancient religions, especially on those that had directly received the ancient Greek philosophy by way of Hellenism, and

thus on the Christian and Islamic cultural area. In addition, in modernity, thinkers of Asian religions, such as Sri Aurobindo, have adopted Plato.

Point of Departure: Plato

2. Three works of the philosopher Plato (d. c. 347 BCE), who came from the Athenian aristocracy and was a pupil of the famous Socrates, are central for his reception in the area of religion: the Symposium (in Gk., *sympósion*, 'banquet'), the outline of the state in the *Politeia* (and the *Theatetus*), and the cosmological and utopian speculations of the *Timaeus*.

(1) The *Symposium* is a dialogue on the essence of Eros, which leads to the narrowed concept of "Platonic love" by way of its reception in the Renaissance.

(2) The *Republic* deals with the question of the ideal state, which culminates in the totalitarian vision of a 'guardian state,' and is adopted in later utopian states (→ Atlantis; Utopia). Important for its religious reception, besides the Platonic teaching on the soul, is the *doctrine of Ideas*, illustrated in the Allegory of the Cave:[1] the things of the world are only copies or images of eternal, immaterial 'ideas' (in Gk., *idéai* or *eídê*), which present the essentially real. Human beings perceive only the copies—the images, as if they sat in a cave, with their backs to the exit—i.e. the shadows of things, projected on the wall of the cave by light from outside. Only by philosophical striving (*érôs*, love, in the broadest sense) can the immaterial exemplars of things be perceived, step-by-step, up the series of rungs of reality.

(3) The dialogue *Timaeus* contains a cosmogony that was received by nearly all representatives of religious Platonism. The thought that a demiurge (Gk. for 'sculptor,' 'artisan') has created the world as an—imperfect—image of the sphere of the Ideas is ancient and influential. The Gnostics, especially, saw in it the instance of utter wickedness, master of evil matter (→ Gnosticism). As 'mediator' between the incorporeal world of the Ideas and visible things, the Demiurge will have created the 'world soul' in particular. By way of the Neoplatonists, and, above all, through the Gnosis, the cosmogony of the Timaeus became a solid component of Christian and Islamic Platonism, especially in the case of 'heretical' currents of these religions.

Middle- and Neoplatonism

3. In late antiquity, under the influence of gnosis and of Christian and Jewish theology, as well as by way of an appeal to the early Greek Orphic and mystery theology, Platonism became a syncretistic new system of belief, and stronger than before. Philosophers Plotinus (205–270) and Porphyry (c. 234–305) introduced meditative techniques, such as 'concentration ecstasy,' in order to unite with the supreme principle of their philosophical theory; thereby they stand at the inauguration of European → mysticism (→ Gnosticism; Hermetism/Hermeticism). With Porphyry, asceticism played an important role. Within the Syrian school under Iamblichus (c. 250–330) magic and practices like 'god-constraints' (*theurgíai*) found entry. Iamblichus also developed a sophisticated pantheon.

The first and most important representative of 'Neoplatonism,' Plotinus, taught a hierarchy of being, from the immaterial 'utterly one' (in Gk., *to hen*), to the 'spirit' (*nous*), to souls, and further steps down to the world of the bodily, the material. The lower steps and principles of being had come into existence through an 'effluence' or 'emanation' (in Lat., *emanatio*) or 'precipitation' (in Gk., *hypóstasis*; the image is that of a saturated release) from each higher level—without loss of substance, however. This thought

was taken up by Christian gnosis and is a key component of Islamic gnosis and modern receptions of gnosticism.

The *Christian Church Fathers*, as well, represented strongly Platonic conceptualizations: → Augustine, for example, who read Plato with the eyes of the Neoplatonists, applied the Platonic doctrine of the Ideas for his descriptions of the attributes of God, and placed God as the *Summum Bonum* (Lat., 'Supreme Good'), likewise parallel to the idea of the Good that Plato had placed in the highest position. Nevertheless, Augustine remained faithful to the Christian conception of a personal God.

Middle Ages and Renaissance

3. In Augustine's tradition, the Christian Middle Ages are marked by the Platonic concept of transcendence. Thus, Platonic elements are found, especially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with Anselm of Canterbury, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, and → Meister Eckhart (medieval Platonism). In the confrontation with Islam, Aristotle's logic, beginning in the twelfth century, was developed into a methodology, in order to systematize this originally Platonic theology (→ Aristotelianism).

The rediscovery of Plato and the Neoplatonists, however, finally occurs only in the → Renaissance. By 1463, Florentine bishop Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) translated into Latin the entire work of Plato as then known. His commentary on the Symposium sketches an ethics of (friendly) attraction and coins the concept of 'Platonic love.' Ficino's *Theologia Platonica* sketches a teaching on the soul in terms of Christian Platonism and takes up Platonic motifs such as the direction of the affects by the rational faculty; Christian notions (immortality of the soul) enrich the same motifs. At the newly founded (1459) Platonic Academy in Florence (which was, however, not a full-blown 'Academy'), Plato was celebrated and venerated like a Christian saint. Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) took up especially the thoughts on the philosophy of nature of the Timaeus, as well as that of the Neoplatonists; both elements were further developed by Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), by whose example the conflict between scholastic theology of an Aristotelian stamp and the mainly Platonically-oriented Renaissance philosophy is also evinced. Renaissance art likewise took up Platonism creatively.

Islamic Platonism

4. After Aristotle, who is called in Arabic simply *al-Faylasūf* ('the Philosopher'), Plato is the most important philosophical authority of the non-Arab tradition. To be sure, Islamic Platonism, as well, at first relies on mostly Hellenistic paraphrases of and commentaries on Plato, as well as on numerous non-canonical writings (apocrypha) that are no longer extant today in the Greek original. In the cultural centers of the Near East, beginning with the time of the Abbasids, schools of translators and philosophers formed, as whose best known representatives can be reckoned, for example translator al-Kindī (d. c. 870), and later, philosopher al-Farābī (d. 950). Al-Farābī can be counted the first important Islamic Platonist, who undertook the attempt to reconcile Platonism and Aristotelianism. Neoplatonic intellectual material penetrated Islamic philosophy especially through its reception of Aristotle (the Neoplatonic commentaries on Aristotle, for instance those of Porphyry, played an important role here). A well-known representative for this is Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, d. 1037); but Plato himself—received mainly through the glasses of Neoplatonism—became significant for numerous schools of philosophy, for example that of the *Ihwan as-Safa* ("Brothers of Integrity") in the Baghdad of the tenth century, and for the Islamic gnosis (Suhrawardi).

The religion of the Druses, which developed at the end of the tenth century out of a Shia heresy, and whose followers live predominantly in Lebanon, England, and the United States, transports strongly Neoplatonic gnostic thought: here the Neoplatonic hierarchy of being has its parallels with the organizational levels in the hierarchy of religious authority (including God). The famous Ismailite grouping known as the Assassins, arising in the eleventh century (the leader of a succeeding organization is the Aga Khan) was strongly inspired by Neoplatonic and gnostic elements. As in the Christian reception, by representatives of the occult sciences promptly adopted Plato (→ Hermetism/Hermeticism). In → mysticism, as well, Platonism finds entry through the Neoplatonic chain of tradition, for example with Spanish mystic Ibn al-'Arabī (1165–1240). The question of the *insān al-kāmil* (Ar., 'perfect human being') engaged other Muslim 'humanists' beginning in the tenth century.

Modernity: Criticism of Religion

5. In the modern age, (Evangelical) Christian theology once more adopts explicitly Platonic motifs. The 'Cambridge Platonism' of the seventeenth century, to which, among others, Henry More (1614–1687) and Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688) belong, originally regarded itself as a counter-movement to the materialism of Thomas Hobbes and to the dogmatism of Puritanical Calvinism. With Shaftesbury, it takes on characteristics of an art religion or aestheticism—as it already had done in the Renaissance—and its effects are still felt in A. N. Whitehead (1861–1947). Common to all of these Christian forms of Platonism, however, is the fact that Plato is understood less as a philosopher than as a proto-Christian, whose doctrine of the Ideas, together with the notion of the Good in the highest position, anticipates Christian monotheism. Friedrich → Nietzsche has this theological 'Christianization' of Plato in mind when he calls Christianity, in the framework of his criticism of religion, "Platonism for the people":[2] the actual philosophical thoughts of Plato have entirely eluded Christian theologians in their eagerness to find a pre-Christian monotheism, and the doctrine the Ideas is 'vulgarly' understood as a teaching on transcendence.

Platonism in the Twentieth Century

6. In the twentieth century, Platonism is indeed received unusually broadly; but the margins become blurred. In the nineteenth century, Plato's reception on the part of Søren Kierkegaard went behind Plato to Socrates, who was interpreted dualistically, so that the monists around Ernst Haeckel and Wilhelm Ostwald received Neoplatonic notions. Strongly influenced by monistic Neoplatonism as well is Rudolf Steiner's (1861–1925) Anthroposophy (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society). Steiner's point of departure is that human beings of today are alienated from themselves, because they no longer perceive themselves holistically (→ Wholeness/Holism).[3] The human being has not only a physical, but also an ethereal and astral body, which latter exists beyond birth and death, and through an understanding of which the human being can become one with the cosmos. A Neoplatonically inspired step from the physical (material) through the ethereal (of fine matter) to the astral (immaterial) → body, that of the 'Idea,' and from there to unification with the one universe is striking. The Platonic influence becomes clearest in Steiner's doctrine of the 'eurhythmy': the human being responds to the rhythm of the blood, becoming an instrument, creating an outward copy of the 'original image' (of an Idea, then) through the 'expressive gesture,' and thereby bringing to expression the relationship of the human being to

the world. Steiner understands art, with a reference to Goethe, as a kind of knowledge. This concept is unthinkable without the Platonic doctrine of the Ideas and the Allegory of the Cave, but it composes the 'Ideas' ('original images') once more in a oneness of the cosmos, the latter being available to experience in 'supra-sensory knowledge' of the true self, which is a part of this oneness. The concept accordingly takes its place among the monistic designs inspired by Neoplatonism.

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→ *Antiquity, Aristotelianism, Atlantis, Augustine, Esotericism, Gnosticism, Heresy, Hermetism/Hermeticism, Islam, Kabbalah, Late Antiquity, Mysticism, Renaissance, Utopia*

Agnes Imhof

Pluralism

Relativism or Conformism

1. Immanuel Kant, following Christian Wolff, offers the first definition of 'pluralism' worthy of discussion: by contrast with the 'egoist,' the 'citizen of the world' tests his judgments and his practical goals against the judg-

ments and goals of other persons. Kant is thus a 'pluralist.' But he cannot show what protects these pluralists or this pluralism from becoming either a reservoir of chronic hesitators, waverers, and relativists, or else developing into a collective conformism through an increasing joining together into each other's judgments and goals. The pluralistic cultures and societies of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, on the other hand, have developed complex structures, which offer a solution for these problems. Thus, they adopt various historical, cultural, and societal developments (Schwöbel), which differentiate, in themselves and mutually, their respective guises of knowledge, norms, forms of communication, and institutions, but no longer order them in a simple hierarchy. Various multi-hierarchical coinages are developed—from ecclesial life, theological (Lehmann, Mehlhausen, Tracy, Welker) and religious life (Hick, Knitter, Ogden, Rouner), from the moral life (Kekes, Rescher) and that of the 'worldview' (Herms, James), from the political and legal life (Galtung, Hollerbach, Preuss), from the scientific life (Diemer, Hampe, Spinner)—and finally called 'pluralistic.'

Community and Communities

2. Pluralism consists of a complex, but clear, form of social, cultural, and religious coexistence. True, pluralism is still repeatedly confused with a certain vague 'multiplicity,' a 'diversity,' a 'plurality,' or a 'pluralization,' to which persons may ultimately react only with diffuse enthusiasm, or diffuse fears and defensive attitudes. Just as misleading as the confusion of pluralism with sheer plurality is the identification of pluralism with individualism. Although pluralism certainly supports individualism, it is nevertheless a configuration of community forms. In → North America, where the multiplicity of cultures and religions is taken for granted, in the 1970s the level of recognition and acknowledgment was reached in which—still somewhat oversimplifying—a 'community of communities' was spoken of. To put it more exactly, pluralism necessitates a point of departure in a multiplicity of cultural, social, religious, or other groupings, each with its own history, its own norms and evidences, but likewise with a capability of developing, in various degrees, common goals, common value concepts, and so on. Relative communalities and relative differences among institutional and normative forms are indispensable in pluralism.

At the same time, pluralism necessitates an inquiry into mentalities and forms that not only mediate among these organizational forms, communities, orderings, institutions, and illustrations, but also maintain and reinforce their difference and individuality. Not simply the taming of selfishness (Jüngel), not simply integration and unification, but the maintenance of differences, the mediation and simultaneous cultivation of difference of forms—this is what composes pluralism. In order to create and to maintain the complicated 'power cycles' of pluralism (Habermas), two different forms of 'variety' and their interplay are necessary, as becomes clearly recognizable on the level of societies:

Civil Society and Differentiation of Systems

a) Sociologists call one form of variety 'associations.' The overall connection of associations—to the extent that they affect the other 'variety'—is also designated today, in sociology and the cultural sciences, 'civil society' (Gramsci, Habermas). Here it is a matter of alliances of persons for determinate ends, with determinate goals, with determinate ethics, with determinate value conceptions. These associations extend from spontaneous citizens' initiatives to parties and well-organized interest alliances. These associations

come into existence, alter, and go out of existence with the interests, the ethics, the value conceptions, and the goals of their members (→ Charitable Organizations).

Institutions of the 'Part-System'

b) The other 'variety' is more stable. It consists of institutions and systematic forms that gain their stability on the societal level by reason of the fact that they perceive indispensable basic functions for the whole of society. Politics, the economy, education, the legal system, the religious system are forms that were also called "differentiated part-systems of society." Many sociologists have recognized, instead, a small role for the associations vis-à-vis the part-systems (such as Luhmann against Habermas). It is characteristic of pluralistic societies and cultures that this plurality of part-systems cannot be ordered according to a simple hierarchy. For educators, education may be most important; for politicians, politics; for theologians, religion; for jurists, law; and so on. But one cannot be replaced by another or permanently preferred to another. Rather, as soon as a particular part-system becomes all too dominant, pluralistic societies react with uneasiness and counter-directions.

Dynamics of Systematic Forms

For the pluralistic culture, it is indispensable that the difference among the part-systems, the difference among the associations, and the differentiation of these two forms, be maintained, cultivated, and constantly renewed. Societal pluralism limits human power in its interference in societal reality and its shape and form. At the same time, it boosts power within the bounds of the systems, inasmuch as the systems shield themselves from considerations and interferences with other indispensable tasks in the maintenance of the common life, by promoting specializations and professionalizations (→ Specialists [religious]). Simultaneously, system-differentiation stimulates the development of associations that aim partly at maintenance and stabilization, partly on the destabilization and alteration of the systematic forms: parties seek to promote or correct prevailing policies; citizens' initiatives work on the legal system or on social mechanisms and pressures; parents' groups and academic associations acquire preservative or critical influence on the educational system. While associations of civil societies can render the boundaries between systems problematic, they must be intent on their solidification. The tensions bound up with them are often felt painfully.

Dangers of Pluralism

3. The high importance of a complicated pluralism, the highly developed, but also endangered form of coexistence in freedom that it offers, is recognizable precisely vis-à-vis its actual or looming destruction. An especially striking annihilation of an emerging pluralistic communality was experienced in Germany at the end of the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s. It began with populist movements that drowned out or absorbed the differences in the associations of civil society. But if the differences in civil society are leveled out through comprehensive populist movements, the systematic differences (in politics, law, religion, education, and so on) are in danger of being themselves 'brought into line.' With irresistible force, such a movement soon monopolizes most societal systems of function across the board. Mass media and politics are the first to succumb, since they themselves, in pluralism, are absolutely dependent on echo and resonance. Through politics and the mass media, the influence of the great populist movement becomes

authentic and genuine power. The 'getting into line' (*Gleichschaltung*, as Fascism expressly formulated it) of the economy and the educational system is then only a question of time. Nor does even the legal system or religion manage to keep immune from this development. Unfortunately, the history of Germany in the twentieth century teaches this lesson twice.

The inner composition of pluralism is not only in danger of being rolled up into balls by populism, through a relentless dictatorship of the majority, or by other totalitarian developments. It can also be unhinged and wrecked by an epidemic of selfishness and egotism, or paled and obliterated in the grey of conformism. Hannah Arendt has described the danger of a mass society destroying the powers and vitality of social groups, and thus their potentials for freedom (→ Masses). Her point of departure is that, in a society of masses and the mass → media, the public political area will be slowly eroded and effaced (but see also Berger, Rescher). An interplay of administration, method, and self-entrenchment then replaces the living shaping of common life by citizens—free, and politically and culturally mature.

In a broader perspective, Jürgen Habermas sees an endangerment to the strength of the associations of civil society and thereby to pluralism. He uses the name 'system-paternalism' for the danger that the societal part-systems would absorb, intimidate, paralyze, and incapacitate the associations. He warns against releasing the function-systems from their instrumental role, and offering 'societal discourses' on 'administration' as a coalescence of function-systems and free associations ('supervision state'), or even merely to wish to do so. In multiple fashions, the strength of pluralism in terms of civil society is weakened, not so much by intimidation and direct impediments, as by monopolization and compression through the function systems. At our present turn of the century, the mighty connection of market, technology, and electronic mass media threatens to destroy the strength of civil society. The media force some themes and repress others; they engender illusions of public communication and persons' participation. In so doing, they interfere massively in public space. Doubtless they stimulate plurality, and forms of individualism. But they threaten pluralism as a demanding and sophisticated form of human coexistence. It remains to be seen whether and how pluralism may be able to tame the 'system-paternalism' of the media.

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→ *Conflict/Violence, Constitution, Democracy, European History of Religion, Group (Religious), Modernity/Modern Age, North America, Polytheism, Science, Secularization*

Michael Welker

Polemics

Polemics and Apologetics

1. There is a rhetorical 'attack strategy' for quarreling: *polemics* (Gk., *polemiké téchne*), identified by irrelevantly aggressive, but overpoweringly argumentational, discourse. Its intent is the annihilation of the opponent's position, or even of his or her person. Thus, its address is to an audience that offers evaluation, but that can be fictitious, as well. The corresponding counterpart is *apologetics* (from Gk., *apologetikós,* '[discursively] defending'), as a technique of reacting to polemics defensively and in an attempt at justification. Together, both forms issue in a fluctuation in many ways, in which attacker and defender are no longer distinguishable.

Formation of Identity by Way of Situations of Apologetics and Polemics

2. Polemics is not limited to the religious area, but does take a key position there. Accordingly, the spectrum of themes and occasions is a broad one. For example, ritual differences, such as the seemingly secondary question of what clothing monks should wear, led, in the twelfth century, to very virulent controversies between black and white Benedictines. But the Christian edifice of dogma as well—and especially the necessity of a closed canon of teachings—has arisen from apologetical-polemical situations. The need for an attempt at justification vis-à-vis state and society, confrontation with Christian 'deviators,' and aggressive closing off from foreign religions—similarly through external defense and internal stabilization—has contributed to the formation of Christian groups' identities.

Polemics and Propaganda

The medieval confrontations between Pope and Emperor are among the climaxes of polemics in history: they led to reciprocal reproaches that have endured to our very day: Pope Gregory XI or Emperor Frederick II was the → Antichrist. According to a thesis of C. Erdmann, the first state propaganda arose in reaction to papal assaults, and this precisely in the year 1076, as Henry IV, in a skillfully stylized polemical writing, countered Gregory VII's threat of excommunication.

3. Religious polemics has survived in the linguistic usage of → science and the press down to our own day. Stigmatizing expressions like → superstition, → heathen, → heresy, anti-pope, → magic, and → animism are used to discredit various religions by appealing to negative 'heterostereotypes' (→ Prejudices/Stereotypes).

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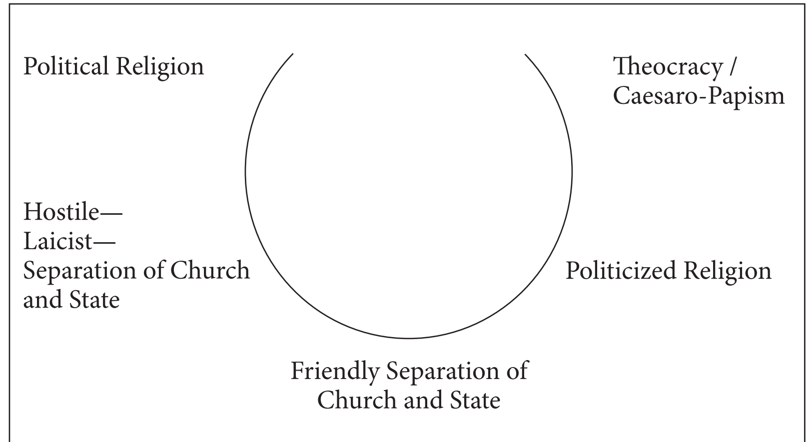
→ *Anti-Semitism, Conflict/Violence, Group (Religious), Heresy, Pluralism, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Theology*

Achim Hack

Political Religion

The concept 'political religion' (in Fr., *religion politique*; *religion séculière*, Fr., 'secular religion') is used to denote totalitarian systems of the twentieth century, such as → National Socialism, Stalinism, and Maoism (→ Mao [Cult of]), under the viewpoint of a union of church and state, a condition so pregnant with consequences. It was political scientist and philosopher Eric Voegelin who offered the first systematic treatment of the theme, against the background of a strengthening National Socialism in 1938, with his essay, *Die politischen Religionen* (Ger., "The Political Religions"). In political religion, he saw a process typical of the modern age: the relocation of transcendent Christian salvation into world and history (→ Secularization). The separation of the secular and spiritual areas, harking back ultimately to → Augustine, with the help of a Christian anthropology, had rendered it possible to relate the two disparate quantities, Voegelin held. Thomas Hobbes, he said, had surrendered this relationship-in-distinction, to the advantage of an identity of the worldly governmental area and the Church, and consequently described the pattern of totalitarian systems. A few years before Voegelin's publication, the relationship of religion and state, discussed ever and again since antiquity, had become the object of a renewed confrontation, carried on mainly between state juristic scholar Carl Schmitt and theologian Erik Peterson. Peterson, on theological grounds, rejected the political theology that Schmitt had drafted as a legitimization of state sovereignty. Schmitt's concept of political theology is to be distinguished from J. B. Metz's 'new political theology'—appearing from the end of the 1960s—which had been influenced by Latin American → liberation theology, and at whose midpoint, in the sense of a social criticism institutionalized in the form of the Church, stands the Christian proclamation. Only since the 1970s has the (by now clearly perceived) religious aspect of the totalitarian systems shifted to the foreground even of research in totalitarianism. With a point of departure in parallels between political speech and presentation, on the one side, and religious speech or religious cult on the other, totalitarian regimes have now been conceptualized, in the approach taken under this theory, as 'inner-worldly religions.' For the purpose of a legitimization of their government, these totalitarian regimes, in the form of 'inner-worldly religions,' relate to absolute values, and propagate religious-seeming *Weltanschauungen*. (Religious speech and cult are interesting and productive for analysis on the example of the Nuremberg Reich's Party Day.)

The point of departure for this typological model of political religions, by Juan Linz, is the situation of a friendly separation of church and state, here adopted as desirable. At one end of the open circular bow are the political religions, earmarked, through monopolization of religion by the state, as a binding system of belief for the totality of a state's citizens (state religion). At the other end appears the → theocracy—a religion that has become political, in whose ideal type religious superiors are also the political leaders (→ Iran). The near connection of the two ends indicates that their differentiation as extremes is only an analytical one, and is not automatically maintained in an application to a concrete historical case. (After Linz, Juan, "Politik und Religion," in: Maier 1996)



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→ *Civil Religion, Democracy, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Mao (Cult of), National Socialism, Secularization*

Georg Hartmann

Polytheism

Modern Discovery of Polytheism

1. In a letter to Jacobi of January 6, 1813,[1] Goethe states that as poet and artist he is a polytheist, as a natural scientist he is a pantheist, and as a moral person he is a Christian. With this sovereign religious self-classification, Goethe has allocated a relative, and at the same time positive, evaluation to the theologically negatively composed concept of "polytheism." And there is more: to maintain that one can be at once a monotheist and a polytheist, and both of these so emphatically, marks a new phase in → European history of religion. A few years earlier, in the "system program [*Systemprogramm*] of German idealism," the demand had been made for a "monotheism of reason and the heart, [but] a polytheism of imagination and art."[2] Thus, the artist's polytheism of the → Renaissance had been transformed into a 'new religion.' The new evaluation of polytheism was directed against the Christian tradition, in which polytheism represented either a → paganism still in need of mission, or a → heresy meriting condemnation. A religion of many

gods, idolatry, and service to nature are the polemical concepts under which the non-monotheistic religions are gathered and soteriologically excluded. "The essence of polytheism, or of the veneration of a plurality of divine powers instead of the one true God, rests on the nature-imprisonment of humanity's religious sense and behavior, which are degenerate on account of sin," was still theologically defined at the beginning of the twentieth century.[3] With the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, granted, within the radius of the Pre-Enlightenment and → Romanticism, positions outside theology had already been represented that sought to take polytheism seriously as a historical phenomenon. Nor was this done only in a framework of developmental theories of religion (→ Evolutionism), in which polytheism constituted a necessary stepping-stone to → monotheism (D. Hume); it was also the mounting of an attempt to determine the autonomy, and intrinsic value, of the polytheism of foreign religions. A development of the fundamental phenomenon of 'polytheism' in terms of religious studies came about, despite all, only very late: the colonial framework of the new → academic study of religion, the debate over a theory of 'primordial monotheism,' nature theology, and dynamism had at first temporarily shifted the view of polytheism as the 'normal case' of theistic religions. Only with the ordering of polytheistic patterns into the dynamic of complex cultures could the program be developed of investigating a 'morphology' and the 'structural peculiarities' of polytheism that did not flow at once into the flat theological alternatives of polytheism and monotheism.

(Ir-)Reconcilability of Monotheism and Polytheism?

2. Against the background of this scientific history, the question arises anew, for religious history, of irreconcilability between monotheism and polytheism. After the anticipation constituted by Akhenaton's (Amenophis IV) monotheism in the Egypt of the fourteenth century BCE, only the Israelite monotheism of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE could permanently hold out against a polytheistic environment. With a point of departure from this special case and its subsequent manifestations in Christianity and Islam theological investigation has reconstituted polytheism and monotheism as fundamental alternatives, and as reciprocally exclusive. Besides this professionalization of religion in the schema of → theology, however, the other religious traditions have opened up to various 'synthetic forms of monotheism and polytheism' and have integrated a 'relative monotheism' (Schelling), a 'henotheism' (F. M. Müller), a 'monolatry' (J. Wellhausen), or 'pluriform monotheism' (van Baaren) into a polytheistic cultic practice, without particular problems. Even in a framework of earlier theoretical considerations, as for example with pre-Socratic Xenophanes, 'one-God incantations'[4] can be heard in a polytheistic frame of reference without logical conflicts. For the preponderant part of Mediterranean religious history, and for most other areas of the earth in terms of religious history, 'concurrent monotheisms' are recognizable in a polytheistic context. Governmental interests, processes of professionalization, or contests of worship generate such monotheistic 'outcroppings' of a primary polytheism, without, indeed, at first shaking the overall system.

Polytheism on the Defensive

3. After the victory of Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries, relations are radically different for Mediterranean religious history. Polytheism now becomes a religious form, and religious tradition, that seeks to maintain itself, in apologetics and revitalization (→ Renaissance), on diverse levels,

against a dominating monotheistic state. A basic pattern of the anti-Christian polemic and 'pagan' apologetics relates to the latent polytheism of early Christianity (→ Paganism/Neopaganism). Its conceptions of angels, as well as its incipient speculation on the Trinity, showed, it was alleged, that Christianity stood closer to polytheism than Christians wished to admit, and, conversely, that the polemicists had monotheistic traditions at their disposal.

Julian the Apostate

The first great attempt at a restoration against Christianity was that of Roman Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus "Apostata," who reigned 355/361–363, and sought to reintroduce the Hellenistic gods, in a quasi-Neoplatonic framework, as gods of the state. Against the background of his 'enhanced polytheism,' with its Iamblichan orientation, the one-god belief of Christianity is now 'atheism' (Gk., *atheótês,* 'god-less'). Julian's early death in 363 put a quick end to this attempt at a restoration of polytheism. His successors (Jovian and Valentinian) annulled Julian's religious edicts once for all.

Gemistos Pletho

With the draft of a 'Hellenic theology' at the hands of Gemistos Pletho (c. 1355–1452), in the fifteenth century, on the eve of the Florentine → Renaissance, a new, earnest attempt was launched to restore a Greek polytheism. Pletho drafted a Neoplatonic polytheism as the basis of a reasonable religion and a reasonable state. He planned a polytheistic worship, composed hymns in honor of the gods, and constructed a new calendar. In the turmoil and confusion of the collapsing Byzantine Empire, Pletho's sketch of a philosophical polytheism nearly disappeared, practically without consequences. The only traces are in its effect on Marsilio Ficino, and his conception of an 'ancient theology' (*prisca theologia*), a tradition of revelation that would connect the pre-Christian and the Christian beyond the boundaries of the religious types (→ Esotericism).

Polytheism and Pluralism

4. Against the background of the history of science and philosophy, on the one hand, and → European history of religion on the other, the questions are posed anew of the historical locus of polytheism and its repressed potentials. As a rule, the relationship between 'insular monotheisms' in a polytheistic environment—and, in reverse, of 'insular polytheisms'—touches the current question of religious → pluralism and the abilities of cultures to tolerate such pluralism. With a view to the outer frameworks of polytheism, the following distinctions can be made: (a) a pluralism of (various) 'one's own gods' in a given area; (b) a pluralism of one's own and of foreign gods; and finally, (c) a pluralism of different dependencies from the one or the many gods. The monotheistic religions have made 'attainment of salvation' and 'redemption' dependent exclusively on the one God, while polytheistic religions represent a 'soteriological pluralism,' or, perhaps, know no soteriology at all.[5] Just so, polytheistic systems usually lack the concepts and institutes of → conversion and → mission.

Polytheistic Connections among the Gods

5. Seen from systematic, historical viewpoints, a 'division of labor' among the gods has developed in the worlds of the polytheistic gods, parallel to the establishment of complex cultures: rule, justice, fertility, military victory, and health can be guaranteed or reproduced by various, fully personalized gods (→ God/Gods/The Sacred). These gods are not thereby limited to their 'functions' but are thought of as autonomous persons, who can enter into

relation with one another. The relationships among the gods, in love or enmity, competition and dominance, cooperation or antagonism, offer a complex interpretative and orientative model of 'world,' handed down in myths. Polytheistic gods are always thought of as parts of the world, and thereby 'in the world.' Thus, the myths reported of them offer fundamental models of the rise and condition of the cosmos (cosmologies), of human beings and the gods themselves (anthropologies and theologies). Here, pagan drafts of the modern age are entailed, which oppose the 'this-sidedness' or 'immanence' of the many gods, preferably located in → nature, to the 'far-sidedness' or 'transcendence' of the one God. It belongs to the openness of polytheistic religious schemata that, as a rule, the human being is not dependent on a single god for the totality of her or his life course. Within certain limits, a choice among the gods is to be observed: several gods are reverenced and a different priesthood invoked in the case of each. The immediate connection between pluralism and complexity, which offers a regionalized pantheon, reflects the opportunities of a traditional polytheism of answering new necessities by way of the adoption of new gods. By contrast, processes of professionalization and singularization are a basic alternative, which the monotheisms have triggered: new problems can here be solved only on a meta-level, in the medium of 'theology.' Polytheisms that must assert themselves against a monotheism institutionally supported by 'theology' thereby possess a different quality from that of the primary polytheistic religions: they are not simple revitalizations, but necessarily 'new polytheisms' that set an ordered multiplicity of gods over against a reflecting 'theology.'

'Renaissance' of Polytheism

6. With the religious pluralism that gradually reentered the scene in the Renaissance, and the criticism of religion directed against monotheism in the French → Enlightenment, a 'rediscovery of polytheism' (M. Landmann) begins in European history of religion that was no longer restricted to the field of philosophical speculation. 'Modernity of polytheism' and 'laud of polytheism' were featured in fields of religious discussion that were no longer 'only academic,' but that served new religious orientation. In the German-language area, it was especially Odo Marquard who, beginning in the 1970s, had gathered arguments for a modern 'polymythics' into a plea for an 'enlightened polytheism.' The beginning of the 'modern world' was then defined by the 'end of monotheism,' and 'monomythos,' with its restriction to *one* identity, was dealt a renunciation. "The margin of freedom for the non-identities, which is missing in monomythy, grants, on the contrary, the polymythic multiplicity of histories. The latter is division of power: it separates the power of history into many histories; and precisely here, [. . .] the human being receives prospects of the freedom of each one to have his and her individual multiplicity."[6] The re-evaluation of the traditional schemata is part of a process, beginning in the philosophical framework, which works in succession into religious space and reflects a 'compensatory interest' in polytheism. Beginning with → Nietzsche, polytheism becomes a medium of criticism of culture and Christianity. "Well-nigh two millennia, and not a single new god!"[7] Accordingly, the "greatest utility of polytheism" is "the wonderful power to create gods" (Nietzsche). Or there is Greek polytheism, at which "those who believe otherwise take scandal," not at an opposition to monotheism, but upwardly revaluated as "perhaps its most spiritually pregnant form" (W. Otto).[8] What wonder, if, in this "work on polytheism," the attempt is seen by "those who believe otherwise" to recover the one

attempt (of late antiquity) at a restoration. "With the apologia, in religious history, for paganism, and the philosophical praise of polytheism, a mythic disposition of the soul is not only indicated, but produced. But in truth, recourses to myth *post Christum* are in truth only repetitions of Julian's apostasy" (J. Taubes).[9]

'New Polytheism'

7. Somewhat simultaneously with the more philosophically oriented German discussion, in → North America, since the 1970s, the attempt has been mounted to make the 'new polytheism' the medium of a new religious orientation. America is in the phase in which even the new religious movements (→ New Religions), including the appearance of a spiritual → women's movement and a religious counter-culture, are taken into recognition. These are interpreted either as an expression of → pluralism in a modern America or as the medium of a subjectivization and individualization of religion. In this context, the concept of "polysymbolical religiosity" (W. Shepherd), appears, which advances a framework for the ensuing discussion: here, monotheistic as well as polytheistic options could be ranged.[10] David L. Miller's *The Rebirth of Polytheism: Rebirth of the Gods and Goddesses* (1974) provided the point of departure for the American discussion on the suitability of a new polytheism in Western modernity. Miller presents the thesis, in his repeatedly reprinted book, that only in a new form of polytheism can the multiplicity and 'multiformity' of current religious orientations be grasped and maintained—without, at the same time, being preempted either monistically or monotheistically. *Rebirth of the Gods and Goddesses,* he says, announces a new religious awareness in America that, besides being religious, would reach into the area of social values, individual self-determination, and philosophical knowledge. The variability of the patterns of interpretation is confirmed and held together by the polytheistic myths of the 'gods and goddess,' who, as 'root paradigm,' or 'organizing metaphor,' should serve, holds Miller, in a programmatically systematic environment. In this discussion, polytheism becomes a schema of presentation and legitimization of symbolical systems that can be individualized: "The gods are there, not to be believed or trusted, but to be used. [. . .] Man makes himself by making his own gods, and that is poetry" (L. D. Kliever).[11] Now, in this way, → psychoanalysis, individual psychology, alchemy, and → astrology can be bounded off from the area of religion in the modern world—in the framework of a new polytheism.

'The Greening of Polytheism'

Another direction in America introduces into the new polytheism the 'proximity to nature' of the gods of antiquity (→ Nature), into the new polytheism, and makes this 'green' polytheism the model for an ecological view of the world (→ Environmentalism; Nature Piety) that has always been repressed. The 'new polytheism' of European and American religious history is a "*post Christum* polytheism": it stands in competition with the unbroken polytheistic traditions of South and East Asia, such as → Hinduism, → Buddhism, and Shintô. These traditions testify to the measure in which the flexibility of polytheism can suit the latter for the accompaniment of processes of modernization and industrialization.

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→ *Academic Study of Religion, Antiquity, Criticism of Religion, Esotericism, God/Gods/The Sacred, Hermetism/Hermeticism, Monotheism, Paganism/Neopaganism, Pluralism*

Burkhard Gladigow

Popular Culture

1. Religion is not limited to special times and spaces. Religious elements, or corresponding strategies of interpretation, are implicit in many areas of popular culture, and outside of traditional institutions. If one takes one's point of departure from an inclusive, functional concept of religion, then → religion is everything the social order legitimizes and integrates (T. Luckmann). Thus, like art or science, religion is a matter of a symbolical meaning-world created by the human being that transcends → everyday life. From this perspective, even the equivalent meaning-systems of traditional religion (and approaches to their emergence) can be investigated in daily life. Popular culture ought therefore to be understood as the sum of cultural practices and 'performances' of the daily life of social groups (W. Kenneth Little). Today's popular culture in Western societies has to a large extent originated in the legacy of the pre-industrial 'folk culture,' maintained by farm and labor societies, and of the proletarian working culture of the → industrial societies. Beginning in the early twentieth century, with the new mass media → film, radio, → television, and recordings (today, CD, DVD, MP3-digitalizing), a media-transmitted 'pop culture' developed, spread by a commercial entertainment industry, extending globally after the Second World War, and bonding with the new youth culture. Sports, (pop) music, and Hollywood-dominated film production, along with the media of communication of a new free time and 'leisure society' are placed on the market, partly tied to established religion, partly reemphasizing certain sensory elements equivalent to those of religion. Demonstrative examples can be found in the pop culture of 1968 to 1978, from the first presentation of the musical "Hair" to the eschatological visions in the cinema of the 1990s, and the relevant 'cultural performances.'

Eschaton and Redemption in the Science Fiction Film

2. The science fiction film "Terminator 2," by James Cameron (United States, 1991), demonstrates the currency of the eschatological expectation, and conceptions of redemption, in film.[1] In the plot, the year 2029 sees intelligent machines wage a combat for supremacy over humanity, which has been decimated by an atomic war. Reminiscent of the infanticide of Bethlehem, John Connor (with the same initials as "Jesus Christ"), potential savior of the race, is to be killed as a child, by an assassin machine sent back to the year 1997 by the machine rulers. A "Terminator 2" (Arnold Schwarzenegger) seeks to prevent this, as he protects mother and child—a modern Holy Family—and completes the family as a substitute father. Now the figure of "Terminator 2" is transformed from a machine programmed to kill to a human-like being with moral and emotional potentials. Conversion (reversal of motivation from killing to protection) and sacrificial death (self-annihilation after the accomplishment of its tasks, lest its technological inner life continue to be able to produce harm) earmark "Terminator 2" as new myth, and shift it into proximity with the gnostic idea of the 'redeemed redeemer' (→ Gnosticism, → New Myths/New Mythologies; Wagner's "Percival").

The symbolical content of "Terminator 2" suggests various religious sources and themes: the Messianic expectation of a Redeemer in gnosis and Christianity, the threat to the coming of the Messiah by way of infanticide, the central meaning of a 'Holy Family.' Add the value dualism of good and evil, the polar temporal positions of a new Adam and a new Time—

"Judgment Day" was the original title of the film. With these mythological references, "Terminator 2" can be ranged among recent films such as "Independence Day" (United States, 1996, Roland Emmerich) and "The Seventh Sign" (United States, 1998, Carl Schultz), which present the equivalent of → millenarianism, and whose production was multiplied at the end of the twentieth century.

Comparison of Religious and Daily Secular Systems of Meaning

3. Comparisons of religious and everyday secular systems of meaning extend from Hegel's classification of reading the morning paper as "realistic morning blessing" to Benedict's declaration, "Cinema theaters became the sacred places of a new religion."[2] The latter conceives → television as an emerging system of meaning, and ascribes to it functions that go beyond information and entertainment. Its socializing effect as a system of meaning, its role as a substitute for interpersonal communication, and its ritualized insertion and engagement reinforced the secularization of ecclesial monopolies over meaning. As an example, Benedict adduces the flagship of German television news (*ARD-Tagesschau*) as a ritual equivalent of evening prayer, an all-evening 'consciousness raising,' as a function of the mass media, equivalent to religion.[3]

Secularization and Privatization

Development in recent decades is marked by the secularization and privatization of religion (→ New Age; Private Religion). Erosion of systems of religious symbols, as well as union of the most disparate religious sources in syncretisms, indicate the individual as the last instance of the organization of the religious. This change is accompanied by the creation of new social forms of religion, all visible in a multiplicity of therapeutic, life reforming, sports-produced (→ Olympic Games), and spiritual movements. On this basis, T. Luckmann, following Karl Mannheim, further developed the market model, and included a differentiation of religious supply.

An exception to this development is presented in ecclesial rites of the life cycle. They are often designated as voluntary points of contact with traditional religion, in which mostly material motives and prestige consciousness, as well as the need for festive surroundings, play a role (→ Life Cycle; Prestige). They therefore acquire an order in the lists of dominant value-concepts, which Heiner Barz worked out with youth in Germany. Among the highest values in the basis of subjective systems of relevance, the following were indicated: autonomy, self-realization, mobility, sexuality, family concerns. On the other hand, in youth who take a distance from the church, religion—as with Marx—is a code word for backwardness and hetero-determination. Overall, it seems to be a matter of a process oscillating between secularization and traditionalization and resulting in no absolute loss of values.

Popular Culture as Conveyor of Meaning

Popular culture offers a broad spectrum of conveyors of meaning. In times when, in many persons' perception, the Nobel Prize replaces canonization, and pilgrimages to the *Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire* (Fr., "European Council for Nuclear Research") in Geneva, or to a soccer game, are preferred to traveling to Lourdes. Where science rather than religion produces the new cosmologies of the West, and community is in the sense of belonging to the fan-community of the sports leagues rather than in Sunday divine service, the problem arises of alternatives and correspondences to religious elements in popular culture. Focused on popular culture, elements

equivalent to religion are to be found at such different levels as advertising, rock music, cinema, tourism, sports, and the Internet.

Youth Cultures

4. At the end of the 1960s, Far-Eastern wisdom teachings were popular in the youth (sub-) cultures. The quest for a salubrious, pacific world found concentrated expression in the musical "Hair" (original production, April 4, 1968), in which the vision of a dawning 'Age of Aquarius' (→ New Age) showed the spiritual potential of the youth cultures. The search for meaning in Far Eastern teachings, in drug visions, in ideas of love and peace, marked a wide departure from traditional piety, and found new forms of expression in the 'cultural performances' of pop culture and its constituting of non-festal communities ('ad hoc audiences').

Rock and Pop Music

a) An arresting number of references to religion are found in the area of rock and pop music. Important rock'n'roll musicians were socialized in religion: for example, Elvis Presley in the Assemblies of God, a Pentecostal movement. To this day, Presley's property in Graceland (Memphis, Tennessee) and his grave are objectives of pilgrimages, as well as projection screens for visions and resurrection beliefs in the minds of fans (→ Relics [Veneration of]). By contrast, a storm of indignation arose when the Beatles let it be publicly known that they regarded themselves as "more popular than Jesus."[4] Some pop stars are accorded a quasi-religious reverence, to which multi-media presentations and self-stylizations contribute; we may think of Michael Jackson's "Dangerous Tour" (1992–1993), and Madonna's video clip "Like a Prayer." Religious and 'quasi-religious' content like love and sexuality (e.g., in Prince's album "Lovesexy") likewise indicate the presence of religious traditions, as do the borrowings of hard rock Heavy Metal from Satanism and Occultism, among groups like Black Sabbath, Slayer, Judas Priest, Venom, or Iron Maiden, and protagonists of Black or Death Metal and youth subcultures (→ Satanism). In the religious and pseudo-religious content with which rock music is invested, Schwarze sees a refutation of Walter Benjamin's prediction of a banalizing of artwork through the loss of a cultic furl around it.[5]

Virtual Spaces: Tourism and Internet

b) Religious and quasi-religious conceptualizations are also found in two kinds of virtual space: in the mythic geography of tourism, and on the Internet. Travelers of the most diverse origin (shamans, anthropologists, tourists, pilgrims) are steered by a mythic geography. The respective perception of other spaces is socially and culturally impressed.

In → tourism, the Christian notion of paradise is dominant. Regeneration from work (cf. the word 'recreation'—a 'new creation' of power for living) seems possible through reunion with the untouched origin of the → Garden of Eden. The symbolical representation of these mythical places in advertising shows no automobiles or other artifacts of technologized societies. Instead, untouched nature, along with a seeming pre-industrial world of life in the 'noble wild'—the result of the projection of Western wishes and dreams in the face of ecological scenarios of the eschaton in media and sciences. The realistic shaping of places such as Disney World, or locations for club vacations, take their orientation partly in the installation and aesthetics at places of pilgrimage, and temple installations in European antiquity.

Recent fantasies of redemption and omnipotence can be signaled in the virtual frameworks of the Internet. Persons 'create' worlds for themselves

through the global, and yet decentralized, network of computers. The resulting space, it is true, is devoid of matter and bodies; yet it does possess a specific reality. It is shaped by way of the (inter-) actions of the persons engaged in the virtual travel, and is socially structured. The opportunity to develop new identities, in the utopia, the 'no place' (in Gk., *ou tópos*), of 'cyberspace,' promotes the network prophets' notions of redemption. Redemption by way of communications technology—the gnostic wish for redemption of the spirit from the prison of the body—or flight from real encounter with the other, motivates an implosion into virtual spaces that are akin to the mythic places of tourism, and lauded in eschatological language.

Popular Culture as 'Substitute Religion'?

Lacking, as it does, a demonstrable organizational form, or any institutionalization, popular culture is not to be appraised as a 'substitute religion.' The growing need for alternative conferral of meaning, for the individual and for everyday loans from traditional systems of belief (bestowal of name, house blessing, religious → kitsch), however, indicate an interesting field of tension between the market for a conferral of meaning, on the one hand, and traditional systems of belief on the other. Quasi-religious elements, and their media of presentation, retain their significance and importance as a counterpoint to traditional religion.

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→ *Advertising, Everyday Life, Film, Garden/Paradise, Idol, Kitsch, Masses, Meaning/Signification, Media, Olympic Games, Pilgrimage, Relics (Veneration of), Sports, Televangelism, Television, Tourism, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Wolfgang Klepper

Possession

1. Possession umbers as one of the exceptional, hypnosis-like (hypnoid) psychic states. Like shamanic 'ecstasy,' it is a special case of → trance. At the close of the nineteenth century, possession still played a considerable role in Europe. Its phenomena were designated as hysteria, from which Freud's → psychoanalysis took its point of departure. The conception of possession exists in nearly all human cultures. It means that a spirit being takes possession of a human being, and exercises its command over that person. A distinction is made between 'spontaneous possession,' which supervenes without the will of the subject, and 'deliberate possession,' which is introduced by special techniques and cultural institutions. Involuntary possession is customarily ascribed to the area of → psychopathology, as opposed to normal psychology. With possession, it is a matter of the culture-connected interpretation of an extraordinary state of consciousness. Just as with a medical diagnosis, the therapeutic procedure follows from the kind of interpretation to which the phenomenon is subjected. The behavior manifested by the subject of a possession is not usually ascribed to a precisely identified spirit. But ancestors, gods, demons, and the devil are indeed made responsible for it.

Who Becomes Possessed?

2. On this point, it must be remarked that possession is usually a phenomenon among the women of repressive societies. It would seem that, owing to their marginal position in such societies, women are constrained to have their needs met in a different way from the means available to men. A woman is offered an opportunity of some kind by possession, which is expressed through forms of illness such as sudden paralysis, loss of speech, or blindness. In this way, she can escape an unbearable situation, and engage in behaviors that otherwise would be disallowed in her cultural context. Illness is a very eloquent symbol. It not only attracts attention—something has to be done—but also calls for a diagnosis. It must not be overlooked, here, that possession is usually connected with privation. Women and other oppressed groups, who suffer under the general norms of society, such as slaves, homosexual persons, and transvestites ordinarily have no opportunity to resist the oppression, or to defend themselves against society. There remains to them only flight into illness, for which, then, on the side of society, spirits are made responsible that cannot be precisely called to account. That possession is particularly a female strategy is seen in the fact that the proportion of women among members of possession cults is over ninety percent.

Possession and Healing

3. The example of the Gnawas in Morocco: In cases of spontaneous possession, the victim is usually unable correctly to 'sort out her symptoms.' After numerous unsuccessful visits to physicians and healers, she eventually gathers that her disease is to be attributed to the influence of spirits, and that she must seek out someone who is a specialist in commerce with invisible beings.



A follower of Afro-Cuban Santería becomes a medium of the god Shango. Assisted by the cult leader, he has allowed the god take possession of him, clothing himself in the god's color (red), and assuming his attribute, the double axe. Shango is one of the Orisha, deities of Yoruba (Nigeria), who have come to the Caribbean region. The picture shows the moment at which the dancer is 'seized' by the being of the god. His eyes stare into the void: he is transported in trance. The ritual goes on for days, accompanied by singing and drums. Each Orisha has a personal musical rhythm, which accompanies the possession. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

These specialists may be different in different cultures, being designated as soothsayers, clairvoyants, or spiritual healers. If the patient follows the soothsayer's advice, she has her symptoms briefly portrayed, and then falls into a light trance, in which she invokes her protecting spirit. From the latter she learns what spirit is responsible for the possession, and what demands it makes in order that the victim obtain release. Besides gifts for the soothsayer, there is usually a demand to arrange for an exorcism.

The Drama of the Trance

The exorcism takes place in the form of a drama, with a trance. It opens with the sacrifice of an animal, whose flesh serves as festive fare. The nearly always male musicians represent the spirits in the 'play,' as well as drumming rhythms that summon the spirits. They see the proof of their presence in the participants' trance, whose comportment awakens the impression that some strange and foreign being has taken possession of them. Once the rhythm, and thus the voice, of that spirit has sounded which the seeress has identified as the cause of the possession, she functions as its medium. She places her body at its disposal as its loudspeaker, and conveys indications that are necessary for the healing of the possessed person. Once the possessed has fulfilled these demands, this spirit now stands helpfully at her disposal, as her protective spirit. To put it another way: here is the acceptance of suffering that, according to the modern view, represents the basic prerequisite for healing. After this scene, the musicians alter their rhythm, the prophetess sinks into a light unconsciousness, and the trance drama is at an end.

Demonic Possession

4. Not every spirit, however, can be transformed into a protective one. Just as familiar is demonic possession, attributed to the influence of evil spirits, especially to that of the devil. Since he is not to be transformed into a protective spirit, he must therefore be expelled—a practice that the Catholic Church performs to this day. Precise directions for → exorcism are to be found in the *Rituale Romanum.*

From Possessed to Medium

5. With the proper talent, the possessed themselves can become prophetesses. The most important criterion is the ability to speak while in a trance. Once she has learned this, she is regarded by the other participants as a medium of the spirits, and a new prophetess is born.

6. But possession also serves to give a meaning to unintelligible or catastrophic events that fall on the entire community. Traumatic group experiences can thus be developed. This is how, for example, the African population saw itself, once it had been contorted by the innovations of the European colonizers. They reacted with trance dramas, in which not only the colonial lords, but even their locomotives, were staged as spirits.

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→ *Channeling, Demon/Demonology, Ecstasy, Exorcism, Oracle, Shamanism, Spiritism, Trance*

Frank Maurice Welte

Postmodernity

Postmodern Positions

1. Since the 1960s, various diagnoses of the current condition of society, culture, and knowledge have been propounded and dealt with under the heading 'postmodernity.' First, at the end of the 1960s, the return to traditional narrative forms within American literature after James Joyce was designated as 'postmodern.' Charles Jencks introduced the concept into architectural theory in the 1980s, and connected with it the concept of 'double coding' in architectural construction. The 'form speech' of the architectural construction in question was said to overcome functionalistic and universalistic concepts of the 'international style,' and at the same time address various strata of the population through the revival of ornamentation. French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard inaugurated philosophical confrontation with the phenomenon of postmodernity, with his report on the state of knowledge or learning in Western societies at the beginning of the 1980s. For Lyotard, postmodernity is a condition in which the legitimization of knowledge and the just society can no longer be achieved through the instrumentality of 'great narratives' (dialectic of spirit, hermeneutics of meaning, emancipation of the subject), but rather must now be done only with reference to incommensurable 'language games' (Ludwig Wittgenstein), which, on the societal level, can take on the form of temporary projects.

Common to the various approaches is a critical distance from respectively distinct concepts of → modernity. Thus, a wide *spectrum* of 'postmodern' instances of self-awareness spreads abroad. At one extreme is a *critique of modern → rationalism* (which, with its technological 'superiority complex,' is said to have conjured up an ecological crisis too, and therefore to be in need of complementation in the form of a postmodern era of nature mysticism). In the range of the spectrum, one finds *post-modernity* as a plurality-friendly opportunity, and opening up to modernity itself. Modernity, from the simple viewpoint of unitary thinking (appraised in a totalitarian sense)—one history, one reason—now becomes subject to critical revision. At the other end of the spectrum is the *postmodern arbitrariety* so frequently disparaged in the feature pages, but holding itself out as corresponding to a new era become 'too big to grasp.'

Technological and Societal Transformation

2. Beginning in the 1960s, and pregnant with consequences for the distribution of religious learning and knowledge, in parallel with these transformations in terms of the history of ideas, specific changes stand out in the technological and societal area. Sociological theoreticians (e.g., Daniel Bell) point to the strong growth of information- and data-processing, in whose wake, we are told, societal work is transferred to the tertiary sector, and

therewith a new post-industrial services- and information-society appears. Further: at least in lands of high technological development, the advancing interconnection of computer media places new forms of communication, and of generation of information, within reach of large parts of the population. As the result of a worldwide interconnection of economies, processes of globalization have strengthened, as the media theory of American media scientist Marshall McLuhan establishes. And so, the theory concludes, we witness the formation of a 'global village.'

Religion under Postmodern Circumstances

3. Belying earlier theories, for instance those dependent on the thesis of → secularization, religion has not disappeared in the wake of the Enlightenment and emancipation. For the time after the Second World War, however, a growing privatization and subjectivization of the content of religious knowledge (→ Private Religion), as well as a clear change in the social form of religious organization, can be observed in Western societies. A pluralization of supply accompanies increasing market-orientation on the part of these organizations. Alongside traditional church institutions, the scene becomes host to a multiplicity of small businesses, which deal, we may say, in meaning. The interested parties can be described less as members of a community than as consumers, since for them it is frequently not a question of any long-term formal membership. A person interested in religion can repeatedly make a new selection from the supply palette of the religious 'supermarket,' a selection bound neither to exclusivity nor to freedom from contradiction. Thus, a selection from among the offerings of the new religious scenario takes place only on a short-term basis (celebratory masses, lectures, adult education courses). This new kind of social organization of religion can be described approximately in the concept of the 'invisible religion' of sociologist of religion Thomas Luckmann. Here, religion has its point of departure in the subjective appraisal of certain experiences of transcendence in everyday life, but religion can indeed be connected with institutions not primarily religious. Church institutions are no longer the exclusive conveyors of religious knowledge. Often, non-religious institutions enter the scene, such as the electronic → media as propagators of religious knowledge or patterns of interpretation. This change also involves a broadly effected transposition of the content of this knowledge. The → reception of extra-European or ancient European religions or mythologies (e.g. → Paganism/Neopaganism, cult of the Earth Mother, witches), modern occultism, and → New Age shape the panorama of the new religious scenario. Even primarily secular or political fields can become expressions of new religion-controlled themes, such as ecology in connection with notions of nature mysticism, or → sports. On the theological side, various positions on the challenge of postmodern thought are on a wavelength between the rediscovery of the sensuous dimension of religion, and negative theology: There is the sensuous dimension of the Holy, in the tradition of F. Schleiermacher and R. Otto (as H. Timm regards it), on the one hand, and concern with negative theology—the attempt to preserve the unavailability of God to presentation—on the other. One criticism called for the perspective of a political theology that will not be satisfied with the cementing of unjust social structures in the name of the 'end of history,' such as with K. Füssel and D. Sölle following J. B. Metz, whose positions may be regarded as overlapping with the critique of postmodern thought by J. Habermas (*Die Moderne—ein unvollendetes Projekt*; → Liberation Theology).

Reactions of Religious Philosophy

4. In the area of philosophy of religion and culture, considerations are emerging from the crisis of the modern inner-worldly → utopias (P. Koslowski). Through the critique of scientism, functionalism, and utopianism, now the thought of finitude must be emphasized, in which human beings know themselves to exist in a dependency on an Absolute that is not subject to manipulation. They must once more learn messianic hopes, but not starting with the possibility of a realization of this hope through human or divine instances. The sketches refer to our ancient and medieval legacy, without, however, attempting to belie the modern moment of subjectivity.

The Reverse Side: Fundamentalism

5. Not only beginning with the postwar era, but frequently at the focus of current media interest, stand pluralism and individualistic aestheticization of the approach to religion, as opposed by fundamentalist movements, vis-à-vis their respectively contrary aims (→ Fundamentalism). Against the postmodern differentiation of lifestyle and religion, Islamism, as well as various Christian movements (for example, the Moral Majority in the United States) issue demands for community orthopraxis, that is, for as comprehensible as possible a regulation of both private and public behavior, through commandments and prescripts issuing from each religion respectively. Whether they can hold out against advancing individualization of the conferral of meaning, of conceptualizations of belief, and of religious commitments, in the 'multi-option' society, however, is questionable.

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→ *Disenchantment/Reenchantment, Media, Modernity/Modern Age, New Age, Occultism, Paganism/Neopaganism, Popular Culture, Pluralism, Secularization, Utopia*

Georg Hartmann

Poverty

1. Poverty is an economic condition of lack that, on an ongoing basis, endangers the satisfaction of fundamental needs in the areas of food and shelter, indeed survival itself. Oppositely, the principle of a voluntary restriction

of material possessions and private consumption is a kind of 'symbolic poverty,' variously appraised by the religions. Few systems of belief condemn material well-being; rather, they usually encourage its distribution and/or material renunciation, positing these as a counter-achievement in view of a privileged lot in the world to come. This feature is especially true of religions that develop in a social environment where, by way of commerce, market expansion, and centralized governmental structures, important social inequalities have arisen. In nearly all religions, a lower evaluation of personal material ownership results from a concern to balance out this social one-sidedness, and to ensure the cohesion of the community.

Ifa Religion

2. As an example, let us consider the case of the *Ifa* religion, of the Yoruba Kingdom of Oyo, in Nigeria. As European trade-relations intensified in the West Africa of the sixteenth century, and opportunities for economic success swiftly burgeoned, the Ifa religion hosted the ascent of trickster god Esu, lord of markets and witches. However, potentially dangerous Esu delivers over his wife Cowrie ('money,' from *kauri*-mussels) to the god Ifa, patron of the oracle and social order. This voluntary subordination of Esu to Ifa symbolizes the former's transfer of his personally acquired wealth to the community. The Ifa religion is not averse from the acquisition of wealth and money, then, but admonishes individuals to redistribute them to the group. The status of persons in the afterlife, and their immortality, are made dependent upon their capacity in the present life to acquire as many friends, followers, and noble titles, as possible, through a redistribution of material goods.

Judaism

As with the Ifa religion, *Judaism's* evaluation of poverty and wealth follows the goal of an avoidance of extreme social inequalities, and an assurance of the cohesion of the community. In principle, the Hebrew Bible is generally open to an affluence in material goods, and regards a situation of material need rather as a misfortune (or temporary test); but in the Prophets, and in the post-exilic psalms, there are tendencies to a reversal of this evaluation. God stands as defender of the poor. Material redistribution and acts of assistance to the poor are regarded as a matter of duty, and as a positive influence on one's soteriological destiny in the beyond.

Spiritual Wealth and Material Renunciation

A dualistic standard vis-à-vis poverty and wealth marked *Christianity* from the outset. For this religion, spiritual riches, and an assurance of salvation were possible only at the price of material renunciation and asceticism. As a reference for the Christian attitude toward wealth we have especially the episode of the rich young man (Mark 10:17-22; Matt 19:16-22; Luke 18:18-23). Here, wealth in earthly goods and transcendental salvation are mutually exclusive. This view established itself in the primitive Christian community, and later in the Christian orders, and found a renaissance in the thirteenth century with → Francis of Assisi. Francis professed poverty in the sense of a 'life without ownership,' and as an ideal for the individual as for the community. Voluntary poverty is still an ideal in the Catholic Church today—all too often only an ideal. With the Reformers, the ideal of poverty was rejected, especially owing to its connection with a vow. Nevertheless, even in the Evangelical Church, groups continually arose that professed it, such as the Moravian Brotherhoods of Graf Zinzendorf in the eighteenth century.

Most of today's important religions link an advocacy or tolerance of material well-being among the laity with the requirement of observance of moral principles, but also acknowledge the ideal of poverty as a means for

Evaluation of Ownership in Hinduism and Buddhism

the attainment of salvation. An opportunity to connect both is offered by the *Hindu* concept of various phases of life (→ Life Cycle). While a striving for material well-being is regarded as altogether appropriate for middle age, one prepares oneself for the beyond in the final phase of life by a lifestyle rather averse from the world and ascetical, and/or a life of service to the poor. *Buddhism* obliges the laity to the observance of moral principles in economic exchange (prohibition of trade in slaves or arms), and requires the attainment of deserts for the beyond by generous contributions to the poor and to monasteries. For monks and nuns, on the other hand, the ideal of poverty prevails: these renounce earthly possessions extensively, and live on the alms of the population.

Islam

Nor does *Islam* reject trade, or other activities for the increase of affluence, but it does limit the accumulation of individual wealth, through rules such as the prohibition of interest-taking, and the obligation to give alms (*zakat*). A distribution of material goods to the poor can positively influence a destiny in the beyond in terms of salvation. At the same time, Islam too, especially Islamic mysticism, acknowledges an idealization of poverty as a means to the attainment of spiritual salvation and divine grace.

Protestantism

3. In the past, certain religions have manifested tendencies to vacate norms limiting the accumulation of material possessions. For example, the Hindu text *Arthasastra*, composed between the third century BCE and the third century CE, permitted the taking of interest. But such tendencies only won out with the advent of *Protestantism*. By contrast with most religions, the latter showed tolerance with regard to the taking of interest, and detached the individual's divine election and grace from his and her 'good works.' Thereby it dissolved the connection between prestige and salvific destiny of the individual, and no longer required the individual's renunciation of unlimited material acquisition. Protestantism, then, approved the accumulation of personal material wealth more than did any other system of belief. This feature is doubtless a reason for the frequently observed connection between Protestantism as the principal religion and a successful capitalist enterprise.

Global Market Economy

4. Religious ideas vis-à-vis poverty and wealth exert a powerful influence, even in the age of a global market economy. There are countries in which the capitalist norm of unlimited personal striving for ownership, and private consumption, is found to be in contradiction with the basic religious convictions of broad parts of the population; here, private enterprise and market economy can be justified, even today, only in a framework of practices of distribution growing out of basic religious convictions. Thus, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in countries like → Iran can be interpreted as a reaction to the growth of social inequality stemming from reckless modernization. Accordingly, modern enterprise in Islamic countries is legitimized more and more in the framework of Islamic institutions that limit the accumulation of profit. In Nigeria, the key African religious norm of 'redistribution' is imposed on large firms in terms of social responsibility vis-à-vis local communities. In Sri Lanka, the widespread Buddhist ethic of merit has led to a specific pattern of responsibility in which entrepreneurial capital is redistributed to monasteries and communal development projects. In the Federal Republic of Germany, with the configuration of the system of the social market economy (Federal Social Aid Law, 1961), principles of solidarity and subsidiarity, stemming from Catholic social teaching, were normative.

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→ *Asceticism, Capitalism, Economy, Money, Prestige*

Erika Dettmar

Power

Conceptualizations of Cosmic Power and Energy

1. Instead of entertaining conceptualizations of personal gods, today's independent religiosity (particularly in the → New Age religion) thinks of a religious ground in terms of *cosmic power*, or of a monistically understood *cosmic energy*, in which creation and creator are not distinguished, and the world is underlain by only one principle. As a rule, the cosmos enters into relation with the human being 'as within, so without.' Therefore the energies of the earth can influence human character. Appeal is often made to Polynesian conceptions of *mana*—whose origin is not in nature religion, however, but in sources that include the conceptions of classic Theosophy, as represented at the end of the nineteenth century by Helena Blavatsky (1831–1891; → Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society), and transmitted to our time by the New Age movement. Accordingly, this Theosophical understanding is frequently bound up, today as well, with *prana* (breath), the Hindu idea, and *ki* (air, steam, breath, ether, energy, power), the Chinese. Many books of instruction and courses are available today, for instance in esoteric seminars, in how to deal with cosmic energy. Its control is said to guarantee physical and spiritual health. For this purpose, one means that may be used is the Indian *chakra* teaching. *Chakras*—centers in the human body connected to a particular cosmic force—are understood to divide the human body into various energy centers, thus making many different therapeutic applications available. Some of these are Hatha Yoga, Pranayama breath-control, and therapy based on reflex zones in the feet.

Mana and Dynamism

2. In 1877, according to Oxford religious historian F. Max Müller, missionary R. H. Codrington reported that the Melanesian expression *mana* was a designation for the infinite. *Mana*, declared the missionary, is the name for a certain supernatural force, one demonstrated in physical strength and special capabilities. Codrington's observation became the basis for the theory in religious studies of *dynamism* (from Gk., *dýnamis*, 'power'). That theory described the conception of *mana* as belief in a supernatural, impersonal power lying at the foundation of religion, and common to all original religions. The higher idea of belief in God had finally developed through a personification of these conceptualizations of power. At the beginning of the twentieth century, anthropologists transferred the dynamistic theory of mana to the religious conceptions of North American Indians, and even theologian and religious scholar Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950) based his *Phänomenologie der Religion* (Ger., "Phenomenology of Religion"; 1930) on the concept of a primordial experience of a special supernatural power. Anthropologist Friedrich Rudolf Lehmann, on the other hand, wrote as

early as 1922 that *mana* always appeared in historical concretion, among Melanesian and Polynesian peoples: it was always applied, as a verb or an adjective, to a person, an object, an animal, or a divinity, and with the meaning of 'being successful,' 'being capable.' Furthermore, held Lehmann, this conceptualization is firmly connected to the Malayan space of Oceania, the region of the Austronesian languages, and is by no means transferable to all analphabet peoples generally. Today the dynamistic theory retains scarcely any importance in religious studies.

Power Places

3. In contemporary religiosity, along with the ideas of a cosmic power, the existence of special *power → places* is also conceptualized. Here there is a great tendency to select prehistoric places of worship, on grounds of a special power supposed to be dwelling within them, and to rediscover the effects of these places for application in our own time, in cult or therapy. Places considered as especially power-charged include the megalithic monuments of Stonehenge, in England, the *Externsteine* near Detmold (Germany), or the *Cathedral of Chartres.* Common to all of these places, special earth magnetism is supposed, or underground courses of water, or certain radioactivity, to which persons of earlier times have been more sensitive.

Geomancy

This newly discovered 'ancient knowledge' is designated *geomancy* (from Gk., 'earth divination'). The geomantic criteria for sacred places are grounded on various attempts to mount a scientific explanation. The true phenomenon, however, is supposed to be of a spiritual nature, to become visible by way of corresponding physical phenomena. The two areas, physical and spiritual, are connected by a super-fine matter. This energy too is quasi-identified with the Melanesian *mana*, the Indian *prana*, the Chinese *ki*, and, finally, *od* or ether, and Wilhelm Reich's (1879–1957) *Orgone*, which last is said to correspond to the 'ether' (the physical cosmos of light waves) in Einstein's theory of relativity.

Reference to Science

4. In all of these cases, an attempt is made to describe spiritual phenomena by way of scientific concepts. A bridge is provided by the physical concept of 'energy.' But in modern science, the concept of energy denotes the ability to do work, and can present itself as mechanical energy, heat energy, or electrical (→ Electricity) and magnetic energy. In order to derive one form of energy from another, there are always strict scientific rules of calculation. On the other hand, the idea of energy in modern religiosity is imprecise. Energy serves here as a linguistic metaphor, for the purpose of building bridges from today's natural science and psychology to spirituality. The 'reason' that abides in and governs the universe—that universe within which the astonished individual experiences herself as an inner part—becomes the cosmic consciousness with which the universe and its powers become serviceable to the experiential world of the individual. In the new religiosity, the *mana* of the nature peoples, and the 'corresponding' Asian concepts, do not so much serve as concrete historical models, but rather are projections of popularized energy concepts of modern physics and transpersonal psychology. The system of the → psyche is thereby held to correspond, as an eco-cosmic cognizance and spirituality, with cosmic consciousness, the reason of the universe. Here, then, is a religiosity whose point of departure is in conceptions of natural science and of psychology, but whose engagement, in its metaphors and myths, is with historical religiosity.

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→ *Electricity, Esotericism, Natural Science, New Age, Place (Sacred), Psyche*

Jürgen Wolf

Prayer / Curse

Definition

1. Prayer is one of the typically religious forms of communication. With prayer, a person turns to the gods—aloud or in a whisper, wordlessly or in thought, as an individual or in a group, for oneself or for others. The purpose is not (or at least not primarily) so that the god will make an appearance (epiphany); rather in conformity with the emphatically asymmetrical relationship between gods and human beings, prayer is usually formulated as a request, so that it frequently includes the promise—in the form of a vow—of a return gift in case the request should be granted. However, prayer can be directed to the addressees out of, or as, gratitude—in this case the gift often consists of the prayer itself, and it can serve as penitence and atonement. A further common motive for praying (and at the same time its content) is the cry of pain in the experience of suffering. Frequently, special preparations for prayer are executed, first and foremost *purification* (a person bathes, dons special clothing, subordinates certain activities, abstains from nourishment) and *meditation* (one 'enters oneself,' recollects oneself, confesses).

Form and Function of Prayer

The basic form of prayer emerges from its function. Quite often, it is structured as follows: (a) The *invocation, or appeal* (epiclesis), is the supplication to be heard and enumeration/citation of the functions of the god invoked. Thus, this part of the prayer usually consists of a form of the verb 'listen,' or 'hear,' and the naming of the name and surname of the god addressed—as well as a reminder of help previously bestowed, which can base the new request. (b) *Presentation of the wish, the request* may follow, and (in a given case) statement of the identity of the one beseeching. And (c) the pronouncement of a vow concludes the prayer. In the individual case, to be sure, this structure is variable, and the spontaneous ejaculation in particular can take essentially different structural forms. The wording can also be precisely established; and since, according to folk ideas, the effectiveness of prayers is enhanced when the supplicant carries their wording in written form, similarly to that of an amulet, the tradition of prayer has shown a very early tendency to fixation in writing. However, along with formulae of prayer, and stereotyped prayers, frequently, perhaps even in the majority of cases (for example, in ancient Greece), prayers are spontaneously worded, with, perhaps, the inclusion of consecrated turns of expression. Just as with form and content, the point in time and the place at which prayer is offered can be prescribed. As a rule, prayers are components of rituals, and are, for their part, nearly always accompanied by ritual actions (libation, lighting

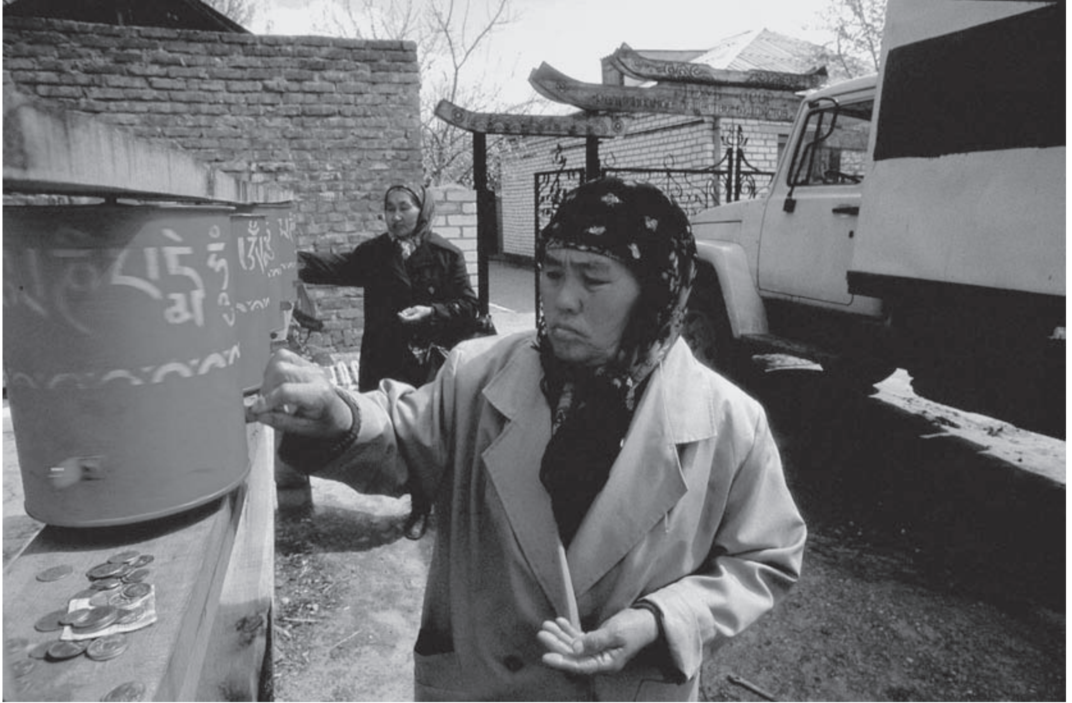


A woman from Bali prays for a deceased family member. In her hands she holds an offering of trimmed palm leaves and fern. Some weeks after a death in the family, the relatives gather for the purification ceremony (here, in a small temple precinct near Sanur), to pray for the cleansing of the soul of the departed. (Benita von Behr)

of incense, offering of baked good and fruits, music). Therefore prayers are temporally and spatially located, for one, by the ritual → calendar, and for another, by the specific construction of a given ritual. Further, the identity of the divinity to whom the prayer is addressed, and the request addressed, can also determine time and place. To gods whose ascription is to the early morning hours, prayer is made at that time; powers of darkness are conjured by night; a request for a rich harvest is offered at the time of the sowing. If the god is addressed through a sacred image, the latter usually determines the place of the prayer. As a rule, the direction faced during the prayer is also of importance, for example that of the dwelling of the deity to whom the prayer is addressed. Ordinarily, the prayer is accompanied by appropriate gestures. These 'repeat' and perfect the received form of the greeting and the expression of reverence—its 'standard' social and political accompaniment. The original posture in prayer for the Indo-European region can be determined to be that of uplifted arms, with palms turned upward, toward the sky, or turned toward the sacred image. Likewise typical is the standing posture of the person praying: prostrations such as the → proskynesis are separate developments in individual cultures. In ancient times, prayers were offered aloud: only 'listening' could a deity 'hear a prayer.' This practice has been given up in Christianity, except for only a few rites, as, for example, the *lustratio*, the ritual of cleansing the hands before, and sitting after, prayer.

Attitude of Prayer

Since prayer is ultimately related to → *communication* between human being and non-human entities, there is scarcely a religion without prayer: only the degree of its importance may differ. In → Islam, prayer (*ṣalāt*) is one of the 'pillars' of the faith, the 'uniting bond of Muslims.' Prayer is the most unitary and most precisely regulated of Islamic rituals of faith. The numerous Qur'anic prescriptions for prayer, however, needed ultimate



Mechanization of prayer: In Elista, in Russia, Buddhist women start prayer wheels. The practice of reciting appellatory formulae (→ Mantra), like the renowned “Om mani padme hum” (formula of Boddhisattva Avalokiteshvara), in order to gain religious merit, is very widespread in Central Asia, especially in the Tantric tradition (→ Tantra). With a rotating cylinder on which the appeal is written, this procedure can be multiplied and accelerated. (Hubert Mohr)

ritual establishment through religious law (*fiqh*). This regulation could occasion the development of regional and school-specific peculiarities, over and above the prescriptions of praying five times a day, as well as of the specific sequence of standing, bowing (*rak'a*), and prostrating oneself toward Mecca. These peculiarities, such as the accompanying regulations for hand washing required for ritual purity at prayer, or the position of hands and fingers, betray a Muslim's geographical origin and specific religious membership.

Prayer is an essential element of religious praxis. The faithful begin each day with a prayer, end it in the evening with another, pray at every meal, and pray at the beginning of every undertaking in order to ensure its success. And whenever they find themselves in a difficult, perhaps even seemingly hopeless situation, believers take refuge in prayer. And even when, for one reason or another, the god addressed fails to grant the request, the prayer brings about alleviation: its mere verbalization helps remove the burden of fear or need. Faith in the power of prayer is so great, that prayer is ascribed not only the positive effect of problem and conflict solving, but harmful effects, as well.

Negative Prayer: The Curse

2. The bewitching *prayer of the curse* is, as it were, the negative counterpart of impetration: just as the latter may be a prayer for the benefit of another, the curse conjures up the insalubrious, the unwholesome, upon the other, either as a future threat, or, indeed, as present catastrophe. Often it is assumed that, once the curse is pronounced, the desired result is produced almost ‘automatically,’ so that, as a rule, the curse cannot be rescinded. Infertility of human being, animal, and earth, misfortune, disease, or death are the consequences. Indeed, whenever it occurs, the insalubrious tends to be considered as resting on a curse. The pronouncement of the curse words is ordinarily

accompanied by gestures, for instance by the striking of the earth with both hands. It is not necessary, however, that the curse word be spoken: certain behavior, most of all the violation of the sacred, is not immediately punished by God or the gods; however these do arouse divine wrath (*ira deorum*, Lat., "wrath of the gods"): the one thus punished is cursed, and is then a danger to the community, from which she or he must now be banned.

3. A special kind of curse—in the form of a conditional self-cursing—is the *oath*, which guarantees the absolute binding force of a declaration (for example, the contractual word). This is the strongest means known to premodern societies to place a person under an obligation, a function that it has retained to our own day, even in Western culture. A distinction must be made between the 'promissory' oath and the 'confirmatory' ('assertory') oath. The former presents an explanation of the will for the future, the latter reinforces an act or perception belonging to the past. The pronouncement of an oath involves the 'oath formula' and the 'oath rite.' The 'oath formula' is a 'swearing' that reinforces the truth of a pronouncement—swearing that something 'is the truth'—and at the same time the naming of the unwholesome phenomena to ensure in case of a breach. Oftentimes the oath calls upon extra-human witnesses (". . . so help me God"), which makes a lie, or a breach, a sacrilege. The oath rite arrays the formula of the oath in a determinate outer form that enhances the obliging character of the word. Thus, raising the right hand, for example, touching various objects (for instance, the Bible), and/or pouring out water and other fluids, are actions that may accompany the enunciation of the words of the oath. Here, the object touched can be the 'pledge' that is deposited, to secure the effectiveness of the oath: one's own body, that of another person, that of an animal, weapons and other battle-gear, and much more.

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→ *Amulet, Communication, Language, Magic, Orientation, Ritual, Symbol/Sign/Gesture*

Thomas Oberlies

Pre- and Early History

1. The subject or object of pre- and early history is the entire section of the history of humanity that is accessible only through unwritten, material remnants of human activity. However, the presentation is usually limited to the period from the Old Stone (Paleolithic) Age to the end of the New Stone

(Neolithic) Age in Europe. The time-span, then, would be from the moment of evidence of first human artifacts (stone tools), some two-and-one-half to three million years ago, to the sedentary movement in the 'Neolithic Revolution' (c. 10,000–7,000 BCE). The absence of written testimonials presents the greatest problem for the investigation of religious conceptualizations in this time. Structures of belief, mythological concepts, or ritual practices, are therefore not directly accessible through personal declarations on the part of the media or agents of religion. Their existence and descriptions must be concluded from objects or signs, decorations and painting, or behavior with the dead, in a scientifically reconstructed social context.

The Paleolithic Age

2. Ever since the early twentieth century, research on the Paleolithic Age centered its interest on the Southern French and Northern Spanish *picture → caves:* Altamira (paintings c. 12,000 BCE, discovered 1879), Lascaux (paintings c. 14,000 BCE, discovered 1940), Chauvet Grotto (paintings c. 28,000 BCE, discovered 1994). Since the recognition of their great age, they have been seen as the key expression of the religious thought of the human being of the ice age (*homo sapiens sapiens*) in Europe. Interpretations of the picture caves in earlier centuries were strongly dependent on the prevailing *Zeitgeist*, and on notions of human spiritual and cultural development. The paintings there were looked upon as random scrawls of humanity's 'childhood,' or as an expression of 'hunting magic.'

There were besides, in archaeological finds, numerous ornaments for the body, small works of art, and graves, to which latter a more extensive meaning must be attributed. Here, a special behavior with the dead is demonstrable as early as the time of the Neanderthals (e.g., at Spy in Belgium, or at La Ferrassie, in the French Department of Dordogne, both c. 60,000 BCE). A social, reflective engagement with life and death is therefore no exceptionable earmark of the modern person.

There is certainly no doubt that the public, ritual life of the Paleolithic Age was dominated by a fixation on the great beasts of the ice age—bears, mammoths, bison, stags, wild horses, for example (→ Animal). However, art cannot be compressed into a unitary schema. It was probably used in connection with rituals of initiation, and with 'shamanic' conceptualizations, as well as with experiences of trance and hallucination ('grotesque'/'surreal' manifestations, or those of → composite beings). Thus, the religious world of the Paleolithic was just as rich and complex as we know it to be later, with historical and contemporary hunters and gatherers.

Neolithic Revolution

3. With the end of the ice age, some 10,000 years ago, it was not only environmental conditions that underwent a change. All over the world, at the same time, occurred societal and economic revolutions traditionally designated under the heading of the Neolithic Revolution. Permanent settlements with large dwellings appear, crop farming and animal husbandry are introduced, there are objects and constructions of an unambiguously religious and ritual character. Simultaneously, we find uniform, ritualized styles of burial. These relics manifest altered attitudes toward natural landscape, places of settlement, and death.

In the earliest settlements in the Near East and in Southern Europe (Çatal Huyuk, c. 7,000–6,500 BCE; Jericho, c. 8,000 BCE), quite a large number of clay figures were found, often representing women, and having exaggerated sex characteristics. Frequently, a connection was postulated here with the

'Venus figures' of the later Old Stone Age, and a fertility cult was construed (→ Matriarchate/Patriarchate). Genuine instances of continuity, however, are scarcely to be supposed. More probably, it is a matter of figures of ancestors, representing the continued presence of the dead in these sedentary communities. To this observation corresponds the frequent burial of the dead in individual graves within the settlements, or in their immediate vicinity.

At the same time, even in the earliest phases of Neolithic settlement in Central Europe ('linear-bond ceramic culture,' c. 6,000–4,500 BCE), one finds 'earthworks,' even places closed in with ditches and walls, without the remains of construction, presumably serving for community rituals. Sacrificial offerings deposited in excavated places, or intentionally destroyed ceramics, show that these constructions by no means served purely profane ends.

Megalithic Cultures

4. With these installations, finally, the groundwork was created for the monumental megalithic constructions of later phases of the Neolithic in Western Europe (c. 4,800–2,800 BCE). Especially striking are the 'henge' monuments (e.g., Stonehenge) in the British Isles, as well as the great number of linear or circular arrangements of stones that appear throughout the Northwest European region. These constructions seem to represent complex imaginary worlds, that demonstrate strong connections to hunting and gathering traditions—worlds in which human activities, conditions of landscape, and astronomical relations (e.g., summer or winter solstice; → Orientation, → Druids) were bound up altogether directly. These purely cultic constructions were accompanied by large megalithic graves (prehistoric graves, dolmens). Their existence shows a transformation from the tradition of the single burial to that of the collective, and thus testifies to basic alterations in the structure of society. An analysis of the human remains in these graves shows that often direct burials did not take place here, but the dead were first submitted to various rituals such as the removal of their flesh, or their dismembering ('secondary burials'). The social changes involved not only societal organization, but also ideas about human beings and their bodies, the relation between current and mythological time, and their relation to the inhabited natural landscape.

Discovery of Prehistory

5. Archeological research has not only influenced our understanding of past societies, and the worlds of their conceptualizations. They have also had profound effects on Western modernity's image of history and the human being. Since the general establishment of an academic archaeology in the nineteenth century, and the demonstration of the mighty spaces of time over which human history has transpired, there have been conflicts with the most varied religious interest groups. Together with the simultaneous development of the → theory of evolution (→ Darwinism; Evolutionism), for biblically or scripture-oriented Christians the discovery of prehistory very often seemed to have moved the human being far from a divine plan of creation, and to make her and him the product of material processes—ecological processes, and those of natural history. In the present, widespread disillusionment with the principles of the modern age leads once more to a rejection of a scientific understanding of the human being's development and history. For example, today, in certain American states (such as Kansas), the Christian creation myth must be taught in schools as a developmental model (creationism) of equal status with the

theory of evolution, and the collapse of the biblical historical image may possibly be less than complete and irreversible.

Political Ideologization and Modern Reception

6. On the other hand, not only irritation, but also an uncommon power of attraction and fascination attach to prehistoric places, objects, and monuments that, to some extent, sturdily engage the historical fantasy even today. One cause for this is certainly their ambiguity, owing to the missing scriptural testimonials, through which a multiplicity of interpretations becomes possible. Their structure, offering open possibilities of interpretation, as well as powerful effect, permits prehistory easily to become a projection screen for various and frequently contradictory ideologies. National Socialism, for instance, not only created a powerful Teutonic myth (→ Teutons) but also conducted broad and large-scale excavations of prehistoric settlements, in order to prove the National Socialist constructs of history and culture. After the Second World War, Eastern European and Soviet archaeology was connected, for decades, to the cultural concepts of historical materialism and its explanations of historical processes. Examples of this kind show how totalitarian state-systems not only are anxious to inscribe themselves in the experiential world in material form, but also, for their ends, to reinterpret the remnants of the past. At present, prehistory is increasingly becoming the field of a series of romanticizing projections of concepts of distance from modernity and civilization. Of special importance here are the megalithic monuments of the Neolithic era, so eagerly cited by Neo-Celtic groups (→ Druids; Celts) and neo-shamans alike. Common to both is not only their idea of a utopian past, a past with monuments of this kind, but also their own spiritual explanations of the world, posited as a substitute and alternative to the Western, scientific image of the world. Finally, an important role is played here, once more, by feminist ideas and concepts—these having further-reaching implications, however, not primarily relating to the European Megalithic Age.

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→ *Cave, Celts, Druids, European History of Religion, History, New Age, Place (Sacred), Paganism/Neopaganism, Shamanism, Teutons*

Martin Porr

Predestination

The theological concept of predestination means divine 'pre-determination' to a permanent status with respect to salvation. Predestination primarily concerns the lot of the human being in the hereafter. As a concept, it is not mentioned in the Hebrew Bible but in the New Testament, in Rom 8:28-30 and Eph 1:1-14. Some theologians assume that these passages deal with an offer of salvation open to all persons. Separation into elect and damned follows only in the Last Judgment. While eternal salvation awaits the redeemed, sinners are condemned to eternal damnation.

In terms of the history of theology, predestination is an answer to the question of whence → evil comes into the world. Predestination tries to clarify the relation between divine predetermination and human freedom, between divine election and human fault, between salvation and damnation. In the doctrine founded by him, the Reformer Calvin (1509–1564) takes his own point of departure from the concept that, at the very birth of each Christian, it is established whether he or she will be elected or rejected by God at the end of her or his life. Accordingly, Calvin concludes to the 'state of grace' of a person by way of that person's indefatigable work in his or her calling. Accordingly, the success of the → work is accounted a sign of election.

Apart from Christianity, predestination is found especially in Islam. Although the Qur'an offers no unambiguous pronouncements in this respect, the doctrine of predestination has prevailed in Islamic orthodoxy (→ Fatalism). The idea of *karma*, in Indian conceptions, does not fit under predestination. Resting on the premise of a causal relation between the deeds of one's previous life and one's reincarnation, karma emphasizes persons' own responsibility for their destiny.

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→ *Ethics/Morals, Evil, Fatalism, Will (Free)*

Ingeborg Siggelkow

Prejudices / Stereotypes

What is a Prejudice?

1. Prejudices, defined as stable and consistent negative attitudes toward another group, and stereotype, a complex of convictions concerning the personal characteristics of a group of persons, are intimately interrelated. All theories of prejudice hold that an attitude toward a group is connected with the perception of its attributes, whether they are seen as positive or negative. It is true that there is disagreement on the direction of the causality:

the attitude of someone toward a group can be determined by the characteristics that she or he ascribes to the persons of the group; or conversely, the stereotypes can change if the overall attitude changes. In the milieu of a Christian anti-Semitism, the Jews' continuation in their religion is perceived negatively, as 'stubbornness'; on the other hand, when the attempt at conversion is given up, the same circumstances seem positive, as 'attachment to tradition' and 'perseverance in the faith.' Along with the *cognitive* dimension of the stereotype, two further dimensions of prejudice are distinguished: one *emotional* (antipathy), and the other *conative*, the dimension affecting behavior (discrimination). It is true that prejudices are individual attitudes, affects, and manners of behavior. At the same time, however, they are social facts: an individual inherits and expresses them vis-à-vis other groups, because he or she belongs to a group, and is acting on the strength of that membership.

The definition of prejudice as a negative judgment on all or the majority of the members of a group escapes the assumption suggested in the etymology that a prejudice is a hasty judgment based on faulty information (Lat., *praeiudicium*, either a 'preliminary' or a 'precipitant decision,' a 'normative example'). It is observable, however, that prejudices continue to prevail even with more exact knowledge of the objects of the prejudice, and that these prejudices cannot usually be changed merely by the acquisition of additional information. Furthermore, this definition would leave open the question of whether and how prejudices are distinct from mere false judgments. This objection also bears on definitions that understand prejudices as the result of a false thought process—principally as too strong a generalization of single experiences, in the sense of: "All Scientologists are . . ." or "The Buddhists. . . ." Generalizations are unavoidable in nearly all processes of judgment, whenever statements are to reach beyond an individual case. Here, as well, there are no differences, or at most only 'gradual' ones, between prejudices and 'normal' judgments. In other definitions, the moment of rigidity is introduced as an attribute of prejudice: prejudices are judgments not revised even in the presence of information to the very contrary. Thus, prejudices are 'dogmatic judgments.' Even here, however, problems arise. By no means all inflexible positions—for instance in church dogma—are regarded as vehicles of prejudice. On the other hand, for contemporaries there is often the problem of indetermination: it is especially groups engaged in conflict with one another that see reality each in its own way. Prejudices are closely connected with group conflicts, and there is rarely a third, 'objective,' party to resolve disagreement over the truth content of judgments.

Social Undesirability

Thus, when neither simple error, nor a lack of information, nor overgeneralization, nor intransigence suffices to distinguish prejudices from other judgments, then what criterion of distinction is to be used? Actually, the point of departure even of an investigation into prejudice is always the prejudicial character of certain judgments, without any verification at all of their reality content, or their conformity to the facts. It has struck some scholars that the concept of prejudice appears essentially determined by its normative, moral content. Prejudices differ from other judgments not on the basis of any specific inner qualities, therefore, nor by virtue of a defective process of origin, but solely in terms of their social undesirability. Thus, prejudices seem to be simple social judgments that offend against specifically human values, against the norms of rationality, of justice (equality), and of humane

sentiment. In raising the demand for rationality, prejudice appears as a defect in a 'reality check,' for example by way of faulty processing of information, or ignorance of certain connections, or overgeneralization. In terms of justice, prejudice appears as an unequal treatment of persons. If it is peaceful coexistence that is in question, then it is intolerance and rejection of the other as a fellow human being and individual. On grounds of its normative content, the concept of prejudice is not absolute, then, but must always be defined in relation to an existent system of values, namely as a deviation from the standards of knowledge and morality of a society. The existence of prejudices, therefore, is historical, and variable for each social group (religious communities, ethnic groups). What today counts for prejudice in public opinion (witches, Jewish murder of Christ) may have once belonged to the normal store of knowledge of churches and the public.

Insight into Prejudices . . .

2. Recognition of prejudices, therefore, depends upon one's capacity to make a critical review and verification of one's own judgments and evaluations. Part of this is the measure of self-reflection that perceives the opinions of others and their views of the world.

. . . in European History of Religion

(a) → *European history of religion* can thus be read as an—often painful—process of reaching self-recognition, and appreciating a pluralism of opinion. It was the age of the great voyages of discovery that forced European civilization to accept this new worldview, as the Eurocentric world image was shaken, along with the seeming obviousness of its customs and convictions. With the confessional split, dating back to the Reformation, seemingly secure truths of faith became doubtful, and finally, the → Enlightenment regarded itself as a program of bringing light into the darkness of prejudice and 'ignorance.' The Catholic Middle Ages became a symbol of intellectual 'darkness' ('obscurantism') and prejudice, and the demand for (religious) tolerance was intimately bound up with insistence on a prejudice-free attitude of mind (→ Freedom of Religion). Thus, criticism on the part of the representatives of the Enlightenment was directed against a dogmatic claim to true judgments on the part of the religions. The latter were reproached with relying for their maintenance on deception, ignorance, and credulousness (d'Holbach, 1761): now they must justify themselves before the court of → reason. The Enlightenment thereby formulated one of the key questions to be dealt with in the matter of prejudice: that of "human interest in knowledge" (J. Habermas), of the manipulation of judgments in the service of determinate interests—prejudices, then, are 'interested lies.' Both of the other core questions, as well, come out of the Enlightenment: that of the relationship between reality and judgment, and the question of whether prejudices are actually the result of an inadequate effort of the powers of intellectual faculties.

. . . and in Research into Prejudices

(b) *Scientific research into prejudice* begins in the 1920s, with the establishment of the new disciplines of sociology and psychology. Here, three strands of theory can be roughly distinguished:

(1) *Psychodynamic* approaches, or those on the part of *theory of personality*, among which → psychoanalysis is to be named in the first place, that reduce the formation of prejudices and stereotypes to psychic conflicts, an authoritarian upbringing, or other deficiencies in the forming of the personality. These theories have recognized the central psychic mechanisms

of → projection and displacement of aggression, by whose means foreign groups are made scapegoats for one's own inner and outer conflicts.

(2) *Group sociological* and *socio-psychological* theories that see the conditions for the emergence of prejudices in group conflicts or situations of competition, in which one's own group (and thereby one's own person) is compared and seen as superior, and the out-group is devaluated.

(3) Theories of the *psychology of cognition*, in which the processes of perception and of information processing are investigated for their function in the formation of stereotypes and prejudices.[1]

Religious Prejudices

3. If prejudices and stereotypes are produced and shaped in connection with competition and conflicts among groups, and then in turn maintain these conflicts as traditional views, then it is to be expected that the relationship among the various religions and religious communities will likewise be marked by prejudices and stereotyped perceptions.

Religious Competition and Conflicts

a) This scenario will hold especially for situations in which the relations of influence of the religions—their area of validity, legal position, → prestige, or economic support—shift, to the disadvantage of these religions. The rise of another religion is perceived as a threat to one's own position, and leads to a negative view of the competitor, and an identification with one's own belief system. Both developments, the perception of an external threat, and a powerful religious mobilization on the part of one's own religion, for example in the Crusades, or in the wars of religion, work to the advantage both of an extremely negative view of the other religious groups in question, and to the application of violence, whether for conversion or annihilation.

Other religions—or, to a certain extent, only particular currents in them—are suspected of mounting a kind of crusade, or → holy war, to establish their own predominance. A current fear of → fundamentalism in Western European countries imputes expansionist tendencies to Islam, or to a particular fundamentalist current. Here it becomes clear how powerfully historically transmitted ideas of a 'Turkish danger' keep on working, and can connect with today's associations of Islam with → terrorism or intolerance, for instance in the persecution of author Salman Rushdie (→ Fatwa; Khomeini). Currently a grasp for political power, and even world dominance, is imputed to the Church of → Scientology.

Anti-Judaism

Best researched are the prejudices directed against Judaism in Christian anti-Semitism. In spite of their catastrophic effects, including the → Shoah itself, these prejudices are only slowly being dismantled. After all, after 1945 anti-Semitism was no longer a → collective representation emerging from a concrete historical experience of cohabitation with Jews.

Islam's prejudices against Judaism are also marked by the relation of succession—which, on the one side, protected the Jews (as well as the Christians) as precursors of Islam, but on the other side opposed them, and ascribed them a subordinate, protected place (*dhimmi* status). → Muhammad branded the Jews as enemies of Islam. They were designated an unworthy people, with a rebellious, malevolent character, who had corrupted and benighted Sacred Scripture (Suras 3:63; 5:85). To this day, however, the Islamic stereotype of the Jews is not so much that of a powerful enemy, as that of a disdained inferior group (→ Minorities). Accordingly, acts of

violence seldom occur; instead, measures of discrimination characterize the arrangement.

The close connection between self-image and foreign or enemy image is readily recognizable in the case of the *völkisch* and *Germanic groups of believers* in their rejection of Christianity. Against their own background of an emphasis on the stark individual, and the atoning deed, Christianity's universalistic doctrine of grace and salvation seems to these groups, in the terms of Friedrich → Nietzsche, a "religion of slaves and compassion." We find a like contrasting effect in some currents of contemporary *feminist theology*, when it complains, in its quest for the "concealed Matriarchate in the Old Testament,"[2] that God's original male-female oneness was destroyed by the Jewish Father God. Here the ancient 'deicide' motif emerges once more in a transformed mode. This God of Judaism is designated a jealous and vengeful tribal God, to whom a Jesus bearing a feminine connotation is then opposed—a picture utterly attached to the negative anti-Jewish stereotypes maintained in Christianity, which latter, with polemical intent, had distinguished the 'God of vengeance' of the Hebrew Bible from the New Testament 'God of love.'

Myths of Secrecy and Conspiracy

b) The exclusion of 'unbelievers' is favorable for the development of prejudices, and of partly fantastic conceptualizations of the religious practice of other cults. → Secrecy offers numerous tacks for allegations and fears. Well known is the ancient idea that, in the Temple in Jerusalem, the Jews adored an ass or its head; today, the practice of many sects, as for example the case of → Scientology, is subject to creeping rumors and myths of conspiracy, as we know them historically when it comes to → Freemasons and Jews. In the Middle Ages, and early modern times, allegations of (literary) conspiracy were raised usually against anti-Christian heretical and magical activities.

The 'Inner Front': Deviationists and Heretics

c) It is precisely dogmatic religions, however, religions producing an orthodoxy, that have to battle not only religious competition from without, but the 'deviators' within. Dogmatics erects zones of division, to separate out deviating concepts and practices that are fought as → heresies. Heretics are accused of error, and their teachings are disqualified as 'daydreams.' Here as well, wild prejudices often creep in concerning the rituals of these heretical groups. They desecrate the Cross of Christ, reject the Mass, commit collective sexual perversions, practice witchcraft, and so forth. With the excluded groups, this stigmatization then leads in the opposite direction, so that they themselves see orthodoxy as error, and hold it to be the 'false Church' (*ecclesia malignantium*, Lat., 'church of the malevolent'). The competing religious groups then see themselves reciprocally imprisoned in prejudice and error. Thus, for their own part, the Cathari called themselves the "Church of God," while the Catholics were heretics.[3]

Exoticism

d) Stereotyped conceptions need not always emerge from conflict. Particularly toward culturally and geographically remote religions, with which there is no direct competition, the undertone of prejudices and stereotypes is not so much one of hostility, but rather one of amused surprise. Usually, very little is known about these religions, so that only certain practices, mostly 'curious' practices, are seized upon as features and circulated as stereotypes. One wonders at the sacred cows of the Hindus, and contrasts them with

India's hunger (→ Animal II), the veiling of Muslim women (→ Veil), the prohibition against eating the meat of certain animals (→ Eating/Nourishment), the → circumcision of Jews, or the Good Friday processions in Andalusia (→ Mediterranean Region). Since stereotypes are mostly formed along inter-group differences, and in comparison with one's own group, religious practices that seem extreme are the ones used preferentially, *pars pro toto* (Lat., 'a part for the whole') for those of the religion across the board. The latter can then easily appear as being of a completely different kind—'irrational' or 'exotic.' Such stereotyping, as long as it is used as a series of 'cognitive short formulae' for the simplification of perception, and is unapproachable by interaction, is dissolved or differentiated by more precise information. On the contrary, prejudices, owing to their emotional charge, their connection with interests, and their function of unburdening the psyches of individuals or groups, are only with difficulty dispelled by purely factual information.

Secular versus Religious Systems of Values

e) Stereotyping can take on expressly hostile, militant traits, however, when the foreign religious practice comes in conflict with one's own cultural norms. Thus, in the matter of animal protection, a long, still persistent battle is waged against kosher butchery. Similarly, the role of woman, often, for example in Islam, is criticized as 'medieval' on the basis of universalistic norms of equality. Muslim girls' scarves can then, as recently in France, lead to a conflict of norms between a laicist state and religious custom. But this conflict can also apply to one's own religion or church, such as when, in questions of sexual morality or → celibacy, the official position, over the course of time, is branded as exaggerated adogmatism. Here secular and ecclesial value systems come into conflict. This dilemma can lead to a loss of esteem for church tradition across the board, as something 'old-fashioned,' and the abandonment of the Church. Conversely, for instance in the case of *völkisch* German belief, particularistic norms can lead to a criticism of the universalism of Christianity: Christianity is said to have ignored 'natural racial boundaries,' and, by failing to consider racial and ethnic differences, to have forced the Germans to accept a religion of 'alien blood.' By way of the latter example, it becomes clear that, often, religious prejudices do not exist in isolation, but are used as tools for racist and national political interests; so that, as for example in the conflicts in → Northern Ireland, → Bosnia, or Kashmir, they deepen divisions, and launch a great potential for destruction.

Media, Forms, and Places of Prejudices

4. Religious competition and conflict strongly suggest that members of the other religion would wish to cause harm to one's own religion. The supposition that the latter would profane and harm sacred scriptures and other things sacred is already present in the prejudice of the 'profanation of the Host,' but is still very widespread today. The rumor that a Hindu officer in Srinagar (Kashmir) had used pages of the Qur'an as toilet paper unleashed a week-long rebellion among the Muslims. Other *narratives of prejudice* have reported that Jews urinated in the Mass wine. The injury need not always be against sacred objects, of course. A Muslim family near Bombay was convinced that their milkman, a Hindu, had watered down their milk.

Group Legends

The concept of 'narratives' should indicate that prejudices are not shaped ad hoc, but become group legends (→ Social Myths and Fantasy Images). The latter collect and transmit 'realities' in such a way that every member of the

religious group knows them and many hold them as true. Religious narratives supply prototypes (in Christianity, for instance, the image of Judas, the Betrayer, later applied to the Jews in the Dreyfus Affair, or in the First World War). They are handed on and learned through sermons and examples in the churches, and popular graphics in the printed media. Legends of the saints, and devotions emerging from them (e.g., the anti-Jewish cults sparked by rumors of a 'sacrifice' of ritual murder) likewise form an important medium for the spread of prejudices against another religion.

Experts

This transmission is reinforced when religious groups have their own confessional schools, and when 'ideologues' and self-styled religious experts help solidify the prejudices through their 'expertise,' such as Catholic clergyman and professor of theology August Rohling (1839–1931), who held himself out as a Talmudic expert, attributed to the → Talmud an appeal for the murder and robbery of Christians, and the subjugation of Christianity. Especially when the sacred texts are composed in another language and script, they offer a favorable projection screen for stereotypes and prejudices.

Propaganda

With the expansion of technological opportunities for the spread of reports and propaganda (from printing, radio, and television to the Internet), naturally the spread of stereotyped ideas and prejudices is facilitated—as well as, to be sure, the opportunities for combating them. In dictatorships and totalitarian states, where alternative opinions are suppressed, there exists the danger, of course, that, by way of their massive influence on the public, hostile images will be generated and even believed.

1. See Duckitt 1992.
2. Weiler, Gerda. Ich verwerfe im Lande die Kriege. Das verborgene Matriarchat im Alten Testament, Munich [2]1986.
3. Fichtenau, Heinrich, Ketzer und Professoren. Häresie und Vernunftglaube im Hochmittelalter, Munich 1992, 86.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Collective Representations, Conflict/Violence, Gender Stereotypes, Group (Religious), Heresy, Secrecy, Stigmata/Stigmatics, Values, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Werner Bergmann

Prestige

1. What is generally understood by 'prestige' is an evaluation by which individuals or groups assign one another a rank in the social world. Thus, prestige stands in close connection with the concepts of honor and recognition, which likewise bear on the aspect of social evaluation, although the accents they place are not altogether the same. The concept was introduced into scientific discussion in the early twentieth century, when Ludwig Leopold (1916) undertook to outline the psychological dimensions, and Max → Weber (1922) the sociological.

What is Prestige, and How Does It Function? Theories in the Social Sciences

Prestige as 'Symbolical Capital' (Pierre Bourdieu)

2. a) In recent discussion in the social sciences, it is above all the reciprocal connection among differences in prestige and fortune, differences in education and influence, that have been emphasized.[1] Thus, just as one's schooling and income can enhance one's prestige, so also is the degree of one's social evaluation translatable into fortune, education, and influence. The last, the useful aspect of prestige, has been systematically registered by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, in terms of his concept of prestige as 'symbolical capital': like other sorts of capital, prestige can be inherited, accumulated, and reinvested. Fortune and income ('economic capital'), connections and influence ('social capital'), as well as education ('cultural capital') find their visible expression in the symbolical capital of social esteem. Granted, this translation process is complicated. Sheer money, or an academic title, do not automatically precipitate out in symbolical capital. These need expression in sign, and a process of social recognition, in order for symbolical capital to become effective actually as capital. In other words: from social position, which can be calculated objectively, no corresponding prestige automatically follows. Thus, for example, a profession like that of realtor or credit lender can bring with it an extremely high income, but extremely low prestige, while, for example, the profession of a nurse or pastor, whose income will be relatively small, will enjoy an altogether high esteem.

Prestige as a Power Factor, and Result of a Lifestyle (Max Weber)

b) Max Weber has explained 'prestige,' which he regards as equivalent to the concept of 'social honor,' as societies' key cultural quantity.[2] The social order, then, is the result of the distribution of prestige. Social inequality is therefore defined not only by 'class position,' by the possession of economic capital, but also, and normatively, on the 'position of one's standing,' and on inequalities in the distribution of symbolical capital. Prestige, then, is immediately joined to power: the higher the measure of my appraisal, the more power I can develop in my particular social context.

Prestige as a perceptible quantity, according to Weber, comes into being as a function of the patterns of one's lifestyle—social contacts, marriage alliances, activities, church affiliation, and profession—in fact, anything covered by the concept of lifestyle. Recent empirical investigations list, for example, housing, clothing, reading material, sports clubs, favorite bars and restaurants, shops, and vacation places, as well as the 'neighborhood' in which one's dwelling is located. Here it becomes clear that prestige as a component of one's 'standing' is settled principally in the societal area of consumerism, while one's 'class' relates to the area of production.

Prestige through Demonstrative Consumption (Thorstein Veblen)

c) This aspect was a special topic of research by Weber's contemporary, economist Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929). Veblen distinguishes, in his modular analysis of the American upper class, two kinds of constitution of prestige in signs: conspicuous idleness and conspicuous consumption. The former appears in as great a distance as possible from all manner of productive work, whose place is taken by 'unproductive' activities, such as practicing art and music, or learning dead languages. Conspicuous consumption, on the other hand, appears in the use and waste of the most expensive goods possible: "Waste brings prestige."[3] Even servants, wives, friends, and guests, can exercise this consumption, thus winning an even more exalted distinction. It would certainly be worthwhile to investigate, from this viewpoint, the economy of prestige exercised by the papacy and Vatican City State.

Prestige as Criterion of Success in Life (Heinz Kluth)

d) Heinz Kluth's (1957) theory of prestige places another accent on the matter. Kluth's point of departure is that a person acquires prestige in proportion to the importance of that person's contributions of important assets to the group, or even to the entire society. The assets in question associate him or her with acknowledged quantities of value and aim in social life. For the individual, prestige is thereby a thermometer of the success of his or her social existence. This point of view evinces a clear parallel to the Calvinistic determination of one's certitude of salvation in terms of the sign of comfort and wealth. The only difference is that, in the case of Calvinism, economic capital is taken as the standard of existential success, while with Kluth it is symbolical capital that performs this function.

Prestige and Religion

3. The connection of prestige with religion, as well as with confession, is still in great need of systematic investigation. Here it is to be observed that, especially in pre-modern societal formations, the exercise of clerical office is bound up with a high quantum of symbolical capital. In the ancient high cultures, as well as in the hierarchical ladder of the Middle Ages (and of early modern times), the position of → priest or church leader was expressly reckoned as conferring prestige. Indeed, even well into the time of the industrial civilization of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, priests were among the local 'right honorable,' whose symbolical capital was especially linked with social capital, that is, with 'connections' and political influence. Remnants of these structures are found even today in strongly confessional milieus, as well as in the countryside. Prestige signs such as expensive or special → clothing (purple material, special cuts, and head-coverings, such as miters) serve the inner differentiation among the religious hierarchy, somewhat as, in businesses, different car models match certain managerial levels.

Secondly, the question arises of the extent, apart from clerical status, to which mere membership in a confession and practice of religion is bound up with certain prestige values. This question is especially relevant in those social constellations in which confessional majorities and minorities are in confrontation. For example, as is well known, the low legal and political status of Jews in many societies of world history generated, and was generated by, their dearth of prestige and recognition. The members of many other minorities have to battle similar problems, if not always so extreme. Even in a country like the United States, where freedom of religious practice was guaranteed very early in its constitutional order, and where → civil religion supplied a symbolical medium of integration (and was able to bind all confessions into the national community), religious differences, over centuries,

have registered in differences in prestige. Thus, until a few decades ago, it was always clear that, in a society of WASPs ('White Anglo-Saxon Protestants'), Catholics and Jews or Afro-Americans not only had less economic and political influence, but were also ranged further down the scale of prestige. This explains why there had been no Catholic President of the United States before John F. Kennedy (1961–1963), even though Catholics had constituted an important (preponderantly Irish- and Italian-American) minority in the United States since the nineteenth century.

Prestige and Morality

4. In his work, *Ehre, Prestige und Gewissen* (Ger., "Honor, Prestige, and Conscience," 1966), Christian moral theologian Wilhelm Korff has attempted to determine the possible functionality of prestige in the area of morality, from a normative perspective. In honor and prestige, Korff sees means of assigning persons their respective social place in the structure of society. For Korff, then, persons confer this form of recognition upon one another for morally good behavior. One who behaves in an especially moral way gains especially high prestige. Therefore, holds Korff, this person's honor and prestige operate as a means of motivation for virtuous behavior according to the values and norms of the society or religious community in which he or she lives, and thus promotes a behavior that will then benefit the social texture. This thought can also be applied functionalistically. When a religious group or an entire society manages to establish certain moral values as obligatory, it has acquired an efficient means of direction that can dispense with outer pressure in favor of inner direction by way of the → conscience of the individual actors (principle of interiorization).[4]

A Code of Honor

To establish validity for this model of morality even outside confessional ethics is the endeavor of numerous 'codes of honor' (in parties, business enterprises, professional associations, science). Such a code is intended to establish a manner of collective self-obligation that would transcend existing legal determinations, and go beyond the individual conscience. No juridical punishments threaten those who withdraw from this obligation, or who behave in contravention of its determinations, it is true; but these run the risk of losing the social capital of prestige, and therewith social recognition, in the related community and relationships in which they live.

1. Bolte, Karl Martin/Hradil, Stefan, Soziale Ungleichheit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Opladen [6]1988, 190ff.
2. Weber 1976, 530ff.
3. Veblen, Thorstein, Theorie der feinen Leute. Eine ökonomische Untersuchung der Institutionen, Frankfurt/M. 1986, 103 (Engl. original: The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions, New York 1899).
4. Cf. Coleman 1990.

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→ *Capitalism, Economy, Ethics/Morals, Group, Society, Values*

Ludgera Vogt

Priest / Priestess

1. Priests and priestesses (from Gk., *presbýteros,* 'older person,' 'elder of the community') are religious → specialists who work as cultic functionaries within a religious community. (They arethus distinguished from theologians, who, as specialists in teaching and dogma, are entrusted with, for example, the exposition of Scripture, and the means of propagation of that teaching and dogma.) The priest's task, in the broad sense, is the execution of → rituals, sacrificial acts, or entire liturgies. Priests are office-holders—that is, they practice their function not spontaneously, but by virtue of their institutionalized position within the society. They are thus distinguished from religious founders, shamans, or prophets, who work by virtue of the abilities ascribed to them, their → charisma. Above and beyond this, the following can be numbered among the sacerdotal (i.e. priestly) duties: address of the divine being in prayer or hymn, the function of → oracle, the imparting of blessings, as well as teaching, the 'cure' (from Lat. *curare*, 'care') of souls, the support of the needy (→ Charitable organizations), and sometimes even → mission.

General Characteristics

2. a) In spite of all distinctions among specific religions, places, and eras, on the basis of the following attributes, priests are distinguished from the other members of their community.

- They possess priestly authority, frequently conferred on them in a ceremonial act. However, a special formation lies at its foundation, as well: candidates for the priesthood are either determined by right of inheritance (Brahmans in India, Zoroastrianism), or are recruited from among the young members of the community (Christianity), or are elected (ancient Roman religion).
- They have a special social rank, which can actually coincide with the highest civil office (Sumerian-Babylonian priest-kings, the Roman Emperor as *Pontifex Maximus*—Lat., 'supreme bridge-builder,' i.e., highest medium between heaven and earth), and has his honor officially attested to, receives privileges, but is frequently also subjected to official restrictions (celibacy, nutritional prohibitions).

Other attributes:

- Permanent or temporary insignia in → clothing, haircut, or bodily adornment, especially during the performance of sacred acts.
- A particular task, which may be expressed in a hierarchical priesthood.
- The creation and transmission of, and commentary on, a religious system.
- The instruction of the young.
- Performance of administrative and jurisdictional duties.
- Support at the hands of members of the community.

b) A priesthood is usually formed in the framework of a social differentiation and specialization, especially if sacred acts claim so much time that the practitioner can no longer perform other activities. Many religions have an ambivalent relationship to the priesthood. Muslim communities, for example, do entirely without this office: respected private persons, or the Imam, a chosen dignitary, perform festive rituals, religious instruction, and leadership of the community. In ancient Jewish religion, up to the regency of Saul (c. 1024–1004 BCE), sacred acts were not reserved to priests alone: the head of a family was also permitted to offer sacrifices. The eldest male made legal decisions. In the time of the Kings (c. 1000–597 BCE), a priestly caste was gradually formed from the members of particular tribes. After the destruction of the Temple (70 CE), the priests were replaced by theologians: rabbis, who at first preached, and only later (but not necessarily) led divine service. In Buddhism or Lamaism, the priesthood developed from the community of monks, who acted as preachers and spiritual guides.

The economic maintenance of the priestly rank is always the task of the community. Thus, in Christianity, from the Middle Ages onward, it was the benefice that determined the support of the clergy: land and fortune, as well as ongoing income, such as the contribution of a tenth ('tithe') of all of the agricultural products and income of the community members. In Germany, the transition from a natural to a fiscal economy, and, finally, secularization, led to the introduction of the church tax, which today supports, among other things, pastors' salaries.

Christianity

3. The Christian priesthood formed after the death of the Apostles, and is significant for the transition from a charismatic to an institutionalized religion, which was to be solidified by the introduction of offices. Bishops, priests, and deacons replaced the apostles, prophets, and teachers, who, in the first century, had founded the Christian communities on their journeys, and then served and directed these, until a local priesthood ('clergy') appeared. The latter was necessary for the establishment of a permanent community life at each place—not least of all for the purpose of weakening the influence of the wandering charismatics. (The word 'clergy' is derived from the Greek *kléros*, 'share,' 'distributed land,' or 'inheritance,' as the priestly office was thought of as having been conferred by God.) This measure resulted from confrontation with the numerous Gnostic communities (→ Gnosticism).

The First Letter of Clement, Bishop of Rome, which was addressed to the Corinthians (c. 90–100 CE), documents a new departure in Christianity, the introduction of the distinction between clergy and laity. With Constantine's recognition and patronage of Christianity, from 313 CE, the Christian priesthood developed, in the sense of a social class with special privileges. The introduction of sacraments (→ Lord's Supper/Eucharist) and rites of passage (such as baptism, burial), that reflect human beings' everyday life and physical existence, and incorporate them into the religious system, had already lent the priestly office its justification, together with an economic basis. This development, which was all but completed in the fourth century, is still maintained in the Roman Catholic Church today. A departure was posited with the Reformed Churches. Martin Luther held that every Christian received a right to proclaim the gospel and confer the sacraments through baptism (universal priesthood), and yet maintained that, for the preservation of order, only an official representative of the Church ought to be authorized to make a public proclamation. Today's Evangelical Free

Churches, on the other hand, propagate the 'priestly community,' which revokes any distinction between clergy and laity, and places all (male) members of the community in the immediate succession of the Apostles.

Priestesses

4. Women are very rarely to be encountered in priestly functions in the history of religion. One of the few ancient instances is that of the Vestals, in Rome. They were not directly responsible for sacrificial acts, it is true, but were responsible, for example, for the preparation of the salted groats without which no sacrifice could be performed. Ordinarily, priestesses were bound only to one deity, which demanded a 'chastity sacrifice,' which could be expressed not only in virginity, but also in sacred → prostitution. Menstruation and pregnancy, however, frequently carried taboos, which altogether excluded women from public sacred actions. Thus, in Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, basically no women had priestly functions conferred upon them.

In recent times, the question of the admittance of women to sacred functions and offices has been more seriously discussed. In the Roman Catholic Church, pressure for the admittance of women to the priesthood has met with no success thus far, in the liberal currents of Judaism the first women rabbis are already at work, and the Anglican, as well as the allied Old Catholic Church, have ordained women for some years now.

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→ *Apostle, Church, Group, Hierarchy, Papacy, Specialists (Religious)*

Karin Schneider

Private Religion

'Private'

1. The word 'private' derives from the Latin *privatus*, and means 'belonging to,' or 'concerning a particular person or group; not common or general.' In the course of the eighteenth century—through connections with 'private property,' and 'private person'— the word developed into a counter-concept, first, to 'state' (adj.), and then, to 'public,' or 'public civil,' so that it gained the sense of 'divided from [other] citizens,' a state-free sphere.

Private Religion

2. The Christian churches, in their self-concept, fulfill a 'public charge.' Indeed, they may even do so in a way that comes to expression in, for instance, the law of a state church. Thus, the concept of 'private religion' represents a manner of the practice of religion that withdraws from 'public-ness,' in the sense of the nature of a public or state thing, as well as from religious and

other institutions—indeed stands in opposition to them. Analogously with 'private language,' we can understand by 'private religion' those religious conceptualizations, practices, and experiences, which individuals, without, or even against, the influence of religious institutions, develop more or less independently, or from elements lying at hand—'tinkering' (in Fr., *bricoler*) with them until they have come into being, as French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss has put it. A historically well-attested example is the case of a miller in Friaul in Italy, who had invented his own doctrine of the origin of the world, conceptualizing the cosmos as a cheese, from which the angels and heavenly bodies had emerged after the fashion of maggots.[1] The work of a good many 'brooders and enthusiasts' evinces these kinds of private religious traits, wherein the transitions to delusion are somewhat fleeting (→ Psychopathology). Secondly, the phrase may indicate religious practices and ideas that are practiced individually, or are not communicated. The concept of private religion, however, presupposes an understanding of what 'privacy' means in the particular cultural milieu in which the word and concept occur.

Privatization of Religion

3. The phenomenon of the privatization of religion has been more strongly emphasized since the beginning of the 1960s, above all else in the discussion maintained in psychology of religion. It is especially among American authors that this phenomenon finds mention. It should be pointed out that with this concept, religion is increasingly limited to the interests of the individual, and thereby forfeits its public relevance and meaning for culture. Following Stephen Hart, we may distinguish six different aspects of privatization:

- Religion without a church, as for example with participation in religious communication over the mass media (e.g., → Televangelism);
- Religious communities as voluntary associations, in which individual interests are followed (e.g., the promotion of one's career, or access to kindergarten enrollment for one's children);
- Individual theological responsibility of the individual faithful;
- Religious subjectivism—the tendency to regard religion as something subjective in principle;
- Separation of religious and subjective concerns, where religion is looked upon as something inward that ought to play a role neither in politics nor in other institutions;
- The religious market—the circumstance that religions offer different functional contributions used by the individual as a consumer.

4. Within the discussion maintained in the social sciences, however, various aspects of the concept of privatization are brought out. Strictly speaking, there are three variants of the theory of privatization:

Religion as a Private Matter: Privatization as a Function of Pluralization and Civil Religion (Parsons/Bellah)

a) For Talcott Parsons and Robert Bellah, the public function shifts to cultural forms, as, for example, American → civil religion or → Marxism. Here, then, privatization relates only to traditional religious systems. Thus, Parsons considers the privatization of traditional, institutionalized religion as a consequence of the pluralization of religion, and the necessity for it to incorporate all members of society into this plurality. On these grounds, no single traditional religion can become publicly obligatory, and religion becomes a private matter.

Privatization as a Consequence of Alienation from Social Structures (Berger/ Luckmann)

b) Instead, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann locate religion today only in the private sphere, which they distinguish from the public. In other words, religion has become 'invisible.' The private sphere, and therefore one's individual life, is also imbedded in various institutions, to which—besides religion—the family and the 'secondary institutions' belong, as, for example, therapeutic, counseling, or institutions for social assistance. Now the point of departure adopted by Berger and Luckmann is that the growing institutional differentiation and rationalization of modern societies lead to an isolation of the individual from prevailing social structures, therefore also from the traditional religious communities. In this new structural environment, institutional religion can no longer perform its task of conveying meaning. In the course of a process of privatization, the task of the construction and maintenance of comprehensive meaning-systems, such as a → religion or an → ideology, is therefore transferred to the individual, and to a series of voluntary, secondary institutions.

'Privatization of the Decision' for Religion Niklas Luhmann

Finally, for Niklas Luhmann, the essential structural trait of societal 'subsystems' consists in the distinction between professional and complementary roles. These roles are of decisive importance for the relationship between the individual and society. In earlier societal types, it was membership in special status-groups like those of artisans, the nobility, or the middle class, that determined the individual's access to wealth, power, or knowledge—and, to a great extent, to profession, as well. But this connection is undone in modern, functionally differentiated societies. A person is still defined by her or his functional role—as physician, politician, or priest. And yet, in addition to these roles, each person also has complementary ones—as patient, voter, consumer, or believer—that make possible access to the achievements of the corresponding, functionally differentiated, societal systems: the political system, the economic system, or even religion. The private, according to Luhmann, is represented by, so to speak, the combination of these various complementary roles. I do 'participate' in functional systems by way of my complementary roles; but these roles are just as powerfully imprinted with nonfunctional traits of my person—my lifestyle, my personality, my preferences. In turn, these traits form the basis of my decision to participate in religion, and of my membership in a religious organization. Luhmann therefore speaks of a 'privatization of the decision' for religion.

Criticism of the Concept of Privatization

5. By way of criticism, it is observed that the concept of privatization originates in a Western, ethnocentric category, that must be 'rethought,' especially in the light of globalization.[2] Thus, at the end of the 1980s, Robert Robertson observed clear counter-tendencies to privatization: on the one hand, religion's growing public role, which he designates as 'politicization' (→ Political Religions; Civil Religion); and on the other, an ever more powerful intervention on the part of political institutions in such individual religious matters as until now have been regarded as 'private' (as, for instance, in the American discourse on questions concerning abortion). For this phenomenon, Robertson applies the term 'religionization.' To be sure, these developments can be regarded as reactions to privatization, which, especially in Western society, is supported by the persistent tendency to individualization, and seems to have established itself, alongside institutionalized religion, as an enduring phenomenon.

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2. Beyer 1994, 70ff.

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→ *Biography/Autobiography, Intellectual Religion, Meaning/Signification, Modernity/Modern Age, New Age, Postmodernity, Religion, Secularization, Society*

Hubert Knoblauch

Procession

Religious Procession and Public Act

1. The religious procession (from Lat., *processio*, 'procession,' 'walk in order to demonstrate a request' or to demonstrate 'gratitude') today stands in the field of tension between an act of expression on the part of believers, conveyed by religion, and a secularized → 'publicity' or public act whose primary appeal is to popular tradition or → tourism.

Processions are liturgical and corporative kinds of cult, which 'walk' an established topography (a stretch of a road or street, a locality, or a sacred → 'landscape') in a sacred and ritually aesthetic manner. It is common to all of these processions, besides the requirements just stated, that they offer an opportunity for individual groups, quarters of a city, and cities, to present themselves, as long as their project, in their understanding, is for the glory of God(s). The objects and elements of religious worship (statues, altars, instruments used in worship, such as incense or the like), liturgical or local formal dress (the brotherhoods' robes, other costumes) sacred images, religious texts and songs, all transmit the religious experience of the faithful.

The gathering, or mass, of the faithful is inseparable from the public: its purpose is to demonstrate their message before the (passive) onlookers on the street or other route. This demonstration often occurs in the form of a drama, as in Catholic Good Friday processions, when, besides images, photographs are presented in decorated cars or floats, or when the story of the Passion is presented by actors (→ Drama [Sacred]). The ritually established march leads from its starting point, usually a church or cathedral, and has just as specific an endpoint: a sacred mountain, a chapel, or the original point of departure. The religious 'motion' creates a sacred counter-space

to the profane everyday world and gathers the celebrants into a temporary holy community (→ Ritual).

The motivations for a procession can vary, and need not be mutually exclusive. Often, processions join local identity and prestige, touristic aims, and the self-presentation of the religious community. Religio-political meaning attaches to, for instance, the processions of Protestants and Catholics in → Northern Ireland, which serve to reinforce the claim to a territory (a street or a city quarter), or to solidify the condition of political dominance there. Processions are also mirrors of the cultural problems in a society. Thus, the revival, on April 10, 1998, of the Good Friday procession (that had been banned in 1803), occurred through the initiative of the Catholic Foreign Mission in Munich in the interest of engagement on behalf of minorities. Under the symbol of a black, Rwandan Jesus, the procession was to call attention to deficiencies in the integration of black residents. But the human wish for help, as one sees it in petition for blessing and for protection from danger, is also expressed in the annual processions that traverse the flagstones in 'impetration.' Another motive for processions is concern for the traditions of a religious culture.

While religious processions like those on Good Friday and Palm Sunday, and the impetratory and thanksgiving (for the harvest) processions, are officially listed in the festal calendar, bridal and funeral processions comply with life's course instead, and thus, with the cyclic festivals of the → life cycle. → Carnival processions and public demonstrations on important societal memorial days roughly follow the 'religious' calendar, but are based primarily on socio-political motives.

Contexts

2. In their respective sorts and configurations, processions yield to their special context. Thus, in Greek antiquity, the procession was primarily affixed to the cult of feasts of the deities and of the state. In the polis, it was reckoned an affair of the people and of the state. For one, the cultic procession served in the framework of feasts of the deities, and for another, it demonstrated state power. Procession itself acquires the elements of a beginning and end point of the 'sacred way' (→ Road/Path/Journey), which sorts out space, hierarchically, according to the importance of the cultic 'stations,' and adapts music and sacred dress accordingly. The relation between human being and God is thus represented in theatrical play (*mimesis*, Gk., 'imitation') and lavish symbolical outlay (in 'pomp,' from Lat., *pompa*, 'parade'). In Roman antiquity, the procession underwent a profanization and was no longer limited to the area of the cultic. Then it was the burial procession of a mighty man, the opening of the Games, and the Emperor's triumphal march. Early Christianity was scandalized by theatrical pomp; it adopted, however, the phenomenon of the procession. After all, the latter was well adapted for the 'translation,' the transfer, of the → relics of the martyrs, and for a publicly effective demonstration of ecclesial wealth. Since the Reformation, Corpus Christi processions have been the 'show' event of the holy bread, the Eucharist, and have aimed at an emphasis of the division between Catholics and Protestants. In modern times, they are understood, in addition, as a bulwark against secular society and atheism.

Currency of Processions

3. In Southern Europe, Austria, and Latin America, processions are part of the ordinary religious life of the faithful. For Central Europe, however, it must be maintained that—aside from touristic productions—processions underlie a countercurrent. In the first place, they continue to be determined

by the application and solemnities of liturgy, which may be attributed both to critical questioning (as that of the need for processions in a secular society), as well as to the multiplication of a will to ecumenical cooperation. In the second place, processions in the city and country are being 'revitalized' for the purpose of reinforcing traditional community formation, against a societal lifestyle of haste and indifference, in which the boundaries among individual groups threaten to blur.

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→ *Masses, Mediterranean Region, Pilgrimage, Place (Sacred), Publicity, Road/Path/Journey*

Annemarie Gronover

Profession of Faith

The profession or confession of faith is the readily recalled, binding collection and affirmation of a religion's central content of faith, and announces exclusive membership in this community in distinction from other religious groups. It is known in all writing or founded religions, but not in the religions of illiterate people, whose religious and social structures are so tightly woven that it is not necessary explicitly to proclaim them; rather, membership follows by birth. A first form of the Christian profession of faith was the rule of faith that, in the second century—along with the establishment of the canon of the New Testament writings—was one of the essential weapons against → heresy. That is, beginning in the third century, conformity of the profession with the manifold formulae of the acts of → baptism can be shown. Now, with the development of → liturgy, from the fifth century onward, the profession of faith or confession finally entered the divine service. This *Apostolicum*, or "Apostles' Creed," has always been the basic Christian profession of faith.

Especially in the baptismal ritual, but also in Confirmation, the profession is evinced as a means of initiation of the new community member. The Islamic profession of faith, as well, demonstrates the function of the rite of initiation: the public enunciation of the *Sahada* effectuates membership in Islam's religious community. By contrast with the canon of scripture, the Christian profession is living, and can be reshaped in reaction to external relations, such as has been the case, for example, with the "Theological Declaration of Barmen," in implementation of a directive of the Confessional Synod (1934), in the confrontation with → National Socialism. The profession of the Batak Church (1951), on Sumatra, a 'young church,' documents its formation in confrontation with persons who believe differently.

→ *Baptism, Confession, Group, Heresy, Identity, Initiation, Liturgy/Dramaturgy*

Karin Schneider

Progress

Progress and History

1. The successes of the natural and cultural sciences in European modernity engendered technological innovation. This led in turn to an 'acceleration' of culture, of its means of conveyance, and of production and communication. Rapid public transport, one's own Internet connection, or the last-minute ticket to the Maledives, provide occasion for the conceptualization that the human being is in a constant state of progress. Progress becomes not only a basic concept for an appraisal of history, but, beyond this, a basic characteristic of (modern) humanity—an *anthropological quantity.* This idea means that humanity is seen in a historical process, which is constantly developing for the better, and in which the human being is approaching her and his ideal. This faith in progress is found especially in important philosophical writings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The spirit of the most important writings was prepared by progress-oriented compositions such as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (Ger., "Education of the Human Race"; 1780), Immanuel Kant's *Ideen zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht* (Ger., "Ideas of a Universal History in the Perspective of a Citizen of the World"; 1784), and Johann Gottfried Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Ger., "Ideas for the Philosophy of the History of Humanity"; 1784–1791). Then followed F. W. J. Schelling and G. W. F. Hegel (Schelling's *System des transzendentalen Idealismus*—Ger., "System of Transcendental Idealism"; 1880; and Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes*—Ger., "Phenomenology of Mind"; 1807). Thus were created sketches of a new concept of history, making history the image of the appearance of a reason that understands itself, or of a developing and 'unfolding' Mind. In this fashion, the pioneers' preparatory work was deepened, with a concept of progress not only as of an anthropological importance, but also as of a metaphysical one: the concept of progress becomes an ethical category (as a synonym for that which is good and just), and finally, a political demand (contradicting restoration and reaction). Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels took this last step in the nineteenth century, with their theory of dialectical and historical materialism. Here, a faith and confidence in progress is connected with eschatological conceptualizations (→ Marxism). The nineteenth century's concept of progress was then incorporated into further conceptions, and ideologized. Subsequently, a schema of progress that was to be the norm for the whole twentieth century had declared not only the cultural, but even the religious, progress of the human being to have traced, and to be tracing, a course 'from Mythos to Logos' (Wilhelm Nestle), or from → magic to → science (James George Frazer). Here the schema is found not only in psychology, but also in anthropology, religious studies, and in classical studies. The fundamental supposition, influenced by colonialist and Darwinist stereotypes, consists in belief in a mythic, history-less age, which is replaced by the age of logical reason. Here again, progress is equated with a higher development (→ Evolutionism).

The Bio-Psychological Concept of Progress

Along with this cultural and societal meaning and importance of progress, there is yet another—a bio-psychological one. Jean Baptiste de Lamarck (1744–1829) and Charles Darwin (1809–1882) furnished decisive impulses for the concept. The two presented different grounds for their theory of the

development of 'races' and 'kinds' ('evolution'). Progress in the history of nature comes according to the law of selection. The same thought became normative for the cultural perspective (Darwinism; → Theory of Evolution).

Critique of Progress and Cultural Pessimism

2. With the moralization, politicization, and biologization of progress, its critique was rendered more acute. The sharpest opponent of progress appeared at the end of the nineteenth century: Friedrich → Nietzsche. Nietzsche's criticism of progress as a moral and political quantity is all the more fundamental, as he had no concept of development himself—wherefore the human being was presented as a (failed) transitional form from animal to super-person. Progress, Nietzsche held, was achieved by the substitution of rationality for instinctive behaviors. It was deceptive, since it was gained at the cost of security and certitude in life. With increasing progress, therefore, and through that alone, culture plunged to its ruin.

Nietzsche's position aroused a broad movement of pessimistic cultural positions. Today, these are gathered under the rubric of 'philosophy of life,' and, with all of their differentiation, their common denominator is a manner of view hostile to progress. Georg Simmel, Ludwig Klages, and Oswald Spengler are notable contributors. Their critique of, or even enmity toward, culture is characterized by a certain proximity to positions from which National Socialism emerged. This has brought upon them the imputation of hostility to democracy. The fact that enmity toward progress does not immediately betoken hostility to democracy is shown by the efforts of → existentialism, which does not automatically take a negative position vis-à-vis the effects of technological development (Martin Heidegger, Karl Jaspers). The same is to be said of the contributions of the 'critical theory' of Adorno and Horkheimer. The common property of these often very different positions is that they criticize the concept of progress in the face of the social and cultural problems of 'advanced' → industrial societies. Here one sees the ambivalence of 'progress,' an ambivalence that permeates cultural and political discussion even today. As culturally superior value, but reduced to in technology and economics, in modern industrial countries progress comes into conflict with conservative values whose orientation is to tradition, or at least to the status quo. Natural catastrophes, as well, or heavy technological defeats like the sinking of the Titanic, led to a transient impatience with belief in progress, but did not essentially impair it.

The Concept of Progress and the Religions

3. The concept of progress, as it appears in Western modernity, stands in a manifold, taut, often tension-filled relation of interchange with traditional religions. While Judaeo-Christian religion has drawn quite near to the conception of progress, and indeed, partly claims it as its own contribution, the Western notion of progress frequently leads to conflict with religious notions in non-Western religions. Thus, in regions of Islamic culture, progress (Ar., *taqaddum*) is a concept in which the restoration of an ideal Islamic antiquity comes into conflict with compelled adaptations to conditions of modern life. As an agenda in cultural or economic policy, it is therefore only possible to represent it in secular programs. However, is technological, or again political and social, 'innovation' (*bid'a*), arising from the pressure of Western innovation and 'globalization,' reconcilable with the needs of the public weal? Here, the area of progress is the object of sturdy controversy in contemporary Islamic ethics.

For Christianity: in his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (German 1904), Max → Weber posits a connection between Protestantism and economic progress. According to Weber, the Protestant idea of salvation, with Luther and Calvin, has prepared the spiritual background for the capitalistic economic system.

4. As recent discussion in cultural studies has demonstrated, many conceptualizations of progress rest on myths of progress, not least of all on a Eurocentric exaggeration of the value of European culture. A historical, psychological (in the area of development), or biological notion of progress ought, therefore, to be disconnected from an ideology of higher development. Since there is no external standard of comparison, it cannot be seen, from progress itself, where it is leading: to the better, or to the worse.

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→ *Enlightenment, Evolutionism, History, Origin, Theory of Evolution*

Stephan Grätzel

Projection

Psychology

1. In technological projection, a picture or image is cast onto the wall. Psychic projection, on the other hand, shifts inner images, or sensations/reactions, to the outside, such as affects and impulses, wishes, or certain conceptualizations. Projection can serve to ward off fear and to retain an acceptable self-image. In an unconscious process, other persons, or a group or society, are 'projectively' ascribed a feeling or → prejudice actually emerging from one's own self. Now only the other is exploitative, jealous, fundamentalistic, etc. Projective allocations always play a role in one's attitude toward strange or foreign people. Unless these allocations, these projections, are corrected in a way that does justice to reality, they can lead to prejudices. In a person with a disturbed experience of reality, even insane bigotry may result.

Feuerbach's Criticism of Religion

2. In Ludwig Feuerbach's (1802–1872) → *criticism of religion,* the occurrence of projection is regarded as the psychic explanation of the rise of religions. Feuerbach studied theology, and, with Hegel, philosophy. First, he came out (anonymously, of course) against immortality, which shut him off from an

academic career. Later, he argued purely anthropologically and materialistically. For him, Hegel's *Absoluter Geist* ("Absolute Mind") is nothing other than nature. Like Schleiermacher, he sees the basis of religion in an 'utter dependency.' For Feuerbach, this is dependency on nature. According to him—who sought to be understood as an 'anti-theist'—religion exchanges subject and object, by holding God as the creating subject, and the human being as God's creature (object). But religion, Feuerbach says, has also arisen from the human being's 'wishful conceptualizations': "What he himself is not, but wishes to be, he imagines as being in his gods."[1] God represents the 'essence of the human being'; to God are attributed human predicates in the highest degree, God is faultless and perfect. The human being must realize this 'projection' in order to love the human being directly—this is the *communis opinio* of the entire reception of Feuerbach. An activity amidst reality, and not only in fantasy, thus becomes possible. Theology is to become anthropology, and dogmatics is to become humanity. This reorientation is the "turning point in world history." In the tradition of the → Enlightenment, Feuerbach conceived that, by taming and subduing nature, through formation, education, and culture, and thereby excluding its crudities and blind coincidences, the human being could attain a happy and free existence. Marx, receiving Feuerbach, sees the root of religious self-alienation—which comes from projection—in the exploitation of persons in a class society, and proclaims the way to persons' happiness through an alteration of economic relations. Through the creation of a classless society, religion as well—which Marx terms an illusion and an "opium for the people"—becomes superfluous.

Sigmund Freud

b) Sigmund → Freud's (1856–1939) critique of religion takes up the Enlightenment and connects it with Feuerbach's anthropological materialism. Although the Enlightenment had deprived the powers of nature of their personified traits, there remained the helplessness of human beings and the quest for the gods. Religious doctrines he saw as collective 'compulsion neuroses,' and illusion one and all. But, since they are neither demonstrable nor refutable, they do not constitute error. Freud replaced the projection of an abstract 'essence of man' with that of the father. In his *The Future of an Illusion* (German 1927), Freud developed the psychology of religion on an Oedipal level: at the center stands the longing for the father and obedience to the superego. In his 'scientific myth,' *Totem and Taboo* (German 1927), Freud argues that the religious God is shifted into a chain of projective analogies that, in the last instance, are all to be referred to the event around the mythic father of the 'primitive horde.' The reactions of the primitive horde to their 'patricide' are all elements of the founding of a culture: in the understanding of the Freudian theory of culture, they lead both to an individual superego (→ Conscience), and to society's superego, and thus to ethics and morals.

3. Projective images of ideas in → myths and religions mirror both individual and collective experiences, along with the societal/social relations of the respective culture. Still, academic analyses are also determined by projections of the individual and social premises at hand. Thus, in Freud we find the patriarchal thinking of his time, as well as the confrontation with the Father God of his own Jewish socialization. The one-sidedness and the dangers bound up with projective thinking have been recognized in many religions, and quite early too: "You shall not make yourself a carved image or any likeness of anything" (Exod. 20:4).

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→ *Collective Representations, Criticism of Religion, Enlightenment, Freud, Prejudices/ Stereotypes, Psychoanalysis, Psychopathology*

Brigitte Görnitz

Prometheus

The Ancient Prometheus Myth

1. Prometheus (Gk., 'the pre-considering') is a cultural hero of Greek mythology. There he belongs to the descendancy of the Titans, offspring of the cosmogonic deities 'Sky' (*Ouranos*) and 'Earth' (*Gaia*; → Cosmology/ Cosmogony). Prometheus is the son of the Titan Iapetos, and the father of Deucalion. His brothers are Atlas and Epimetheus (the 'post-considering'). Zeus's cunning adversary, Prometheus introduced human beings to → sacrifice, stole fire for them from the sky, and thereby founded the 'techniques' of culture (from Gk., *téchne,* 'craft,' 'science,' 'art,' 'ruse'). His approach is therefore characterized by Hesiod (eighth century BCE), and in a work ascribed to Aeschylus, as 'sly' (properly, 'crookedly planning,' in Gk., *ankylométes*), and just as 'indefinite' (or 'dazzling but dubious'—in Gk., *poikílos*). Later traditions ascribe to Prometheus the creation of the human being from clay. As his just desserts for the theft of fire, Zeus has Prometheus chained in the Caucasus, where an eagle daily tortures him by picking out his liver, which grows back overnight. Zeus punishes human beings for the possession of fire with a deceptive return gift: he sends the seductive Pandora (Gk., 'the one endowed by all [of the gods]'; or 'the one endowing all'), from whose accompanying container all of the evils of the world escape; hence the proverbial 'Pandora's box.'

The deeds of Prometheus mark the human being's ambivalent transition from the state of nature to the state of culture. These works are those that chain religious and secular life alike, rendering them problematic (sacrifice and use of fire), and the deeds that convey the primal myth of the development of culture, as well as that of a communication with the gods produced in sacrifice. Neither human being nor god, Prometheus acts as an outsider, to whom either domain is available. He pierces sacred boundaries (law, ceremony, tradition), and makes them permeable to innovation (→ Marginality/Liminality). Since Prometheus transforms cosmic and terrestrial relations, he is seen as holy founder of culture or unholy founder of chaos, as maker or destroyer of prevailing norms, depending on the observer's perspective. Presumably, Prometheus goes back to Sumerian → Trickster stories, which recount the illegitimate arrival of fire from heaven.



Studying under the Sign of Prometheus. Hermann Volz (1847–1922) created the greater-than-life-size group of figures (1903) of red sandstone for the main gate of University Library in Heidelberg. Zeus's eagle, symbol of power, looks with attentive eye at Prometheus. As patron of education and science, and at the same time as a graphic warning of the consequences of a rebellion of knowledge and science against the power of the state, fettered Prometheus unmistakably indicates the boundaries of (scientific or intellectual) freedom. The creation of the human being, the theft of the fire, and the punishment of Prometheus were favorite representational motifs for national constructions in the German Wilhelmine period. Presentations of Prometheus appeared, among other places, at the National Gallery in Berlin (1879), the New University of Würzburg (1898), and the University of Freiburg (1910–1912).

Reception in Modernity and the Present

2. The reception of Prometheus after antiquity emphasizes with the theft of fire: the founding of culture, and the creation of the human being; and with the fashioning of the human being of clay: the process of humanization conceived as a process of molding and modeling. Prometheus goes from planning to playful desire for the new, and thus cannot be 'fixed'; but rather he changes, moves among his values, and produces a multiplicity of interpretations and forms of cultural adaptation, even to today. His reception has endured, unbroken, to the very present, which makes him the most important reference figure for Western intellectual reflection and cultural history (outside the Judaeo-Christian tradition).

Renaissance and Enlightenment

Creation of human beings and theft of fire have been developing since the late Middle Ages into a narrative code for the process of civilization. Boccaccio (1313–1375) subsequently fashioned Prometheus, the *homo simplex* (Lat., 'single human being'), the simple, 'naïve' human being, to the shape of a *homo duplex* ('double human being'), 'doubled humanly,' true, but, owing to his intellectual and bodily abilities, 'ambivalent' toward morals and human custom. The → Renaissance tended toward an image of Prometheus that brought out the split creative potential in the human being. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, Prometheus is often seen as containing an emblem of the artist and the scholar-scientist, who emulates the creator who molds (in Lat., *creator plasticus*). If the human being goes too far, and pries too deep into regions of arcane knowledge, she or he violates knowledge prohibitions (C. Ginzburg), and a Promethean punishment looms: body and soul will both be 'devoured.' As a positive image of intellectual curiosity, one that makes the secrets of an almighty god transparent, Prometheus is found, on the contrary, near Giordano Bruno and Francis Bacon. Comparisons with Lucifer (Lat., 'Light-bringer') and Christ emerge with Thomas Hobbes, in John Milton's influential epic *Paradise Lost* (1667), and with Pedro Calderon, who dedicated a festive play to Prometheus in 1679.

Prometheus as Genius and Hero of the Industrial Age

A new high point in the history of the reception of Prometheus took shape with the age of the middle-class revolution, and the inception of industrialization. For enlightened Europe, from 1770 to 1830 the figure and form of Prometheus became an *idée fixe* (Fr., 'fixed idea'), and a key symbol of any → progress. Prometheus was seen as the sacrificed founder of sacrifice, sometimes even a religious founder and redeemer of humanity. In his deeds lies the political power of the symbol, now mightier still. An outright revolutionary significance is seen in the easily remembered doubled image of the bearer of the fire and the (patient) shackled one. Interpretation in philosophy of religion and research into myth (e.g., with d'Holbach, Herder, the Schlegel brothers, Creuzer, Hegel), as well as the molding of material in music and poetry (with Beethoven, Wieland, Goethe, Bürger, Lord Byron, the Shelleys, Leopardi), afford a timely inscription in Prometheus as a figure of reflection upon what it means to be human, and in his myth as the "mythologue of human existence" (K. Kerényi). He is a primary figure of identification for the cult of the → genius in the *Sturm und Drang*, to whom J. W. von Goethe gives himself in his ode "Prometheus" (1773–1774). Further, the figure of Prometheus sacralizes, by its iconic presence, the process of industrialization. The doctrine of → electricity that became normative in 1740—particularly for theologians and philologists—selected Prometheus as its patron. More than ever, Prometheus acquires human traits. He serves the (anti-deistic) defense of human creativity and genuine autonomy, against any of the inhibiting powers of silence, an autonomy that, in 'Titans' attire,'[1] creates an ambivalent social and technological universe. Just the other way around, Prometheus continues to be freighted with the cultural and technological emancipation of the human being as presumptuousness. To the ideal of the *homo faber* (Lat., 'human being as artisan') is annexed the dreadful image of the 'unfettered Prometheus.' Early enough, in her novel *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus* (1818), Mary Shelley criticizes the ideal that everything can technologically be generated, an ideal that underlies the notion of a 'maker,' be that a god or human being. Whether an allegory on an 'absent creator god' (in Lat., *deus absconditus*), or a literary manifesto of criticism

of technology, Prometheus's transformatory and norm-shattering activity in the form of Frankenstein the genius reveals weaknesses in the picture of the responsible, good, creator of Christian salvific thought. The figure of Prometheus, with its ambiguity of potential shapes and forms, at that time adjures the precarious equilibrium in which a world of human beings has lived since the dawn of the industrial age, so often so full of misgivings; we refer to a world ruled by the techniques of religious and secular production and destruction alike.

Prometheus in Modernity

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Prometheus is frequently only an ideology-fraught quotation in the area of formation and education. As a part of the national iconic inventory, then, he assists in the sacralization of central locations of humanistic claims to education and scholarship (see illus.).

On the other hand, the 'Prometheus unbound' of the middle-class revolution becomes instrumental in the propaganda, state art, and cultural politics of totalitarian regimes. As emblem of a proletariat delivered by Prometheus from immaturity, a 'heroically optimistic,' quasi-messianic proclamation is wrung from the iconography of the Titan, in Nazi art (e.g., with A. Breker, 1936–1937, and J. Thorak, 1943) as in the Soviet and later the East German art. Culturally pessimistic aspects are mostly ignored. On the other hand, as early as 1872, in his *The Birth of Tragedy,* Friedrich → Nietzsche had attempted to do justice, in his interpretation of Prometheus, to both viewpoints, in which, later, Ernst Bloch followed him (e.g., in *Atheism in Christianity*, German 1968). In modern painting and sculpture (Max Beckmann, 1942; Oskar Kokoschka, 1950; Henry Moore, 1949–1951), and in poetry and drama (Nikos Kazantzis, 1941–1943; Heiner Müller, 1969; Ted Hughes, 1973), Prometheus is the point of departure for reflections in the areas of cultural religious criticism. The late work *Prometeo* of Italian composer Luigi Nono transmits a pessimistic tenor in its very subtitle, "Tragedy of Listening." In its reflection on twentieth-century Europe, with its wars and social upheavals, and against the background of an unemployed milieu in central England, the first film rendition of the material, "Prometheus" (Great Britain, 1998–1999), by English poet and director Tony Harrison, identifies the profound human stratum of suffering and exploitation from the perspective of the enslaved Titan on the rock. For Harrison, society, and especially the individual, are caught in a 'Promethean situation,' without perspective.

Prometheus as a Projection Figure

3. The unstable figure of Prometheus is unavailable to simple explanation. But beginning in its archaic sources, then in its appearance in ancient literature, up until today, it has retained its relevance to the relationship of the human being and culture. It represents a 'projection figure' of the human being's religious and secular thinking, a thinking transformed along with that being, and a thinking in which the fundamental questions of the emergence of culture, of the conception of progress, and of historical philosophy find graphic expression. The confrontation with Prometheus delivers richer information about the spirit of a given time—and the relation of prevailing images of creation and culture precisely to their point of relation, the human being—than it does on the 'indefinite' (and 'dazzling but dubious'), ultimately unfathomable, essence of the Titan.

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→ *Cosmology/Cosmogony, Esotericism, Genetic Engineering, Genius, Hero/Heroism, Marginality/Liminality, Myth/Mythology, Origin, Progress, Sacrifice, Trickster*

Michael Weis

Prophecy / Divination

Systematic Determination of the Concept

1. The terms 'divination' and 'fortune telling' are general designations for various forms of religious vision, and usually bear on the future. Both the degree of institutionalization and the goal of respective practices, however, can vary widely. In many cases, the prophecy is performed by religious → specialists, who, in earlier ages, and even today in some extra-European cultures, were or are integrated into religious institutions, such as → oracles or prophetical offices (→ Prophet). The purposes vary, as well. It is not always a matter of a pure prognosis of the future; instead, information also can be gathered concerning the past or simply 'hidden' layers of reality.

Although today we see a strong differentiation and a decrease of institutionalization of prophecy and divination, the following basic postulates can be generalized on a systematic level:

- Every prophecy hypothesizes that, besides the reality available to the senses, there is a *hidden reality*, whether a spiritual world, 'the Holy,' or the 'world of the gods.'
- This world, at first hidden, is enmeshed with visible reality in many ways. The most influential model of this specification in Western history is the esoteric conception of the *idea of correspondence* ("As above, so below") (→ Esotericism; Macrocosm; Hermetism/Hermeticism), which has governed, among other things, prophetical techniques from antiquity until today. On this basis, an inspection of one level of reality (planets, tarot cards, → dreams) authorizes conclusions on any other level.
- This idea presupposes, further, that reality can be understood in its *capacity of signification.* Everything can be an indication of something else; thus, in terms of the 'practice of concordance,' a search will follow regular

patterns. A distinction may be drawn between signs that are actively introduced, and those that occur spontaneously (Lat., *omina*, 'omens'; *monstra*, 'signs,' cf. 'demonstrate') and are interpreted correspondingly. As a rule, those that occur spontaneously evince the character of a → revelation, whether the sign is seen as the message of a transcendent power (including persons, for instance ancestors) or divinities, or whether a human being is granted a spontaneous glimpse into hidden reality.

- Nearly all prophetical traditions evince a tendency to a *ritualization* of the prophetical event, both in the public domain and in the private.

Ancient Religions

2. In European history of religion, the practice of divination during antiquity demonstrated the highest degree of institutionalization. It went without saying that the gods declare their will through appropriate signs, and that it is the task of human beings to take these signs in earnest. These principles led to a whole series of religious specializations, which Cicero, in his important work, *De Divinatione* (Lat., *On Divination*; 44 BCE), lists as follows: that of the haruspex (a soothsayer in ancient Rome who professed to foretell the future by examining the entrails, especially the liver, of sacrificial animals); augury (interpretation of the flight of birds); the drawing of lots; and → astrology; finally, the 'natural' methods of interpretation of dreams and → ecstasy. The interpretation of omens was ubiquitous in the ancient world, both in a religious context as in a political one (oracles, sibyls). In Israel, the drawing of lots was known (in Heb., *goral*), although Jews and Christians likewise used techniques of prophecy, interpretation of signs, astrology, interpretation of dreams, and necromancy (conjuring and interrogation of the dead).

Extra-European Cultures

3. In almost all cultures, "the human being's interpretational structure" (W. Hogrebe) has taken care to produce ritualized means of access to that which is hidden. Especially those religions whose focus is on the universal presence of spiritual beings in nature, or on the afterlife of the dead in the community (→ Ancestors), have preserved an extensive repertory of means for the exercise of divination. Along with countless oracular techniques, the → trance, or phenomena of → possession, as in → shamanism, must be listed here. Recently, these techniques of 'indigenous cultures' have increasingly been received by Western religious systems, particularly in the so-called → New Age.

The Most Common Techniques of Divination Today

4. In Western industrial societies, the twentieth century saw an enormous growth, and a rising public perception, of the phenomena of prophecy and divination. The second half of the nineteenth century—mainly in connection with the phenomenon of mediumism and Mesmerism (→ Spiritism; Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society)—had shown an interest in prophecy. Subsequently, today there is a huge spectrum of divinatory techniques available in the West. These bypassed the 'classic' (in reality, however, very disparate) tradition of *card-reading*—as it was cultivated in the tradition of the → Sinti and Roma, and became known to a wider audience through the "Cards of Mme. Lenormand." Along with → astrology, prominent among the central disciplines of contemporary divination are tarot-card reading, the Chinese I-Ching, and the North European runes.

Tarot

The word 'tarot,' derived from the Old French, denotes a card game, played with 22 high cards ('Trumps'), the 'Greater Arcana,' and 56 secondary cards, the 'Lesser Arcana.' The first mentions of the game go back to the fourteenth century. The cards are ordered in four suits—staves, pentacles (coins), chalices, and swords—corresponding respectively to the elements fire, earth, water, and air. Today over two hundred different 'tarot decks'—graphic transpositions of the game—are available. For divination, cards are intuitively drawn and interpreted, according to different traditions. This 'spontaneous information' is today the most important function of tarot playing. Earlier, the magical ritual possibilities of the cards were intensely observed (thus, many cards could serve in magical ceremonies, as guardians of the directions of the sky, for instance) (→ Magic; Occultism).

I-Ching

The ancient Chinese oracle *I-Ching*, the "Book of Changes," one of the canonical books of → Confucianism, is applied today in the West, principally in a manner similar to the use of tarot cards. In this case, it is 'trigrams'—signs arranged in eight groups of three, of broken and unbroken lines—mediated by the casting of chopsticks (originally, yarrow stalks or stems), or—in a simplified procedure—coins. The production of the sixty-four hexagrams, with the 'images' (brief texts) accompanying them, is probably to be dated in the Chou era (1000–700 BCE).

Runes

The rune signs, found especially throughout much of Northern Europe, were popular in the early Middle Ages, although their roots may have been in Roman times, and their predecessors perhaps even earlier. This system involves an alphabetical series, the *futhark,* possibly derived from Greek script, and whose extension varies with various traditions. Runes are 'letters,' formed by the casting of chips, or are engraved on stones or pebbles. From the combination of individual signs, complex combinations of runes result, which open up a multiplicity of possible interpretations.

Dreams

The interpretation of → dreams, practiced from ancient times, still enjoys great popularity, as is evident from the mountain of literature, popular or scientific in style, that exists on the subject. In addition, other techniques of divination are current today, such as the 'bird oracle,' the 'Celtic tree oracle,' and the 'angel game.' Prophecy in the wider sense also includes → channeling. In addition, it is worth noting the current adaptation, beginning in the 1970s, of traditions designated indigenous, such as systems of Native American origin.

Vision of the Present and Self-Knowledge

5. An inspection of today's Western situation shows that the motive of the interrogation of an oracle is, as a rule, less the hope of persons seeking counsel for an exact vision of the future, than the need to elucidate individual problems, with the help of 'hidden dimensions of reality.' Thus, the motive is the wish to have a view of the present, with such view centered on and around one's own person. The quest for self-knowledge plays a considerable role, then, and many of the prophetical techniques cited above explicitly serve the dramatic and intuitive way of → private religion to one's 'own center.' Here a considerable transformation is to be seen, by comparison with earlier eras. A collectively binding function of the oracle in view of religious policy is found only rudimentarily today in → Lamaism.

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→ *Astrology, Communication, Dream, New Age, Occultism, Oracle, Possession, Prophet, Shamanism, Specialists (Religious), Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Trance, Vision/Auditory Experience*

Kocku von Stuckrad

Prophet

Concept

1. Etymologically, the term 'prophet,' with its basic meaning of 'proclaimer,' 'speaker'—in the sense of the agent of a public declaration—is derived from the Greek *prophétes.* The Greek concept is divided functionally: (1) The prophetess or prophet receives a communication which is unintelligible to the ordinary person, (2) and which is explained by official interpreters, as in the Delphic speech oracle of the Pythia. In Plato (Timaeus), as in the Bible (1 Sam 9:9), there is still an explicit distinction between 'seer' and 'prophet.' Seers here receive the message by inspiration or mechanically, through → visions and auditions, often with the assistance of a medium; these messages are then expounded through the intermediary role of the prophets. Later, an undifferentiated designation of the Egyptian priest as prophet served as the Greek translation of the specialist that the Hebrew Bible calls *nabi*, with its meanings of 'called' or 'summoned,' 'man of God,' and even 'seer.' The transformations and extension of the Greek *prophétes*, as well as the application of Greek terms to the concepts of the Hebrew Bible determined the lopsided picture of the prophet as 'predicter' of the future, rather than as communicator of messages from God.

Types of Prophet

2. Research in religion deals with prophetism in connection with 'enthusiastically' inspired persons or groups (→ Enthusiasm), with attention to their techniques and their role in society. Prophets are religious → specialists. They make up a type of charismatic figure having special religious experiences (Max Weber). Their emergence in various functions is attested since



Since the 1920s and still vigorous today, a broad, popular movement of 'prophetic churches' has developed in Central Africa. The founders, regarded by their churches as prophets, were usually influenced by Baptist and charismatic Christian missionaries from the United States, and were persecuted by the colonial powers as initiators of a socio-cultural, religious resistance movement against European mission churches and colonial powers. This small church, in a fishing village in the Eastern lake region of Congo (formerly Zaire), belongs to the *Église de Jesus-Christ sur la terre par le prophète Simon Kimbangu (EJCSK)*; lit., "Church of Jesus Christ on earth by Prophet Simon Kimbangu." Founded in 1921 by Congolese prophet Simon Kimbangu, this is one of the three publicly recognized churches of the country, and is said to be the largest Protestant church founded in Africa. The persecution and arrest of Kimbangu and his followers by the Belgian colonial administration was followed, in 1959, shortly before Congolese independence, by government recognition of the church. (Benita von Behr and F. Müller)

the earliest forms of religious community building. In many cases, women, as well, play a special role.

The following types of prophet can be distinguished:

- *Ecstatics and ecstatic groups*, by way of calculated practices and techniques such as music, dance, fasting, and intoxicants, enter into a rapture, by which they intend to have access to such higher powers, gods, or ancestors, whose counsel or instruction is important for the interests of a group or of an individual. Thus, their anticipation is not spontaneous and unintentional, but one of a technically invoked, or 'induced' divination or mantic state (→ Trance; Prophecy/Divination).
- *Court and cult prophets* belong to the group of professional prophets and form a social status of their own. Through their direct and powerful influence as royal counselors, or their ongoing positions in the service of the temple, they were vehicles of religious function and authority. Their mantic technique was learned through education; often, the office remained in the family by legacy.
- *Professional prophets*, on the other hand, represent an altogether different group. At the beginning stands an experience of God or the gods, accompanied by corporeal sensations and affect-laden dispositions. They are ordinarily inspired, spontaneously and usually against their will, by a divine authority, and charged with proclaiming revealed words and intentions of God to human beings. They understand themselves as God's direct mouthpiece or 'mouth.'

Visionaries versus Functionaries

The Hebrew → Bible, as a source of prophecy, instructs and advises the types cited. Especially effective are the prophets assumed into the canon by the biblical editors, and directly called to their task by God, such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, who stand in sharp distinction from ecstatic and professional prophets. Their enlistment by YHWH, which brooks no contradiction, compels them to announce God's word, to the past, the present, and the future, as their personal task. With their demands for social justice, they directly enter into the politics and history of the people of Israel and

give instructions for political decisions, as for ethical actions and religious practice. As 'prophets of reform,' these 'summoned' prophets stand as critics of society or of the regime, often in direct competition with institutional prophets or cult functionaries such as priests or the ruling elites. The founder of Islam, as well, → Muhammad, understood himself as a prophet, and his new teaching threatened the lucrative commerce of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage system in Mecca.

New Prophets?

As early as the New Testament (Matt 7:15ff.), as well as in the Acts of the Apostles and the Letters of the Apostle Paul, we meet repeated warnings against 'false prophets.' Paul legitimated the gifts of prophecy (1 Cor 14), it is true; but on the other hand, there were objections to itinerant, circulating prophets, which ultimately led to the rejection of prophecy even in early Christianity. Thus, all prophetical religions of revelation tend to accept, in their founding personality, the most recent herald of truth. God's revelation ends with the "Seal of the Prophets," as → Muhammad is called. Problems arise when the respective traditions produce new charismatic personalities having prophetical claims, as in the case of → Baha'i, which orthodox directions in Islam reject as heretical. Thus, new prophetism becomes part of the history of heresy.

Current religious groups and movements also like to rely on the person of a leader having a personal connection to a deity or transcendent reality, whose truths they announce, and, with them, the future. A more familiar example may be that of the leader of the 'order' *Fiat Lux* ("Let there be light"), Uriella (Erika Bertschinger), who calls herself "God's mouthpiece" (see illus. at → Water). As recently as the beginning of 1999, she once more proclaimed to her followers, and to all who wished to know, 'in full trance,' the end of the world—a communication that she had received in one of her divine revelations. It is precisely the 'prophets of the end time' who, at the turn of the millennium, once more have their peak moment.

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→ *Bible, Group, Prophecy/Divination, Specialists (Religious)*

Hendrik Bechmann

Proselytes

'Proselyte' (Gk., *prosélytos*, 'one added') originally denotes a convert to Judaism. Prerequisite for the → conversion is a confession (profession) of the Torah without reservation. The conversion takes place before a Bet Din (Jewish law court) and three witnesses. Besides → circumcision and the baptismal bath, it was necessary to make a money offering. (Before the destruction of the Temple 70 BCE, a sacrifice was offered there.) The proselyte adopts a Hebrew name.

Seen from a religious point of view, the convert to Judaism is recognized as a Jew, but certain restrictions hold: proselytes may marry no priest or rabbi, and may hold no public offices; heirs are only the children conceived after the conversion. A further problem is the fact that mixed marriages are not permitted. Theoretically, a distinction is made between genuine and false proselytes, in terms of their sincerity; in practice all are recognized as proselytes, as their true motives cannot be known.

Very early, Christianity proscribed proselytism. For the circumcision of non-Jews, late Roman imperial law provided confiscation of fortune, execution for slaves, and banishment for free men. At least since the thirteenth century, capital punishment was imposed on apostates (→ Apostasy) and proselytes. Christian churches today have their stance toward proselytes registered with the World Council of Churches (1950, 1956, 1970), and sanction believers' choice, on grounds of faith and conscience.

Today, the situation vis-à-vis proselytes has become somewhat problematic. Pursuant to a 1970 law, the partners, children, and grandchildren of mixed marriages are recognized as Jews. While in Israel only the children are recognized as Jews, those in agreement and concurrence with official religious determinations have become Jews. The civil courts recognize Non-Orthodox proselytes, while on the other hand, their conversion is not recognized by the Orthodox rabbinate, which determines personal status.

Literature

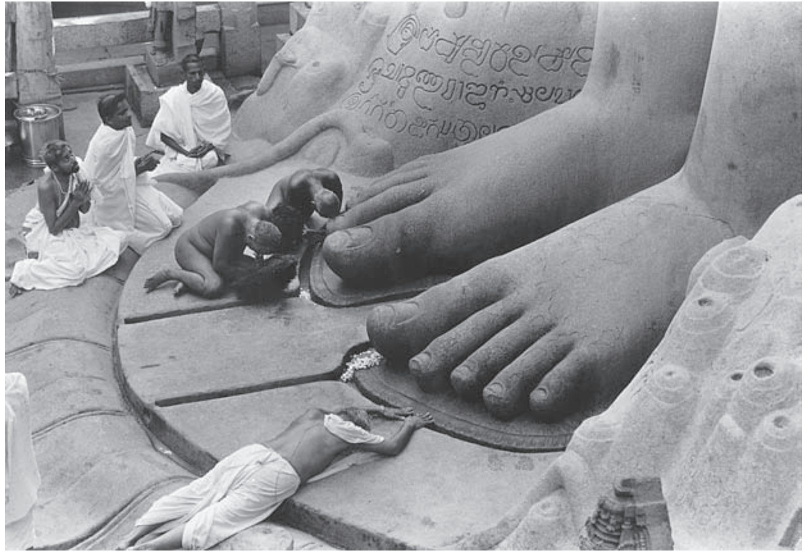
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→ *Conversion, Group, Judaism, Mission*

Babett Remus

Proskynesis

Proskynesis is a gesture of humility, composed of a gesture of 'self-minimizing' and kissing. Both elements occur along a broad palette of variation. On the one hand, there is a bowing of the head, of the upper body, a lowering of the



Pious Jains have climbed the hundreds of steps of Vindhyagiri Hill at South Indian Sravana Belgola; now they prostrate themselves at the feet of the monumental cultic image of Bahubali. The latter enjoys special veneration with the Digambara Jains. Said to have been born a royal prince, Bahubali (Gommata), could have become a great secular ruler, but he renounced this in favor of his brother, and at last attained liberation. The statue shows him as a nude ascetic in an erect attitude of meditation on a pedestal shaped like a lotus blossom. His form is one of youthful beauty, majestic and reverend, with the smile of a world-conqueror on his lips. Outwardly, in the proskynesis before the monumental cultic image, the inclination to make the honored one great and oneself small is more than evident. Before a human being, bowing and touching the feet can be seen as a sign of a respect manifested by 'respect pollution.' In the case at hand, the proskynesis also contains an element of exaltation: here the worshipers become world-forsakers themselves, and for them, Gommata is not only a vis-à-vis, but also an exemplar. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

thighs and knees, and a self-prostration, in which the forehead and upper or entire body may touch the ground. At the same time, there is kissing of the feet, knees, hands, breast, cheeks, mouth, the hem of a garment, or the earth before the feet. In literary and graphic presentation, the expression of the gestures becomes even clearer: the person making the bow grovels in the dust and is represented as smaller than would correspond to that person's actual body size.

In human ethology, reference has been made to 'gestures of humility' in the animal kingdom that have a pacifying function and that may not only impede the aggression of a physically superior adversary, but may even evoke its special concern. The Greek concept of *proskyneîn* denotes the dog's 'crouching' before its owner; the Latin *adoratio* comes from the area of the sacred and connotes all of the elements of proskynesis. The proskynesis offered a ruler is first and foremost homage of greeting, but may also be intended as pleading entreaty or an act of gratitude. In and of itself, therefore, proskynesis has no religious content. Nevertheless, the rite is often performed in the religious area. Proskynesis can be executed before statues of gods, icons, or crosses. Here again is the acknowledgment of an asymmetrical relationship between a human being and a god, the recognition of a 'hierarchical differential,' such as is customary between royalty and commoners. Consequently, one's relation to gods and their representations is interpreted by analogy with societal relationships ('sociomorphically'). This act also holds, as it happens, for human representatives. Thus, medieval emperors regularly offered the popes proskynesis in acknowledgment of the status of the latter as representatives of Saint Peter.

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→ *Government/Rule/Politics/State, Group, Hierarchy, Monarchy/Royalty, Symbol/Sign/Gesture*

Achim Hack

Prostitution

1. In prostitution, → body and → sexuality become merchandise. Like religion, prostitution is the expression of psychosocial needs on the part of societies and the individuals living in them. An intimation of this is, among other things, the myth of the world's 'oldest profession.' From the Christian perspective, it does not seem likely that the 'high spiritual' will be bound up with the 'low bodily'—especially in the area of human sexuality. Today there are contrary tendencies, however, that, with an appeal to East Asian or esoteric teachings (Hindu Tantrism / Kama Sutra, → Osho Movement), would 'spiritualize' and render fit for good society 'free' sexuality or promiscuity and, finally, prostitution.

Sacred or Cultic Prostitution

2. a) In the ancient cultures of the Mediterranean area (Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, ancient Israel, Greece), presumably into Christian times, the institution of 'sacred' prostitution was maintained. In the 'holy wedding' (hierogamy), for the duration of the high ritual, in order to symbolize the mysterious—and at the same time beneficial and blessed—cyclical rebirth of cosmic life, a temple priestess was 'married' with a high representative of society (high priest, king). An example would be the 'sacred marriage' of the cult of Inanna.

Herodotus (1,199) describes the temple prostitutes (the 'holy slaves') of Babylon, who would sacrifice their virginity to the fertility goddess (such as Ishtar, Astarte, and others) by selling their bodies to foreigners. Certain passages in the Hebrew Bible (Deut 23, 18-19, Hos 4:13-14) indicate that like usages were also widespread in ancient Israel. Also in Greece, especially for the temple cult of Aphrodite in Corinth, there presumably existed *hieródouloi*, 'sacred servants' or slaves of both sexes.

Criticism

b) The existence of sacred prostitution in the Mediterranean area is disputed, as the sources are mainly secondary, as well as less than completely reliable. In particular, hierogamy practiced there should almost certainly not be called prostitution. It may be that the cultic prostitution of Mediterranean cultures already overlapped with commercial interests. This combination would weaken its use as an example of a 'free,' alternative form of prostitution, as with an explanatory reference to a 'propitious' female sexuality. Such an interpretation would very likely only abet the danger that the act of prostitution would, as it were, be 'religiously excessive' and that (men's) fantasy of the constant sexual availability of woman would then be fixed in historiography.

After Roman times, and only with the expansion of Christianity and Islam in the Mediterranean region, cultic prostitution disappeared. It has

continued to exist in modern times only in India, where (e.g., in Bombay), meanwhile, it manifests strong commercial traits.

Christianity

3. a) *Early Christianity* was influenced in its position toward sexuality and corporality by the 'anti-somatic' ideas of Greek (Platonic) philosophy, and by the ascetical ideal of the age of Roman imperialism. From this mistrust of human sexuality, later exegetes developed a → dualism of 'lustful' flesh and 'the pure in spirit,' the latter running the risk of being contaminated by the former. To the advantage of a protection of the purity of matrimony as a Christian institution willed by God, Christian theologians of the Middle Ages, from Augustine to Thomas Aquinas, manifested a certain ambivalent tendency: they condemned prostitution, but they 'admitted' it, in the spirit of Paul, as a 'necessary evil' (such as in the medieval *prostibulum publicum*), and this is still a popular view of prostitutes or prostitution today. Pope Innocent III excused any Christian from the guilt of sin if he married a prostitute. Gregory IX recognized the Order of Magdalene of the "Repentant Sinners" (fem.), who can be considered the prototype at once of the 'repentant sinner' and of the 'friend of Christ.'

With the *Reformation*, human responsibility before God shifted increasingly to the individual; repentance began to be demanded of prostitutes (rather than of their clients) in still sharper terms. The closing of the bordellos, like the criminalizing of prostitutes, effected a temporary diminution in their enterprise. The Industrial Revolution led to social misery in the cities and the collapse of long-established patterns of community life: with these changes came a new germination of prostitution, now in (emotional) dependency on procurers. One sought either to suppress prostitution altogether, or else, for the common good of (Christian) society, to 'functionalize' it in the sense of a control of the 'necessary evil' by regulation (health control, restriction to certain neighborhoods, etc.). Finally, in the same direction, there was a tendency to more extensive demands for the recognition of prostitution as a profession.

A socially engaged Christianity promotes the legal protection of prostitutes, as well as the abolition of official control over prostitution ('abolitionism'). Otherwise, it supports the prevention of prostitution and pastoral care of prostitutes, as well as the battle against exploitation by third parties.

Islam

b) The Qur'an forbids compelled prostitution (sura 24, 33), and all of Islam prohibits extramarital sexual intercourse, rejecting and opposing prostitution. It is true that, without prudery, the Qur'an approves monogamy (unambiguously preferring it to polygamy). At the same time, woman is banned from public life. The 'un-Qur'anic' Christian notion of woman's 'original sinfulness' was promptly adopted in Islam. In a patriarchal society such as the Islamic one, a strict separation of woman's world from man's can be favorable to prostitution. Thus, professional prostitution is altogether familiar in Islam, for its heyday under the Caliphate of Baghdad, as well as today in the milieu of the guest workers and immigrants from Turkey or from the Maghreb (where the proportion of Muslim women in street prostitution in Paris is in the area of thirty percent). There is also prostitution in the North African countries, in which the prostitution of boys (sex tourism) is to be observed, as well. The 'temporary marriage' (*mut'a*), in which parties enter a sexual union, in exchange for a 'bridal payment,' for a pre-determined length of time, is in practice often tantamount to prostitution, and is not recognized by theologians outside Shiite Islam.

Buddhism

c) The Buddha himself had a tranquil relationship with prostitutes. He spent time in their homes casually, accepted contributions from them, and entered into discussion with them, this even concerning the requirements for salvation.

In ascetical and monastic Buddhism (Theravada), sexual desire is accounted precisely the prime example of that painful captivity in and by the world that impairs a person's chances for salvation (attainment of → nirvana). For the laity, who are not striving for perfection and enlightenment, sexual abstinence is not an obligation, although moderation is counseled. Prostitution is of no formal interest in Buddhism. It is neither particularly approved, nor is it rejected, but it is accepted as a property of painful existence. The attitude of the earnest Buddhist consists rather in compassion for those involved in it; he or she is not actively concerned for its abolition. In Buddhist countries such as Thailand, then, a religious basis for an active effort to improve the situation of prostitutes is limited.

Literature

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→ *Body, Economy, Gender Stereotypes, Homosexuality, Nudity, Sexuality, Tantra*

Christian Lange



The official sexual morality of the Catholic Church still has a difficult time seeing more in prostitution than merely a 'necessary evil' (Paul). As a result of impoverishment and sexual tourism, however, it has become a great social problem in countries of the 'Third World.' Catholic orders concern themselves with this problem, as is shown in a picture from the Dominican Republic: a Catholic nun in friendly conversation with young prostitutes. This Caribbean island has developed into a center of sexual tourism in recent years. With more than twenty-five percent of the population unemployed, according to surveys, some 40,000 women work as prostitutes, an occupation usually leading to social misery. Catholic orders try to alleviate this suffering with training courses for a life after the time of this engagement, and with pastoral care. (O. Grasmück)

Protest

1. Social protest is a form of activity through which persons seek, collectively, perceptibly, and usually in confrontation, to change social or societal conditions or to preserve them from change. It is usually concerned about rights claimed by the protesters, to whom these seem to have been violated, for themselves or for third parties. Its vehicles are minorities or groups far from the centers of decision-making. Religions, as is well enough known, can not only legitimize the status quo, they can also reinforce social protest movements: by preparing and legitimizing divergent analytical patterns for the interpretation of situations and the orientation of behavior; by rendering these patterns plausible, and practical for life, and making them binding, thus motivating persons to protest; by molding and framing repertory and action, and with them the form of the protest; or by making available material, organizational, and personal resources, offering those protesting a protection and a moral weight.

2. a) The potential for protest that religions enjoy has become visible through, among other things, → liberation theology. In the Philippines, for example, slum dwellers carry a cross through the city, in a kind of procession, to protest their expulsion. Nuns initiate demonstrations against human rights violations, and by way of wall paintings or masks, identify the Passion of Christ with the people's present suffering (see illus.). The protesters take up traditional symbols, like the cross or crown of thorns, appropriating these through their presentation, and thereby strengthen their collective identity as the 'Church of the poor.' For the Philippines, this is nothing new:



During Holy Week 1998, slum dwellers in Manila hold a demonstration against the destruction of their settlements. By virtue of the point in time, through the demonstrators' name for the action ("Calvary of the Urban Poor"), and by the crosses borne by the Christ figures, this protest can be understood as a reenactment of the Passion story, in which the sufferings of Christ and their own deprivations can be understood as one and the same. The oversize masks worn by the actors, bearing the face of the Victim, reinforce still further the identity between their mythic and their social sacrificial roles. Last, but not least, the introduction of this identification will have a transformative effect, as it lends nameless slum dwellers a new dignity.

in the nineteenth century, it was precisely these symbols that the Spanish missionaries brought for the celebration of loyalty; and then passion plays were subjected to an indigenous reading that made speech and images available to agrarian protest. As in many colonial and critical situations, these movements were determined by the expectation of an imminent new society (→ Colonialism; Millenarianism/Chiliasm). Later movements lost this character, it is true, or else transformed it into an expectation of the Communist revolution. But the legitimacy of a reference to religious symbols remained evident, as shown in the mass protests against the Marcos regime (the Rosary Revolution, 1986), and even in the middle-class protests of the extreme religious right against the 'godless Communists.'

Peasants' War and Radical Reformation

b) The reference to religious symbols in acts of protest is typical of premodern societies, in which religion is not limited to a social area, but is an all-pervasive quantity. This was the case in Europe, as well: in the Peasants' War of 1524–1525, the agricultural class laid claim to the Gospel as the basis of its demands, and—against the intentions of normative theologians like Luther—understood its movement as part of the → Reformation. This form of social religious movement then found its most radical and, once more, its chiliastic expression, around Thomas Müntzer and in the Baptist reign at Münster (1534–1535).

c) It was in altogether different circumstances that a connection materialized between religion and protest in the German Democratic Republic. In a society in which no opposition was foreseen, the Church became the only institution not integrated into the official societal structure. In order to maintain room for free play, it accepted these conditions, but was able to make use of its position by (both as an institution and through individual representatives) continually relating to, for instance, questions of peace, and at the same time harboring Christian protest groups, together with elements of the political opposition.

Western Europe and the United States

d) In Western Europe and the United States, protest was more powerfully articulated by non-religious agents, especially by new social movements, such as the → peace movement, or the ecological movement. But even they evince an implicit religious dimension, for example, in the form of universal or apocalyptic images of the world, moral rigorism, or an accentuated consciousness of mission, or else as motivation of individually engaged persons. But there are also groups in these surroundings that explicitly designate themselves as Christian, or Jewish, or even as pagan, and seek to dissolve the relegation of religion to the private sphere. Repertories of action, and symbols like celebrations of the Lord's Supper in occupied territory, or church → asylum, can emerge from traditional religion here as well. While political and ecclesial opponents suppose an instrumentalization of religion, activists understand their engagement as an expression of faith. This self-image is obvious to religious protesters under conditions of the modern age.

Afro-American Protest Movements

Groups carry social protest forward, this is true; but, in many cases, charismatic personalities (→ Charisma) also play a key role. So it was with the Afro-American protest movements of the 1960s: Baptist Pastor Martin Luther King, Jr., led the civil rights movement in the spirit of a radical nonviolence, while Malcolm X, as spokesperson of the pseudo-Islamic Nation of Islam, mobilized a separatist movement ready for combat, later founding



Confrontation between demonstrators of the *Außerparlamentarische Opposition* ("Extraparliamentarian Opposition"; APO) and the police, at the Easter March held on the Kurfürstendamm in West Berlin, April 14, 1968: Alongside red flags, the protesters carry crosses with them, which they raise against the blasts of water from the police hoses. By going out into the street, the demonstrators snatch the key symbol of Christianity from the hands of (from their viewpoint) bourgeois Christianity and its power of definition. In the tradition of heretical movements, the Christian religion, with its sign of salvation, is interpreted as a (social-)

a Sunni Islamic movement. After King and Malcolm X were both murdered, they became martyrs, and today have become symbolic figures of their movement and ideals all over the United States and beyond.

A further aspect comes to light in protest movements in the United States, which invoked nonviolent activity not only to achieve concrete political change, but also for the construction of egalitarian communities, prefigurations of the society of their strivings (→ Utopia). This moment of a utopian counter-culture, which acts as a protest sheerly by way of its existence, and whose light is shed on society, is found in many protest groups. To be sure, religion can also be connected with conservative protest groups, as one sees with organized opponents of abortion: these make use of explicitly religious patterns of interpretation, while their forms of protest, at least in the United States, are extremely militant (→ Fundamentalism).

3. Religion is not per se a power of protest. But it can become that, because it can take a fundamental distance from societal circumstances. It posits an instance that can relativize the world's arrangements (those of a culture of the majority, or of state control), and make the consequences of ethics a question of conscience. It opens up an eschatological future, whose anticipated dawning can lead to a breach with secular circumstances. Further, it renders possible and stimulates, in its ritual spaces, the testing of new social relationships out beyond prevailing norms and → values. From this standpoint, the mobilization of a protest against a condition perceived as unjust can be regarded as one of the functions of religion.

revolutionary movement, and thus, by its own symbolic means, it challenges the ordering and regulating power of a state that appeals to Christian values in society and politics—a genuine Pauline *skándalon* (Gal 5:11; cf. Rom 9:33). The appeal to the → Cross is reinforced by the gesture, so rich in association, of holding it on high. This display has the effect, more than anything else, of a provocation, which lends it all the more power and force.

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→ *Colonialism, Conflict/Violence, Fundamentalism, Gandhi, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Liberation Theology, Minorities, Peace, Reformation, Revolution (French), Society, Utopia*

Adrian Portmann

Protestantism

Concept

1. The adjective 'Protestant' refers to those Christian directions that have basically taken form in the sixteenth-century → Reformation. Their appearance marks the second turning point in the (European) history of Christianity, after the separation of the Greek East and the Latin West (→ Catholicism). The occasion of the Reformation was the understanding of repentance. Monk and theologian Martin → Luther stepped into the foreground in 1517 with his criticism of indulgences, and from 1520 on with a complex diagnosis of the crisis in the Church. Through his writings and his life, Luther became the catalyst of the crisis and the figure of integration for friends and opponents.

The term 'Protestantism' goes back to the *Protestation von Speyer* (Ger., 'Protest of Speyer') of 1529. Here, the Evangelical *Reichsstände* protested against the threatened decision to revoke newly won Christian religious self-determination. The origin of the word 'Protestant' points to the inseparability of religious, political, and cultural traits where Protestantism is concerned. Further, the pathos of the concept of Protestantism is linked to the 'exclusivity particles' that characterize the determination of the salvific event (*only* by divine grace, Christ, faith, scripture).

Elementary Perspectives

2. Understood as the essence and expression of a Christian form of belief, Protestantism embraces several elementary perspectives. Vis-à-vis any demonstrative hierarchization of the elements of the Christian life, it stresses the 'invisibility' of the true Church. This involves a rejection of the conception of sacrament, as well as a juridical understanding of the faith of the papal Roman Church: in both cases, the latter's attitude and procedure is unbiblical, or 'unevangelical,' concerning the divine address to the world. The Bible stands as supreme canon for the examination of disputed questions in opposition to the Roman tradition. But especially Reform theology ties its criteria of truth to the → conscience of the individual instructor—unlike, for

example, a consensus theory of truth. It conceives dissent as an expression of the living Spirit. This conception occasions an organizationally decentralized manner and form of life.

Crisis of Recasting

3. Theological and general history distinguish Reformation, Confessional, and Neo-Protestant eras. In terms of cultural history, it must be emphasized that the function of Protestantism is contested, especially for the ideas of freedom arising in the new eras (i.e., also for a construction of the independence of cultural and social life phenomena vis-à-vis religion). In the twentieth century, the dispute becomes manifest in the conflict between modernity in terms of cultural theology and neo-orthodox criticism the modern age. Modern Protestantism's *Umformungskrise* (Ger., 'recasting crisis') (Hirsch) continues.

Theologically, the crisis can be interpreted as the *necessary expression of a permanent Reformation.* But viewed externally, the case is more difficult: the very *parameters of the recasting* are disputed. On this point, some questions arise that affect the recasting today: How can one deal with the Bible at once in terms of historical criticism and in terms of theological symbolism? What effect must an evangelical use of freedom have on the molding of society and culture? What is the mutual relationship between the churches' self-concept and their relation to the world? What positions should be developed by evangelical theology toward, and in, inter-religious discussion and accord?

Further Perspectives

4. Complementing and correcting perspectives on these questions result from research into (a) society and (b) mentality.

a) Protestantism, with its elementary outlooks charged with theoretical premises, is the religious conception of an elite. True, each complex religious world of expressions has its elite. In Protestantism, however, this circumstance contradicts spiritual egalitarianism ('priesthood of all the faithful'), and becomes perceived as a contradiction. In this connection, it is observable how closely Protestantism is joined to the modern middle class and its ideas of freedom.

Current assimilation of the situation can distinguish the following social variants of Protestant casting or shaping: the lower-middle-class variant (→ fundamentalism with free-church and infiltration model), the middle-class conservative variant (endowment-church model with a symbolic elite), and the middle-class liberal variant (legalistic endowment-church model with functional elite).

b) Meanwhile, the *history of mentalities* brings altogether different traits to light: the condensation of a libertarian and civil rights attitude in Protestant milieus; the eminent rise of a culture of music and language; the promotion of criticism in terms of historical philology and aesthetic theory. The history of mentalities permits not only the declamatory accentuation of such traits, but also their understanding of 'duplication' in regional, epochal, and individual coinage. It helps in finding a clearer view of Protestant phenomena both inwardly and outwardly, to which the disputed 'secularates' of religious ideas are to be ascribed. In these terms, Protestantism is no longer memorable only for the launching of an economic ethics (→ Weber), but deserves a more dense description.

Milton's *Paradise Lost* offers an example of the mentality of Protestantism, in terms of a political theology on the threshold of modernity. There, a modern awareness of freedom, in the mouth of the fallen Archangel (Satan), is condensed into a 'secularistically devilish' bon mot: "Better to reign in hell, than serve in heav'n."[1] Here the core problem of modern Protestantism is expressed: how is Protestantism to answer for modernity's 'Promethean' understanding of freedom, without either altogether dissolving in culture, or withering, instead, in a corner of the anti-modernist shadow?

Future and Present

5. *On the future of the Protestant recasting:* At bottom, interior sources of the 'Protestant recasting' might well be found a good deal more easily in the patterns of Protestant life in terms of cultural history, than in an identity posited in dogmatic reduction. For inter-religious communication, the question could point in the direction of formally 'Protestant' traits in the important topics of the discussion of religious cultures: for example, pathos of freedom versus hierarchies; (self-) critique of sacramental identity of religion; hermeneutically analyzed religious linguistic culture. This could clarify 'home-made deficits' in the area of Protestantism's religious symbolism.

Crucial to Protestantism is the question whether soteriological exclusivism and social isolationism is rendering the Protestantism of the future a *counterculture of elite fundamentalism*—or whether Protestantism will succeed in being inserted into the order of a living, comprehensive religious culture, as a form of expression of the Christian religion in free exchange, so as to become an *egalitarian leaven in the world culture* of the third millennium. The "springtime of speech" (Timm) that is now budding in Protestantism, with its aesthetic discourse upon the world in which we live, could be presaging a successful reshaping, and re-formation.

1. Milton, John, Paradise Lost, London 1989, vol. 1, 263.

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→ *Catholicism, Christianity, Freedom of Religion, Fundamentalism, Luther, Reformation, Secularization*

Christian W. Senkel

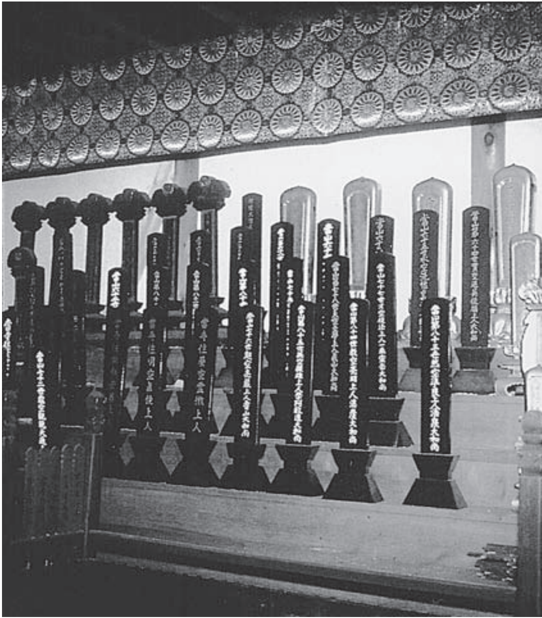
Psyche

Concept of 'Soul'

1. The designation *psyché* (Gk., 'breath' 'life breath'; cf. Lat. *anima*) is first found in the opening lines of the Iliad. According to Homer (eighth century BCE), the psyche appears only after a person's death: thus, *psyché* denotes the soul of someone who has died, not that of a living being. The life processes of the body are managed by the *thymós* (in Lat., *animus*), the principle of the vitality of the body and at the same time of its consciousness. In antiquity, the *psyché* is personified as a winged female being; in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (c. 170 CE), she is the beloved of *Amor.* The English word 'soul' is of unclear derivation. It is akin to the word 'sea,' whence souls were supposed to originate, and whither they were to return. Today, in European languages, 'psyche' denotes the totality of the conscious and unconscious—especially emotional—events, but mainly a person's spiritual and intellectual (cognitive) functions, located in the brain: processing of information through → perception and storage, by way of → memory and recall, → dream, → fantasy, motivation, and behavior. From a perspective of religious history, conceptions of 'spirit' or → soul stand for a (metaphysical) spiritual life-principle that distinguishes living beings from inorganic matter. In religions, therefore, the psyche—in various configurations—can be thought of as the immortal transitional element between the material and the spiritual, the earthly and the divine. From its concept as well as from its content, something unspecific, transitory, and unstable is inherent in the psyche. This aspect makes it seem describable only in pictures, metaphors, allegories, symbols, and so on. While 'psyche' is one of the key words of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and is found in numerous complex words as the syllable 'psych-,' this presence scarcely renders the concept more apprehensible scientifically. As early as 1866, precisely the discipline of psychology was characterized as 'psychology without a soul' (F. A. Lange), on the basis of the nineteenth-century decision in favor of an empirical, experimental, and thereby measurable practice. Indeed, it is not only psychology that divides the soul into consciousness, unconscious, ego, self, person, and identity. Due to this development, the psyche has lost its importance as central principle of individual self-organization; and what is more, its historicity and 'culturality' have met with the same fate. Human beings are subject to changes that can be grasped in terms of (religious) history. In corresponding fashion, those changes are yet to be differentiated culturally. A (religious) history of the soul that would attend to humanity's cultural multiplicity is still pending.

The Brain as 'Organ of the Soul'

2. The question, "Do we have a soul?" is no longer posed to religious experts; it is now the neuro-scientists who are asked the question, inasmuch as the soul has long since been localized in the brain rather than in the bodily organs. Meanwhile, encephalology has won the function of judge when it comes to the question of the soul, however intensive may have been its debate in religious discourse up until now. In the research that has so speedily developed since 1860, the brain as 'organ of the soul' has come to be seen as determined symbolically in many ways, and, in keeping with the *Zeitgeist* of the nineteenth century, has been divided into higher and lower, civilized and primitive, regions. Comparisons of the brain with the newest technological accomplishments of information transmittal and processing—the



The Japanese language uses various words for 'soul'—*tama*, *tamashii*, *reikon*, *goryô*, *nakitama*—also for 'spirit,' the soul of someone departed, an ancestral soul, and the immortal soul as opposed to the mortal body. All are applied synonymously and are not clearly distinguished from one another in content. Neither in modern nor in ancient Japan is there an unequivocally definable concept of the soul. In the religious ideas of early times, *tama* designated impersonal spiritual forces present in all living beings, as well as in lifeless objects and phenomena of nature. They had regularly to be renewed, through rituals of adjuration (*tamafuri*). The loss of *tama* effected death, although what happened with *tama* afterward remained shrouded in mystery. Religious influences from the Chinese mainland, such as shamanistic concepts and ancestor reverence altered the *tama* concept. Beginning in the ninth century, the spirits of vengeance gained a special position—the souls of those who had died violently or in childbirth. They brought human beings sickness, resentment, and natural catastrophes, and could be mollified only by sacrifice. Today, in the Buddhist home altar, a memorial tablet is kept of someone departed, as the seat of the dead person's soul. Memorial tablets can also be preserved together, however, in a temple, as in the illustration here, where the tablets appear in a Buddhist Zenrinji temple. The ancestral souls watch over the destinies of their descendants and periodically return home to their relatives—once a year, in the summertime, at the *Bon* Festival. (S. Beyreuther)

current example is the paradigm of the computer—are as common as they are beside the point. An early climax in the investigation of the brain must have been the localization of 'morality neurons' in the pre-frontal cortex (cerebral lobe); these were supposed to have regulated the perceptibility of normative systems, and thereby to be required for the capacity for moral behavior (Damasio 1999). The human brain contains between one hundred billion and one trillion nerve cells (neurons), and weighs some 1300–1500 grams. A striking feature of today's human being is the great increase in the volume of the outer layer of the brain (cortex). The neo-cortex is generally regarded as the seat of the 'higher' cerebral functions, such as consciousness, → perception, thinking, and conceptualization; however, such functions are simultaneously exercised by many centers, lying throughout the brain. The central nervous system of each individual is isolated from its environment, inasmuch as the neurons of the brain are insensitive to environmental stimulation. Therefore the sensory cells must translate all that transpires in the environment into the 'language of the brain.' The neuro-biological consequence is that reality is a construct of the brain! According to this epistemological constructivism, 'reality' is completely inaccessible. But not only the question of cognition, but also that of the spirit–matter or soul–body relationship, is a compelling result of brain research. Since consciousness is tied to the integrity and activity of cortical fields, brain and spirit are obviously closely connected. The establishment of a "strict parallel between mental and neuronal" (G. Roth) has led to altogether contradictory interpretations. While for many scholars consciousness is nothing but an epiphenomenon of neuronal processes, encephalologist John Eccles (1903–1997) holds that, in order to realize itself, the spirit utilizes the brain processes that seem to it to be appropriate. But Nobel laureate Eccles goes even further: the uniqueness of the individual soul compels the conclusion of a supernatural reality.[1] To the contrary, it is maintained in *panpsychism* that matter possesses 'protopsychic' qualities, which, through the complex material structures and functions,

become spirit automatically 'by itself.' Modern conclusions of encephalology, as well, still stand in the tradition of the Western body-soul dualism, whose (religious) history begins in Greek antiquity. Without knowledge of this conceptual history of the psyche, modern conceptualizations of the soul cannot be understood.

3. With Homer, human particularities are still ordered to the organs, and the (shadow) soul is understood as a bodiless 'copy' (*eídolon*) of the deceased. But since around the sixth century BCE, the psyche has been conceptualized as an 'interior correlate' of the body (*sóma*). In spite of foundational differences between body and soul, the two are bound up with each other. To the psyche as a component of life, Heraclitus (c. 550–480 BCE) appropriates a spatial depth-dimension, whose bounds he declares to be indiscoverable. The idea of the soul as the person's interior space, together with that of one soul as the whole of a person that continues to exist even after death, was to become programmatic for the European tradition. Plato (c. 428–347 BCE) gave the soul the function of an intermediary. On the one hand, the *psyché* belongs to the transitory world; but at the same time it belongs to the eternal world of the Ideas, which is knowable only by virtue of the two-way connection provided by the soul (→ Platonism). According to Plato, the cosmos needs the soul for its own perfection, which, as 'world soul,' is to be found both within and without the world. In this structure, the macrocosm, the world, corresponds to the microcosm, the human being. It is not only in Plato that, in view of its connection to the divine, the soul is considered to be sullied and stained in the body—indeed, seen as the body's prisoner. To be sure, even in its earthly life the immortal soul can be delivered from the body by way of certain techniques of purification (*kátharsis* and *áskesis*).

Plato

Aristotle

This liberation of the soul during one's lifetime is also the aim of the mystery cults (→ Mysteries). Aristotle (384–322 BCE) contradicted such a 'prison theory,' and stressed the 'entelechy' as the inner 'formation power' of an organic living being. For him, in the microcosmic human being, the vegetative and the animal soul are joined, together with the 'divine element of reason,' and are necessarily assigned to the corporeal organism for their development. Consequently, for Aristotle the soul is not eternal. With this alternative, two fundamentally distinct Western traditions of thought address the soul, and both have continued to be present, in multitudinous reception.

Gnosis and Christianity

As distinguished from earlier Hellenic thought, Gnosticism and Christianity tend to degrade the body vis-à-vis the soul (→ Gnosticism; Hermetism/Hermeticism). In Gnosticism, the genuine human person is formed by the inner-directedness of the soul toward the divine light. In Christianity, according to → Augustine (354–430), only the soul can ascend to God, to unite itself with him. It is not to its own body, but to God that the soul points. The divine image (in Lat., *imago Dei*) characterizes the human spirit as the highest of the levels of soul. In the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, the soul is conceptualized rather in bodily form, but remains more important than the body itself. Having been created by God, the soul trundles toward death, except it return to God, thwarting damnation, in illumined purity, and received by angels.

The Individualization of the Soul

One of the most decisive changes of early modernity was the individualization of the soul, which occurred under the decisive influence of the → Renaissance—and the investigations of the → Inquisition, which, compel-

ling its victims, probed the pressure of outer demonic powers on a person's interior. The way was paved for this development through the 'discovery of the individual' in the twelfth century. The medieval process of individualization was also fostered by the introduction of individual → confession (1215), as well as, for example, by Thomas Aquinas (1225/26–1274), according to whose teaching a spiritual soul as formal principle is created by God for each body. The Christian 'cure of souls' or pastoral care, which was intensified by all confessions after the Reformation, as well as an ultra-rigorous formation of conscience, effected the forms of individual self-control and self-discipline that still prevail today. → Conscience is now understood as a garment of the soul, founded in the body and fostered through a pedagogy of pain. Descartes (1596–1650) took the giant step from the individualization to the *subjectivization* of the soul. Vis-à-vis the body, he posited a center of the psyche. Intuitively, the soul possesses a knowledge concerning itself (*Cogito ergo sum*—Lat., "I think, therefore I am"). According to Descartes, the thinking soul and the body influence each other, mutually and causally, through the 'pineal gland' (*epiphysis cerebri*) in the brain. Out of the medieval divine rays emerges subjective reason as the warrant of social happiness.

Romanticism

In the further course of things, by way of rationalistic and empiricist directions—although constantly accompanied by an underground of contrary hermetic and Neoplatonic currents—there arises the 'de-substantializing' of the soul. In → Romanticism, then, the psyche once again becomes a key concept—especially in relation to the irrational—in which the connections among sleep, → dream, rationality, and unconscious are central. Carl Gustav Carus (*Psyche. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele*—Ger., "Psyche: On the History of the Development of the Soul"; 1846) claims to find the key to consciousness in the unconscious life of the soul.

Empiricism

In the course of the nineteenth century, successful processes of division are accomplished. The natural sciences detach from the humanities; toward the end of the century, newly founded 'psychology' splits into a pure psychology of consciousness and a depth psychology of the unconscious (→ Psychoanalysis). The soul no longer seems the transitional principle between matter and spirit, the terrestrial and the divine, and has also served its term as imperishable substance. Empiricism makes it the totality of psychic functions, which are adopted by psychology as sensation, perception, conceptualization, thinking, feeling, and willing. The soul loses its transcendence and is now ordered to the immanence of the body. Around 1900, there also occurs the founding of an *empirical psychology of religion* (William James, Edwin D. Starbuck), marked to our day by a powerful division within psychological investigation, as well as frequent oscillation between reductionism and apologetics in relation to its object.

Positions in Religious Studies: Animism and Dynamism

4. The increasingly dominant position of the natural and experimental sciences in Europe since the nineteenth century manifests the 'dissolution of the soul.' True, the attendant thrust to modernization was experienced not only as deliverance, but also as alienation. A newly recognized relevance and right to exist on the part of the 'religious,' forced early → academic study of religion to inquire into the other, officially ignored side of society, and thereby as well, once more into conceptualizations of the soul. Religion's

fundamental problem implicated the question of the soul. The 'de-substantialized' soul launched a quest for the conceptions of the soul—the 'stuff of the soul'—throughout the world. In correspondence with → evolutionism, the question of the soul was to be explained through a determination of the origin of religion. Faithful to this direction of thought, E. B. Tylor (1832–1917) had already construed → animism as the first stage of humanity's religious development. In the phenomenology of religion (→ Eliade), which was likewise imprisoned in the evolutionistic schema, the concept of the soul once more received a key position. In his *Phänomenologie der Religion* (Ger., "Phenomenology of Religion"; 1933), G. van der Leeuw settled upon the experience of power (dynamism) as the foundational essence of religion. For him, the concept of power was a *vox media* (Lat., 'middle voice') between (sacred) substance and the Divine. According to this principle, soul always meant a mighty quality, bound to a vehicle or a substance ('stuff of the soul'). Of course, the integration of divergent concepts of the soul in animism and dynamism could succeed only through a negation of the respective context of religious culture and history.

Problems of the Western Concept of the Soul in Religious History

5. Indeed, there is a problem in the application of the modern concept of the psyche, as well as of the corresponding body-soul dualism, to other religions of past and present. As numerous examples show, equivalents to the Western concept of soul, in their conception and history, often take some other, even an opposite, direction, and therefore ought not to be automatically translated 'soul.'

Ancient Egypt

a) In Egypt, for example, 'conceptualizations of the soul' stand in an altogether different relationship to a human being's individual body, as well as to the 'super-individual' divine world; and it is in their own way that they bind together the worlds of here and beyond. In the Egyptian view, each individual consists of (1) body, (2) *ba*—'personhood,' (3) *ka*—'power of life and generation,' (4) name, and (5) shadow, all of which, after dismemberment by death (myth of Osiris), act together once more in the beyond. After death, a person is given the further option of joining *ba* and *ka*, and thereby becoming an *akh*, an imperishable being of light. It is especially *ba*, *ka*, and *akh* that are inappropriately translated 'soul.' It is not the brain, but, as Aristotle thought too, the heart that is the seat of perception, consciousness, and the recall of memory. The *ba* corresponds somewhat to the human personhood, which, after death, is free to undertake motion, but which, even then, still has material needs. As *ba*, deities, likewise, can manifest themselves in this world in physical shape and form. In order to continue existing in the beyond, the mummified body of the deceased must join the *ba* every night (→ Mummification). The human *ba* is represented as a bird with the head and arms of the deceased. The *ka* comprises the power of life and generation, in deities and human beings alike. With a person's birth, the *ka* begins its existence—as her or his double, as it were. After death, the *ka*, which can become incarnate in the burial statue, continues to be supplied with nourishment; its absorption of the life force of the sacrificial meals is immediate. The *ka* is shown with two uplifted arms. Finally, name and shadow function as an individual 'soul vehicle,' here and in the beyond.

The Fòn of Benin

b) With the Fòn (Benin), as in many other cultures, the 'soul' constitutes a connective medium between human being and the → ancestors, but is

also present in the → breath, as breath of life, and in the shadow. The spirit of the ancestors (*jòtó*) is bound up with a person's destiny. In its heavenly portion, it is honored with regularity as a divinity. Accordingly, it receives sacrifices. Each human being's personal destiny (*sé*) is dealt with before birth by the highest being, *Máwú*, but after the birth is immediately forgotten. *Sé* manifests itself in the head. In the *sé*, as psycho-physical component of the human being, a piece of *Máwú* is fixed. A person's completely realized *sé* represents her or his personal *Vodún* ('guardian spirit'). Breath, shadow, and ancestral spirit leave the body after death. The dead are now free of all earthly laws. With the Fòn, as in Egypt, there is a bond between the dead, and birds as 'souls of the dead.' The amount of ancestral souls in heaven is limited in principle; nevertheless, an ancestor can be partially reborn in a child of his or her clan.

Transmigration and Reincarnation

c) The application of the Western concept of the soul to the transmigration of souls, especially to the Asian conceptions of → reincarnation, does not seem unproblematic. The idea of the transmigration of souls (in Gk., *metempsychosis*), Christian dogmatics notwithstanding, has been present in Europe since Greek antiquity. Besides the simple conception of the → rebirth of an ancestor in a child, the spectrum of the transmigration of souls in religious history reaches all the way to the endless (in principle) reincarnations of → Hinduism, Jainism, and → Buddhism. In the center of the complex of conceptualizations of all three religions stands the cycle of births (*samsāra*) that has no beginning, in which Karma effects the constantly repeating reincarnations. In Hinduism, a kind of 'individual soul' (*ātman*) can be determined as the vehicle of rebirth, the element that attains 'release' or 'liberation' (*moksha*) from the cycle of rebirths through ultimate unification with Brahman. The → Buddha, meanwhile, in the 'no self' doctrine (*anatta*), fundamentally rejects the idea of a soul, and not only as principle of reincarnation. By way of Helena P. Blavatsky's nineteenth-century Theosophy (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society), the Anthroposophy of Rudolf Steiner, and the reception of Buddhism and the esoteric movement of the twentieth century, the concepts of reincarnation ultimately belong to the European tradition as well. In the → New Age environment, the conception of transmigration is even used therapeutically. Thus, in 'reincarnation therapy,' psychic healing of traumas is sought through hypnosis, in the recall of earlier existences—the (conscious) 'return.'

Psychology versus Religion

6. It is true that the 'I' is but one of the possible realizations of cognition in the brain. But, by way of the dominant primacy of the psychiatric medical complex and psychology, the Western concept of the psyche is normative worldwide in the matter of the frontiers of normality, (psychic) disease, insanity, and health. At the same time, this promotes to universal validity a specific notion of reality. But precisely the religious phenomena of → trance, → ecstasy, and → possession demonstrate the limits of the Western scientific system of classification, as for example, the World Health Organization's "International Classification of Psychic Disorders" (ICD-10). To be sure, the power of definition of Western science has always been so great that, in a complicated give-and-take, (a) religious currents try to find 'scientific proof' for their data, (b) all kinds of exceptional psychic conditions in the religious context are 'explained' with the help of psychological methods and models, (c) religions make use of scientific psychological techniques and integrate

them into their respective salvific systems, and (d) psychological techniques and methods are 'exposed' as actually religious.

'Scientific Proof' of Spirits and Souls of the Dead: Spiritism and Near-Death Experiences

With precursors like Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), and especially at the hands of Andrew Jackson Davis (1826–1910), in the nineteenth century the → spiritism movement appeared, seeking scientific demonstrations of the existence of a spirit world. Contrariwise, the phenomena of spiritism are scientifically investigated from a critical point of view by → parapsychology. The common foundation of the spiritistic directions is the conceptualization that the material body of which the human being disposes contains an immaterial, indestructible spirit, which, in turn, is manifested in a 'soul body.' The principal practice of spiritism consists of interrogating the spirits of the departed, and meanwhile has degenerated into the Hollywood film cliché. In parallel, since the 1970s, 'empirical' near-death experiences transmit the same message: that the departed are still alive in the beyond, and that those still living today will be received in friendship after death.

Scientific Explanatory Models: From Possession to Personality Disturbance

b) The phenomenon of → possession, in which a spirit or god takes control over an individual, and usually found in a ritually induced condition of → trance, poses questions as to how the event in question can be explained in terms of, for example, brain physiology and of psychology, and as to what occurs in the trance with the actual personality who is then absent. An explanatory model applied since the 1950s has been the well-known disease concept known as 'multiple personality disorder,' which entered normative classification systems only in 1980, and against resistance (ICD 10: F 44.81). The determinative indication here consists in the presence of two or more personalities in one individual—where, however, only one personality is present at one time, and none of the personalities knows of the other(s). In a ritual context, possession is often experienced as a healing one; but this is not the case with demonic possession, which is supposed to end in the 'therapeutic' act of → exorcism. Less spectacular are the physiological and psychological (perceptual) investigations in various forms of → meditation. Especially, electroencephalographic (EEG) measurements of the processes transpiring in meditating subjects produced positive results with respect to stress relief and concentration. These experimental results were at once taken advantage of by the religious movement known as Transcendental Meditation (TM), and used as propaganda in support of their teaching.

Ritual Psycho-Techniques: Scientology

c) The disputed religion of the Church of → Scientology, founded by science-fiction author L. Ron Hubbard (1911–1986), has been marked from the beginning by the application of different psycho-techniques, and enters into all but direct competition with psychotherapy. The primer of Scientology itself, Hubbard's *Dianetics* (1950), as the 'modern science of mental health,' teaches liberation from 'engrams,' which rather correspond to traumas, in order to become 'clear.' 'Clearing' is a cathartic technique (→ Catharsis) that, through application of the 'e-meter'—a variation of the lie detector—in 'auditing,' a composite form of therapeutic session and ritual of confession, reportedly produces the optimal human being, a person without neuroses, psychoses, compulsions, and so on. Only then can the 'Thetan,' the 'spirit soul' of Scientology, go into action. Without the twentieth-century developments of psychology and neurology, and the utilization of corresponding technological apparatus, Scientology is simply unthinkable. The introduc-

tion of 'mind machines,' which are supposed positively to influence the activities of the brain, continues this development.

Psychotherapy as Confession

If psychotherapy itself is to be understood universally as secularized 'cure of souls' or pastoral care, then the therapeutic session can be thought of as a secularized form of Christian → confession. In confession and therapy, as institutional forms of narration that render the soul available and accessible, a selection is made from the vast current of human experiences and actions, and a schematized → biography is generated. The latter becomes the medium of → meaning. Just as, in a religious context, biography acquires interest against the horizon of salvation, so also, in depth psychology, it becomes an aspect of concern for healing, which, in turn—especially in C. G. Jung's analytical psychology—is freighted with religious features. But parallels exist not only between psychotherapy and Christian pastoral care, but also between → Zen Buddhism and → psychoanalysis. Since the 1960s, in certain currents, psychotherapy and religion have developed an ever more intimate relationship. Transpersonal Psychology (Stanislav Grof, Ken Wilber) strives directly for a 're-enchantment of the world' and integrates elements of Zen Buddhism, → Daoism, → Yoga, and → Sufism.

7. American philosopher and psychologist William James (1842–1910), in his classic *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), addressed the fundamental and religious question of the knowledge of (psychic) realities, in a fashion that remains basic today. James reworked the psychological currents of his time and programmatically forestalled themes of a psychology of religion only then beginning. For James, the varieties of religious experience corresponded to the most varied conditions of consciousness. But, even after one hundred years of religious psychology, research into the 'worlds of consciousness' is only just under way.

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→ *Ancestors, Animism, Ecstasy, Freud, Illness/Health, Insanity, Meditation, Memory, Parapsychology, Perception, Platonism, Possession, Psychoanalysis, Psychopathology, Reincarnation, Shamanism, Soul, Spiritism, Trance, Vision/Auditory Experience*

Edmund Hermsen

Psychoanalysis

1. The word 'psychoanalysis' was first used in 1896, by the founder of the science, Viennese neurologist Sigmund → Freud. His new procedures constituted methods of treatment for neurotic illnesses, whose cause Freud sought to ground in the history of the psychological development of the individual and of civilization. The psychodynamic associations that Freud then discovered, partly through clinical observation, partly through introspection during his self-analysis of 1895–1902, and partly by speculation, finally crystallized in a scientific doctrinal edifice that rests on four basic pillars. These pillars, constituting the unconditional presupposition and minimal definition of psychoanalysis, were "the adoption of unconscious mental occurrences, the recognition of the doctrine of resistance and repression, and the assessment of sexuality and the Oedipus complex."[1]

Discovery of the Unconscious and the 'Secular Cure of Souls'

2. Around 1900, psychoanalysis permanently convulsed the Western image of the human being, expanding it around the earlier development of the depth dimensions of the unconscious. The 'unconscious' was now an independent psychic instance, following the 'primary processes' (*Lust*, Ger., 'pleasure principle'), but extensively withdrawn from rational consciousness and the latter's 'secondary processes' (reality principle). In his demonstration that the ego "is not even master in its own house,"[2] but obeys the drives of the human being's sexual and aggressive nature, Freud himself saw the third outrage to be perpetrated on humanity's narcissism, after the Copernican and the Darwinist (→ Darwinism). To ground this depth dimension, Freud—like Karl Marx (→ Marxism) and Friedrich → Nietzsche—made use of a hermeneutics of suspicion and doubt[3] concerning → dreams, memories, and individual mistakes (forgetting, 'slips' in writing and speaking, and so on). But cultural achievements, as well, such as religion, morality, and art are only manifest symptoms of repressions, rationalizations, and sublima-

tions of latent unconscious drive bases concealed behind them. They yield to the Freudian psychoanalysis under three *meta-psychological viewpoints* especially: *dynamically* as drive conflicts, *economically* as energy regulation of drive toleration, and *topically* as a combination of the 'soul apparatus' (unconscious, preconscious, and conscious; or, otherwise ordered, ego, id, and superego). Therapeutically, in the dynamics of transference and counter-transference between analyst and analysand, Freud sought to render unconscious neurotic conflicts conscious—through "remembering, repeating, and working through"[4]—and to solve them, at first by way of hypnosis and suggestion, and then through free association in conversation. For the technique of psychoanalytic treatment, and in order to distinguish it from pastoral work in the sense of the 'care of souls' maintained in the church, Freud coined the formula 'secular care of souls.' "We analysts take as our goal an analysis of the patient that will be as complete and deep as possible; we do not seek to unburden him by way of reception into the Catholic, Protestant, or Socialist communities. [. . .] What we thus practice is care of souls in the best sense."[5] The concept of the unconscious permitted Freud to explain faith in God, and religion, as a kind of father complex, and to do so in terms of developmental history. This conception was combated as a devastating assault on the Christian family, most vehemently by Father Wilhelm Schmidt, a student of anthropology of religion and a confidant of the Pope. On the contrary, an ecclesial follower of Freud among the clergy, Zurich pastor Oskar Pfister, felt psychoanalysis to be a challenge: "A powerful spiritual adversary of religion is certainly of more use than a thousand ineffectual followers," Pfister wrote to Freud on October 21, 1927. Among theologians, it was Paul Tillich who followed Freudian psychoanalysis the furthest. He saw a conjunction with → existentialism in it, and interpreted its discovery of the unconscious as a part of the resistance to rationalism, which, in Tillich's eyes, stood in the way of faith.

Freud versus Jung: A Controversy in Psychology of Religion

3. Numerous divisions soon threatened the psychoanalytical movement. The constitutive role that the question of religious psychology had for the split in the early history of its institutionalization is especially evident in the quarrel between its founding father, Sigmund Freud, and Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961). Son of a Reformed minister, born in Kesswil in Switzerland, Jung joined the psychoanalytical movement in 1905, as Zurich Instructor (Privatdozent) in Psychiatry. Freud soon regarded him as his 'crown prince,' hoping that Jung would inaugurate both the professional ennoblement of psychoanalysis, and its religious openness to Christianity. Freud and Jung indeed attempted to ground the human soul at different developmental depths in terms of its history. While Freud sought access to the psyche in the life history of the individual, to conclude from this, metapsychologically, to the prehistory of civilization, Jung concluded to personhood, or personality, the other way around—through its collective 'geology'—the 'faults' whose Christian strata he wished to level. Thus he would lay open the primitive, basic—at once unconscious and 'supra-personal'—religious strata of the soul, the *archetypes*. In these basic layers Jung saw "an as yet untouched treasure, a youthfulness, a fortune in something unspoiled." Here was "a promise of rebirth," from which Jung was sure he could extract a compensatory power, but where, through consciousness, "the desiccation, the inflexible rigidity, of a unilateral direction" threatened. Jung himself clarified the differences by way of the example of a dream of an older, female patient, whose soul had fallen

into a crisis of faith on account of the First World War: "As she was singing [Christian hymns], she saw a bull before the window, drolly leaping this way and that, and suddenly breaking a leg in one of its jumps." Where Freud would interpret the bull as the symbol of a repressed sexual conflict, Jung saw the vision as the sacrifice of a bull,— "easily the foremost sacred symbol of Mithraism, an ancient mystery religion, of Persian influence, in whose mystery the patient had returned to contact with her unconscious, without herself being capable of understanding or explaining it."[6] The question whether religion depends on the libido, or the libido depends on religion, led to an alienation between the two psychoanalysts. Through Jung's defection, Freud saw his "construction of the totem meal"— the culture-founding act performed in remorse for the prehistoric murder of the primordial father—attested in practice. "From all sides, the 'brethren' fall upon me, and at their head, of course, the founders of the religions," he wrote to Sándor Ferenczi, on December 23, 1912. Indeed, as a consequence of his distinction between an 'Aryan,' more primordial, and more salutary unconsciousness, from a 'Jewish,' more neurotic one, Jung was not to shut himself off from the National Socialist ideology (→ National Socialism). In fact, as President of the International Society for Medical Psychotherapy, newly founded (1934), Jung would become the foremost exponent of the German psychoanalysts' policy of political and ideological conformism. Contrariwise, psychoanalysts with a scientific orientation, who—against Freud's explicit will—interpreted his doctrine as a political tool of the historical materialistic dialectic, strove for active resistance: Wilhelm Reich, who analyzed the bases of Fascist religious psychology, was forcibly excluded from the International Psychoanalytical Union in 1934; Otto Fenichel, who sought for years, within this institution, to hold together a small core of fellow analysts who were in mutual solidarity, through circular letters distributed worldwide. Fenichel's works, and, even more so, those of Reich, enlightened the Frankfurt school around Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, who used psychoanalysis for, among other things, their analysis of Fascism, National Socialism, and → anti-Semitism.

The Psychoanalytical Schools and the Question of Religion

4. All of the elements out of which the architecture of the Freudian theoretical structure and the construction of Freud's therapeutic techniques were composed, have, in many ways, been further developed since then, reassembled, complemented, or given up in favor of new elements. Besides the classic drive and structure theory, there are ego psychology (Anna Freud), object-relation theories (which can be related to Melanie Klein), the psychology of the individual (Alfred Adler), Jung's 'depth psychology,' structuralistic psychoanalysis (stamped by modern linguistics and anthropology—Jacques Lacan), the psychology of the self (Heinz Kohut), social-sciences psychoanalysis (Alfred Lorenzer), and interpersonal psychoanalysis. But psychoanalysis has turned well away from psychology of religion, thematically, since the time of Freud and Jung. As for psychology of religion itself, it became, on the contrary, the object of investigation of sociology of religion. Here, especially in the case of analytical psychology, a sharp debate has arisen on the extent to which Carl Gustav Jung's cultic status can be sociologically explained as bureaucratization of his personal → charisma, with which the depth psychologist emerged from his faith-crisis after the First World War; as well as on the extent to which Jung practiced this cult.[7] As early as 1973, French sociologist Robert Castel, following Max

→ Weber, has described the institutionalization of the psychoanalytic body of practitioners and writers by analogy with sociology of religion, as a transition from sect to church, and by analogy with industrial social history, as a transition from a trade-like organization of a corporative type to an organization of a semi-industrial type. This analysis has been seconded especially in the various divisions of the school around Jacques Lacan, in France, as well as in the 'religious struggle,' in England, between Anna Freud's disciples and those of Melanie Klein.

Psychoanalysis in the Religious History of the Twentieth Century

5. By way of the growing popularity of its interpretations in the twentieth century, psychoanalysis has not only transmitted ancient myths, first of all the myth of Oedipus with respect to the → Oedipus complex, but has also created → new myths. Here, revolutionary outsiders, such as Wilhelm Reich or Otto Gross, exercised a particular power of fascination. Gross had come to Munich in 1901 as assistant to psychiatrist Emil Kraepelin, where he familiarized the Swabian Czech with his exuberant interpretation of the Freudian theory of sexuality in the sense of social revolution, and as a doctrine of free love. On Monte Verità, above → Ascona, he sought to lead his disciples to liberation from all neuroses conditioned by civilization. The same promise of the numinous also explains the great influence of C. G. Jung's analytical psychology on → New Age belief. It was through its popularization in the arts, however, first and foremost in surrealism and film, that psychoanalysis was secured in the general consciousness. The work of Salvador Dalí is a prime example: together with Luis Buñuel, he realized the film "Un chien andalou" (Fr., "An Andalusian Dog"; 1928), completely devoted to the Freudian poetics of the interpretation of dreams, and "L'Age d'or" (Fr., "The Golden Age"; 1930)—as well as the dream in Alfred Hitchcock's "Spellbound" (1945), which itself presents an interpretation of psychoanalysis, with a strong religious hue, as a power of healing through the grace of love. As a ritualized pattern of perception of others and self, psychoanalysis is satirically shattered especially in Woody Allen's numerous films.

1. Freud 1940–1952/68; 1987, 13:223.
2. Freud 1982, 1:284.
3. Cf. Ricoeur 1965, 45-49,
4. Freud 1982, supp. vol., 205-15.
5. Freud 1982, supp. vol., 346f.
6. Jung 1918, 22; 27; 34.
7. Cf. Noll 1994 and Shamdasani 1998.

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→ *Freud, Psyche, Psychopathology, Soul*

Martin Stingelin

Psychopathology

1. Thirteen-year-old Sabrina came from a family where her father, as well as her aunt and grandfather, were active members of a radical Christian community. Her mother had left this religious group. A few weeks before coming down with the disease, Sabrina attracted attention in school by her nervousness, her inward unrest, and her fear. After visiting a youth-counseling center, she stabilized, and her work in school quickly improved. After a few more weeks, however, she once more manifested behavioral disturbances in school. Her grandfather then came to talk with her, spoke with her at length about religious topics, and gave her an audiocassette of religious material. Immediately after this conversation, the psychosis came on, with confabulations and hallucinations: Sabrina claimed x-ray vision, then collected trash, which she had to do, she claimed, because the trash came from heaven. She went on constantly about good and evil, bright and dark, God and the Devil. Now her father tried to 'get through' to his daughter, in a three-hour conversation—without success. Sabrina filled the bathtub with hot water, soaped herself standing by the tub, and started to climb in. She was taken to the hospital. Her anamnesis claimed that her father played the guitar in a band when he was off work. Shortly before the onset of the psychosis, Sabrina had constantly looked out of the window, listening to guitar music and dancing to it.

After her mother practically cut off relations with her father in the area of religion, Sabrina—still connected with her father in faith—was plunged into an Oedipal conflict. Actually, on the basis of her development, she ought to have identified with her mother; what happened, however, was the extended, several hours' conversation with her grandfather, who—as a kind of 'super-father'—represented an extremely moralizing and restrictive notion of upbringing. Sabrina felt more and more 'religiously guilty,' and, regarding herself as rubbish, she decompensated into the psychosis (Klosinski 1990).

Aspects of Religious Experience in Terms of the Psychology and Psychopathology of Development

2. As this example illustrates, piety, religious belief, and religious activity can, in certain circumstances, take on diseased characteristics: psychic illnesses can be caused by religion, or determined in their content by religion. The basis for this phenomenon lies in the fact that, from the age of childhood to that of adult, religious development is part of psychosocial development. Developing faith is founded in a primitive trust—that is, in the very first



In today's Western societies, persons psychically deviating from the norm can take on no other roles than those of patients in or out of the hospital. According to the kind and gravity of the disturbance, they go to psychologists and psychiatrists, or are therapeutically cared for in psychiatric clinics. In non-Western cultures, however, they have role assignments that are imbedded in an interpretative context represented in magical ritual or mythology. In West Africa, for example, there are two role formations for psychic deviations: those of the 'bewitched,' and those of the 'possessed.' The former attest to their condition by going about naked, and are regarded as harmless. The latter, who are feared as aggressive, are variously recognizable: in this case, by the multiple layers of bicycle spokes and other pieces of metal that have been hung about his body. It is believed in West African voodoo that iron 'protects' the evil demons, prevents them from leaving the body, and destroys the human substance (G. Chesi)—a mytho-pathological 'downward spiral' in the course of which the possessed person sinks ever further into the ban of his role. Now he can no longer divest himself of the pieces of iron through the influence of his spirits (often their number actually increases), and thus prevents any exorcising 'rescue attempts,' thereby reinforcing his own position as an outsider and a person self-stigmatized. (Hubert Mohr)

nurturing relationship between child and principal nurturer. Religion is one of the transitional phenomena in the potential space between mother and child.[1]

A successful religious development depends on the extent to which it is possible for children, and maturing young persons, to adopt or develop a satisfactory notion of God and integrate it into their personality, to control their fears, and to bring their sexuality into harmony with their religion. If this does not succeed, the danger arises that these developmentally conditioned questions may become pathogenic problem areas for the believer's psyche.

Notions of God

a) Notions of God develop against the background of the child's notion of his or her principal nurturer, that is, along the course of interaction with a

mother or father experienced as almighty. When the needed interplay between permission and prohibition gets out of balance, and the forbidding, punishing, and threatening aspect outweighs the other, a 'super-father' or 'devouring mother' can develop.

In every image of God, Sigmund → Freud saw a super-powerful, interiorized image of the father. By way of the aggressive fixation of a psychic infantilism, and inclusion into a mass delusion (→ Insanity), religion, Freud held, succeeded in sparing many persons an individual neurosis—because, in the collective neurosis of religion, infantile feelings of helplessness on the part of individuals is set into an illusionary collective web of meanings. This religious concept of development is reductionistic: Freud has effaced the meaning of the mother. Klauber (1976), as a psychoanalyst, reintroduced the meaning and importance of the mother, as it were, in his formulation: "Religious faith emerges from the fantasies the child creates in order to justify the trust that the mother will not cease to protect and direct him, and—from the child's standpoint—will be here for all time." (→ Security).

Fear Control

b) In terms of aspects of developmental psychology, religion also serves to control the uncontrollable. The religious notion of an almighty God can occasion the fear-reduction of the developing individual: the more the child can perceive situations of helplessness reflectively, the more the idea of an omnipotent God can block these feelings of helplessness. Tales of the devil and evil spirits, then, will necessarily reinforce these fears, if the reconciling and supportive aspect of an idea of God comes up short (→ Fear/Dread).

c) Too strict an upbringing, one hostile to love, which especially emerges in the question of sexuality from the basic principle of 'tabooing'—thus, from simultaneous silence, prohibition, and threat—can occasion the development of a neurotic relationship to sexuality (Bartholomäus 1994).

3. In terms of religious pathology, two pictures of illness can be primarily distinguished:

- Reactive psychic illnesses ('decompensations'), arising on the basis of family influences that have been rigoristic in the area of religion, lead primarily to *fear neuroses, depressive illness, and compulsion neuroses*;
- Conceptions of religious matters in terms of the mythical and mystical, on the other hand, can slip into *psychotic delusions*.

Neuroses

Persons with compulsion neuroses develop a strict, rigid, inflexible superego. Thus, in a strict religious upbringing, God, as the highest instance, appears as the embodiment of an instance pervaded with a 'choking' conscience. The same holds true for persons subjected to a particularly strict religiosity, and who, on the basis of a corresponding upbringing, seek to be especially pious. When these persons fail to satisfy their self-legislated goals, experienced as religious demands, and fall short of a 'god-given,' or even 'saintly,' conduct, it may happen that they feel guilty, and become depressed.[2] Through compulsive-neurotic decompensations, persons perform compulsive rituals, and entertain compulsive thoughts, in order to ward off harm and disaster nevertheless on account of 'sinful' failings. Here too, tendencies to self-punishment are impossible to overlook. Developments in terms of fear neuroses, depressive decompensation, and compulsive neurotic deviancies in the wake of too strict and rigid a religious upbringing are well known—the attested aftereffects of an unhealthy socialization conditioned by religion. This image of the disease is described in the literature as 'ecclesiogenic neurosis.'

Borderline Syndromes and Psychoses

In psychotic conditions, in the profile of a fleeting or chronic delusionary system, patients may have the experience of believing themselves to be a prophet, for example, or Jesus or Mary. Again, with the disease picture of a multiple personality disorder, it can occur that patients perceive the existence of two or more distinct personalities within their own persons; and one of these personalities can be a religious figure (angel, apostle, etc.). With many of these psychopathological wonders that manifest themselves in religion, it is a matter of narcissistic grandiosities, such as the conviction of being or becoming God.

Similar phenomena are presented as well with hysterical personality disturbances.

Psychopathological Borderline Conditions of Religious Experience

4. Mystics of all times, in meditation, in the experience of satori, or with Sufi dancing, have experienced short-term and reversible border traversal, linked to experiences of fusion, union, and gladness. But in psychosis it is a matter of a longer-term dissolution of the frontiers of the ego and the self, without the opportunity of extricating oneself from this condition. It must be assumed that numerous individuals with 'divine visions' are examples of medically explicable cerebro-organic or psychic illnesses in the form of epileptic auras or hallucinations. Or it may be a matter of the capacity to perceive 'inner images,' as they occur in → meditation and other circumstances of immersed consciousness (e.g. in 'repose hypnosis' (→ Trance). It would be mistaken, however, always to designate religious experience as pathological. Depth experiences, or experiences of exalted feeling, of out-of-the-ordinary or extraordinary, or transcendental things, belong to the normal inventory of mental experience, whether in the form of night or day experiences, or those occasioned by experiences that evoke mental imagery—'letting images arise out of the unconscious.' Phenomena such as *daytime dreams* (one dreams, and at the same time knows that one is dreaming), in which the dreamed dream goes further, and one considers it as if from without, as an observer, or *glossolalia* (speaking in tongues in charismatic Pentecostal movements), represent dissociations of consciousness—which can figure as psychopathological phenomena, it is true, but which can be intentionally evoked by the individual. With → conversions to new religious movements, such extraordinary experiences play an altogether decisive role, as they are connected with the group as enlightenment experiences, or revelations, and are appraised positively as an achievement.

Historical Dimension of Religious Psychopathology

5. A look into history shows that, in the thirteenth century, nearly half of the female saints demonstrate behavioral patterns accompanied by an anorexic desire (with the symptoms of *anorexia nervosa*; Bell 1985). There then arose a new ideal of female piety, closely connected with renunciation of nourishment. The anorexic females experience a twin morality in woman's role, finding themselves between 'sinful Eve' and 'pure Mary.' There came to be nuns who claimed to survive without eating, and when they were detected in their attacks of gulping food, they were regarded as possessed by the devil or by demons, and burned alive as → witches. From a psychiatric standpoint, → demons (the → Devil, etc.) are 'partial ego fractions,' appearing through processes of the splitting of psychic processes and content (phenomena of dissociation). These then manifest a strong tendency to autonomy and personification, and relate, as separated, split-off ego-portions, to what they experience as if they, themselves, were demons, and independent,

substantial unities. For centuries, epileptic patients, as well, were looked upon as possessed by demons, and exorcisms were employed with them—finally as late as 1976, in the sensational case of Anneliese Michel of Frankish Klingenberg.

Pathogenic Potential of Small Religious Groups Led by a Master or Guru

6. The more charismatic the personality of the leader of a religious group, and the more convinced and definite the 'willingness to subjection' of the converts, the greater and more defined a commitment can form as submission to the master. This submission can even lead to a self-surrender that abdicates the will, as the self-immolation of the members of the Hare Krishna movement shows, or the tragedies in Guayana in 1978 (more than 900 members of the People's Temple poisoned themselves), or, in Switzerland in 1994, where forty-eight members of the Solar Temple died by murder and suicide. A recent example is the anticipated flight with an expected UFO, on January 8, 1998, on Tenerife, planned by the followers of 'self-appointed goddess' Heide Fittkau-Garthe. When offers of relationship, or meaning, on the part of the small religious group or its leaders agree complementarily with potential converts' sensationalistic personalities, personal traits, or pathological personality traits, then a kind of 'lock-and-key phenomenon' occurs: the convert seemingly looks for exactly what suits him or her in the scene of the sect or psycho-cult, be it in the form of compensation for undesirable insufficiencies in the personality, or in the form of a protest—either of which leads him or her precisely to this group.

Religion, in the form of a misuse of power (spiritual abuse) on the part of strictly moralizing religious groups, can lead to the development of guilt-consciousness, fear, and a desire for atonement and subjugation. On the other hand, new religious groups and sects must not be hastily and polemically 'psychiatrized.' Approach to, and integration in, a small religious group may also evoke the feeling of acceptance, and lead to a stabilization, and positive development, of the personality.

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2. Hole, G., in: Klosinski 1994, 209-222.

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→ *Crisis, Devil, Fear/Dread, Insanity, Intoxication/Drugs/Hallocinogens, Possession, Psyche, Psychoanalysis, Socialization/Upbringing*

Gunther Klosinski

Puberty

1. Scarcely any other time in the maturation of one's body and soul is as important personally and socially as puberty—from the Latin *pubertas*, 'sexual maturity,' '(wo)manliness'; from *puber-*, 'sexually mature,' '(wo)manly,' 'grown up,' 'adult.' Its onset is marked by the appearance of visible bodily changes, that stand in association with the ultimate formation of the sex organs. Now being capable of procreation, the 'adult' also experiences, with this corporeal development, personal sensitivity and social status in the group or society. It can be regarded as certain that this 'transition' has always been ritually celebrated in all cultures.

Psychosocial Correlations

2. The advancement of the formation of the sex organs to the point of the capacity to procreate represents—along with the general bodily growth—the most visible bodily changes with growing young persons. The first pubic hair and an enlargement of the breasts with girls, and with boys the enlargement of the penis and testicles, the beard, and the changing voice, not only render the alterations very personal events, but make them visible to others. They announce that a maturing person will soon belong to that circle of 'adults' that, through its capacity for reproduction, can contribute to the maintenance of its group. This particular meaning of puberty, accompanied by the capacity for procreation, likewise becomes clear inasmuch as a common definition establishes the beginning of puberty with menstruation in girls or the first ejaculation of semen in boys. In Western culture, these occurrences usually take place between the eleventh and sixteenth year with girls, and the twelfth and seventeenth with boys.

As pubertal persons see that they are called into question with regard to the 'childlikeness' that they have always been living, and that their accustomed role relations are essentially changed, they, for their part, call into question the surrounding world, with its social relationships, and its rule-governed bases. In their efforts to maintain the feeling of a 'self,' pubertal persons are additionally burdened with contradictory expectations on the part of their environment, that strengthen still more their feeling of disorientation and 'splitting.' These features make it clear that puberty, biologically launched by a rearrangement of the 'hormone economy,' and a multiplied secretion of sex hormones, is signaled by other things besides the development of an 'adult sexuality' directed to procreation (vis-à-vis a more frivolous and exploratory childhood sexuality). Rather, puberty is a complex mélange of distinct developmental processes, whose course is simultaneous, indeed, but never linear in the measure of its intensity, and along whose route not only is the body formed, but the ego structure of maturing persons is reorganized, and their roles in the community re-determined.

Ritual Incorporation of Puberty

3. Pubertal changes being so important for the individual personhood as well as for the community that supports it, doubtless there is not a culture that does not make visible in some manner, and seek to regulate, the transition from child to adult. The received ritual of → initiation offers assistance in the orientation of pubertal individuals, and assigns them their place in the community. In traditional ethnic cultures, rites of initiation include the initiation of children into the secrets of adults, to the end that here, along with sexual initiation, the candidate must endure → rites of passage, that prepare

pubertal persons for a sacred, higher, 'initiated' step, by way of special assignments and tests (testing of courage). Indeed, all theistic religions mark the beginning of physical puberty with an 'elevation' of youth through initiation. Even in secularized (→ Secularization) cultures, even in emphatically atheistic (→ Atheism), indeed anti-religious circles, such as the non-denominational or freethinkers, all the way to the former 'socialist' states of Eastern Europe, the ritual transition from child to adult has often been celebrated with youth dedications (youth celebrations), and the youth have often been assigned their place between 'keepers of tradition' and 'vehicles of hope for renewal.' Even more lengthy school attendance, with its final examinations, can be regarded as a modern rite of initiation, with which, in preparation for the adult world, the consequences of puberty are intended to be channeled.

Religious Orientation in Puberty

4. Religious elements belong to the ordering, elucidating, and stabilizing factors of a society, and are thereby among the 'traditions handed down.' The general pubertal inclination to call into question, in the sense of a constructive reordering, what 'already exists,' must therefore also relate to the area of religion and faith.

More than in any other phase of life, pubertal youth are in search of answers, and the questions especially seize on the contradictions between claim and reality. Thus, in the concrete, when the values of a religious society are directly or indirectly communicated to most youth, they are compared with the practice perceptible in religion and society—how they come to expression in the actions or statements of dignitaries or elders, in order to scrutinize them for credibility. As this scrutiny frequently comes out on the negative side of the ledger, there may be a → crisis of orientation that can lead to the abandonment of the familiar religious community. In the subsequent approach to a new community, which seems better to correspond to the value orientation of the individual young person, essentially three forms of reaction can be distinguished, in terms of particular socialization:

(a) An open indifference to religious communities in general, since it is in these that the discrepancy between theory and practice comes most clear, and freedom of decision is restricted in some manner. Here the aversion from a definition of and commitment to content or organization stands in the foreground.

(b) An approach to a completely different type of religious practice that offers another, 'alternative,' religious *Weltanschauung*. Here the element of quest and responsible orientation is front and center. With respect to content, the quest corresponds to the need for the removal of existing boundaries and a 'holistic' view, and type of experience.

(c) Integration into even stricter framework conditions, with clear, binding rules and clarifications, as they are to be met in, for example, pietistic groups (→ Pietism), or in 'destructive' → cults. Here the young person finds the element of dependability, and support from without (by the group, a higher power, or the like) in the foreground.

All three possibilities (of which there are many variations) are grounded on the need for veracity, in word and deed, as the basis for an ethical orientation. Especially with integration into 'youth religions,' or into other phenomena that seem more extreme, such as 'youth → occultism,' an additional role is played by postures of protest, and the need for 'genuine' security (in contrast with that experienced in one's own family as hypocritical). In puberty, instability of soul, together with the tendency to call into question the

old, is inevitable. This condition provokes the quest for new answers, leading to an opportunism that can make it easy to enter other dependencies in new religious groups. While these groups seemingly lend support and orientation, in the outcome they more likely destabilize.

Puberty is a time when youth, in its radical mindset, holds a merciless mirror up to the eyes of adults. Often, true, this is packaged as a challenge to the fray, or to adaptation. But much more, it contains an eager offer of conversation. If this is recognized by adults, and responded to in a manner that these young persons can take in earnest, the foundation materializes for a strong, inner scaffolding. Groups that are destructive, or that reduce freedom of decision, then lose some of their power of attraction. In this sense, puberty is a difficult time for all people involved. But it is also an important challenge, and an opportunity for adults to embrace a new orientation.

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→ *Child, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Initiation, Ritual, Psychopathology, Sexuality, Socialization/Upbringing*

Matthias Pilger-Strohl

Publicity

Publicity—'publicness,' as it were—consists of packages and condensations of individual and social attentiveness, social attention, generated through communication. Its purpose is to consolidate, through communication, the most attention possible. It is distinguished in its subjects, in its size, stability, and duration, as well as in the forms and obligation of the communication. Although a society always knows a multiplicity and variety of instances of publicity, the concept of a comprehensive publicity also forms, generated by the culturally dominating form of communication. In earlier times, this was primarily the oral communication of the marketplace, and then literary publicity. Today it is the mass-media publicity (even worldwide publicity) of the newspaper, radio, and television.

History of the Concept

1. While publicity is already at hand in ancient and pre-modern societies—as in the Agora in Athens, or the Forum Romanum, 'publicity' as a concept of its own appears only in the Enlightenment. In pre-modern linguistic usage, 'publicity' denotes the evident, the known, and the general, in the sense of the common best and the common useful. The designation 'public' refers to the altogether common, and 'private' denotes what concerns only the individual. Since the end of the seventeenth century, with the development of the power of the prince, 'public' also gradually gains the meaning of 'pertaining to the state.' Building on this, since mid-eighteenth century,

'publicity' denotes the political moral qualities of the middle-class claim to government in the post-absolutist state. Furthermore, connected with publicity in the sense of a universal social generality is the pretension to subject the areas of morality, religion, and aesthetics, as well as of the political, to the communitarian judgment of enlightened middle-class society. In the nineteenth century, a doubling of the concept, still influential in today's usage, stands out:

(a) In the sense of normative criticism, publicity becomes the embodiment of opportunities for the control of state institutions by an ambitious middle class. Concretely, this means public parliamentary procedures, the publicity of judicial procedures, and the publicity of the press. Thereby publicity becomes the criterion, as well as the presupposition, of political reason. It effects reasonableness and humanity—in a word, enlightenment—and ranks as evidence of the rationality of the formation of the political will, and of the processes of decision. In this current of tradition is rooted a normative concept of publicity, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, directed to the common political entity, as that concept was once more taken up, in recent times, and further developed, especially by social philosopher Jürgen Habermas.

(b) In more of a sociologically descriptive meaning, publicity is joined with the conceptualization of a sphere generated by communication—a social medium of the unfolding of public life. In this sense, publicity is not a guarantee that social life will be rational, but is the medium of the manifold forms of that social life.

Publicity and Communication

2. The notion of publicity here proposed, one conceived more in terms of communication theory, takes seriously the premise that the historical meaning of publicity stands in a dependent relationship to certain societal possibilities of communication and media of dissemination, as well as to forms of societal differentiation. If some particular publicity is a packaging of individual as well as social attention, then it is clear that the inclusion, proclaimed by the collective singular 'publicity,' of *all* persons, is a guiding fiction of societal communication, serving as a horizon.

Publicity understood in the sense of normative criticism finds its moment of truth in the fact that publicities whose generation is by communication are always spaces of *moral communication*, as well. It is in these spaces that morality is communicated, through the bestowal, or denial, of recognition. But, as is shown by examples that might be cited with an eye to totalitarian governments, and in particular to the time of → National Socialism, even 'publicity' can be perverted, and develop destrucive moral forms that are hostile to life. Thus, the existence of a publicity for itself alone is still no warranty of rationality and humanity, nor of a fair public management of, for example, religious minorities or marginal societal groups. In Western societies, newspapers, radio, and television, and in recent times, the Internet as well, leave their mark on public communication, so that it is possible to speak of a medial publicity, and medially organized markets of moral communication. However, the widespread misapprehension that mass media communication might today stamp only a single publicity, is a false perception. As the concept of 'counter-publicity' (O. Negt and A. Kluge) indicates, in the entire economy of social communication there are also directly competing publicities. The overthrow of the regime of the Shah in Iran in 1978–1979 by a Shia mass movement (especially in the bazaars), and the breakup of the communist government of the German Democratic

Republic in 1989, which was decisively readied in Evangelical Church communities, are examples of how enduringly successful counter-publicities can be constructed out of the gradual unification of small, local publicities not growing from the mass media, but rooted in religious spaces and religious implementation.

Publicities of the Religions

3. a) Religious worship itself, with its communication among persons present, generates an elementary publicity: it collects the communication of persons gathered together in groups. These small-space publicities (parishes, sects, communes), when joined by media of dissemination (books, radio, television), form more comprehensive, indeed partially universal publicities—as symbolized in, for example, Christianity, with its notions of the universal Church and the Body of Christ (→ Collective Representations). Since religious communication in worship is implemented in the presence of, and through, religious reality or power, then the heavenly publicity, with its expectations and its view of human reality, is always included, at least for the religious person, in this publicity, as well. Religious publicities can specifically establish the bounds of communication, and restrict its accessibility. This function is the basis of keeping a religious secret, or protecting privileged knowledge, and secrecy is then demanded of the members of the 'inner publicity.' The exclusion of women from official religious communication in some communities indicates how gender-specific the publicity of the official religion is, and how forcefully women are relegated to the construction of alternative religious publicities.

b) Religious and cultic publicity emerging neither from material need, nor from political interest, nor from economic goals exerts a variety of pressures, even, in the case of Christianity, on a co-formation of sociopolitical and juridical reality on religious grounds. Here, publicity demands the societal and political responsibility of the Church (W. Huber). This communication, informed and motivated by religious norms and insights, is a participation in the communicative process of publicity, subject to normative criticism, whose complaint is itself in the form of a 'claim to publicity' (for example, in questions of → bioethics, or of the discussion of abortion). In the form of scientific → theology, Christianity opens itself to the discussion with public discursive rationality. As consciously 'public theology,' it participates in the public arguments over the shape and form of societal reality.

c) In the sense of sociological description, as well, religions (in the form of manifold communicative frameworks) mark publicity as a space of social life. As institutions of socialization, they participate in the construction of an ethos, and as regulators of the cultural rhythm, they shape the societal festal rhythm (→ Feasts and Celebrations; Calendar). Accompanying social life, they offer a communication of orientation at the transitions of the → life cycle, and in → crises, and, through their diaconal communication of love and hope, they develop shadow-sides of human life (→ Charitable Organizations).

On certain occasions, and by way of specific forms of communication (in Christianity on Sundays—but also at divine services for schools, in radio broadcasts, by processions, in church architecture, with crosses on belfries and on the wayside), religions 'come out publicly' in a special way. These publicly visible and extraordinary presentations of religion seek to interweave religious publicity with other cultural, political, local, or even media-supported publicities, and to mobilize attention in the comprehensive publicity of society.

d) Modern Western societies are marked by a multiplication of the varieties of publicities, and by a no longer religious, but mass-medial character of comprehensive societal publicity. On the basis of the comprehensive aspiration to publicity constantly rooted in religions' comprehensive understanding of reality, this de facto limitation of religious publicity leads to a partially bridged relation between religions and media. This relationship is shown in criticism of insufficient and inadequate presentation in reporting and entertainment, as well as in reflection on certain broadcasts. Both media and religion are in competition for a market of persons' limited attention and time. But it is precisely the concept of publicity in theory of → communication that evinces another fact: that a repressive ejection of religion from the center of gravity of the attention of comprehensive publicity in Western societies makes it possible for religion to continue to be so constantly intertwined with so many manners of publicity.

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→ Advertising, Collective Representations, Communication, Media, Popular Culture, Television

Günter Thomas

Purification / Hygiene / Bodily Grooming

Attitude toward Corporality

1. Religious purification, hygiene, and bodily grooming are areas of importance in all religions, although that importance differs from religion to religion. All of the religions of the world have conceptions of defilement and purification or → purity. The spectrum extends from normal bodily cleansing before certain cultic actions, to the adornment of the body, to a general attitude toward corporeality. By way of example, → Zoroastrianism understands the body as the 'vehicle,' or horse, on which one rides to battle in the 'war' against evil. It must therefore be cared for, just as no one allows the horse upon which one is dependent to starve. Islam, as well, understands the body in a similar manner, as a gift of God. To be sure, the attitude toward the body can also be expressed negatively, in its rejection or neglect, as, for example, with Indian → Sadhus, or Christian ascetics.



An especially vivid ritual form of purification consists in the ejection of 'the similar by the similar' (in Lat., *similia similibus*)—or, as the saying goes, "the Devil by Beelzebub." Here, in San Andrés Itzapa, in Guatemala, before a statue of San Simón, an attempt is made to purify an alcoholic of his addiction by pouring the drug over his body in the form of a bottle of beer. (Just so, prostitutes inhale cigar smoke to cleanse themselves, and white candles are lit lest a child "be done to death by white-skinned doctors.") The place is well-chosen: Saint Simon, whose sacred statue wears a black mustache, suit and tie, and hat, enthroned above the persons concerned before an image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, resembles a respectable, strikingly 'Europeanized' notable, and is responsible for attention to many needs and human weaknesses. In addition, the *Maximón* devotion, at whose midpoint Saint Simon stands, forms a subversive counter-image, representing the religion of the Maya against the colonial Catholic religion. The Maya positively identify him with Judas, Jesus's betrayer—not 'develish' as is the Judas brought forward by the Spanish clergy to be burned in effigy in an *auto de fe* for the horrification of all heretics, but an expelled one and exile, with whom one can identify. (Hubert Mohr)

Purification Rituals and Bodily Grooming

Every cultic ceremony of purification is bound up with the concept of the restoration of a condition of purity that has been lost through certain acts (such as sexual intercourse), events of the life cycle (such as birth, or death), foodstuffs, or other bodily functions (e.g., menstruation). Serving as means of purification, depending on the context, are, especially, water (as in the Jewish ritual bath, 'Mikve'; → Water), fire, or smoke, but also earth or ashes, or the excrement of sacred animals. Ceremonies of purification become necessary on certain, often gender-specific, occasions, but can also be solidly established in daily religious life, like the daily ablutions in Islam for example. Not only external, but also internal purifications are known to



The ritual washing of the feet, before the beginning of prayer, in the outer court of a mosque in Karachi, in southern Pakistan. From two verses of the Qur'an, sura 4:43 and 5:6, Islam has developed a complicated system of ritual purifications, with detailed precepts. Devout Muslims follow these strictly. To this purpose, mosques are provided with running streams, usually in the inner court, to provide flowing water for the ablutions of a number of believers at once.

religious practice: salvific fasting, water cures, and 'nourishment by light' are supposed to purge the body, and relieve it of its poisons.

More powerfully than the aspect of cleansing, hygiene and bodily grooming are connected with attitudes toward the body and corporeality. Thus, the adornment of the body, especially the female body, becomes a problem for those religions that conceptualize corporeality as a part of human nature to be overcome.

2. In Islam, the aspect of purification, as well as hygiene and bodily grooming, play a great role. Purification rituals include the obligatory washings before prayer (see illus.). In all mosques, streams or washing installations are available. In these ritual washings, appeal is made to transmissions of the Prophet Muhammad, who is said to have declared: "Purification [in Ar., *tahur*] is the key to prayer," and "purity [*tahara*] is half of the faith."[1] The feet, the face, and the sexual parts are especially important to wash; if no water is available (e.g., on a journey), sand or earth is deemed an adequate substitute (Qur'an, suras 5, 6).

a) Islamic law recognizes two kinds or degrees of ritual impurity, necessitating, respectively, the minor (in Ar., *wudu*) or the major (*gusl*) ritual washing. Exact precepts for washing are given in the corresponding legal literature. While the Shiites take the Qur'anic precepts of prayer literally, and perform a cleansing before every prayer, Sunnites regard a single minor washing before morning prayer as sufficient for the remaining four prayers of the day, unless rendered null by ritual contamination. Sexual intercourse and menstruation are regarded as entailing major ritual impurity. Minor ritual impurity is acquired through, for example, relieving oneself, touching a person of the opposite sex, sleeping or loss of consciousness, or touching the sex organ. The major ritual washing involves total immersion in water, or a washing in which all parts of the body come in contact with water.

Hygiene and Bodily Grooming

b) *Hygienic measures* include the circumcision of boys, removal of bodily hair by adults (by women, armpits, pubic hair, legs, 'beard'), as well as the washing of the sexual parts after each visit to the toilet. A disputed case is

presented by female circumcision, which is rejected by the majority of Islamic legal scholars or at least approached with doubt.

Cosmetic bodily grooming includes the use of kohl as eye-makeup by males, as practiced by young Muslims and in many Sufi circles. The removal of hair from the armpits, and the perfuming of the body, with an appeal to the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, is likewise routine in these circles. Further, Islamic tradition regards women as ungroomed who fail to remove the hair from their armpits and legs. As a rule, this depilation is carried out with a wax-like paste of sugar boiled in lemon juice, which has been left to set until the sugar has completely dissolved. The paste is then allowed to cool, applied to the appropriate parts of the body, and spread in the opposite direction from that of the growth of hair, so that the hair remains stuck to it. Sharia law refers only to the hair on the head and the eyebrows of the male, and with the female sex, also the hair on the cheeks, chin, and upper lip. At greater length, and contradictorily, codes address beautification that simulates something not at hand, for example, wearing of wigs or heavy makeup. Elderly men comprise a special case, and experience more generous treatment: for participation in military campaigns, they are permitted to dye their hair and beards, "lest a host of graybeards need teach the enemy fear."[2]

Extra-Cultic Concepts of Purification

"Clearing" in the Church of Scientology

3. Along with these altogether concrete actions concerning the body, there are concepts of purification that, unlike ascetical forms, do not reject the body in principle, but aim rather at a 'holistic renewal' of the individual and of society. In the Church of → Scientology in America, a cleansing program called 'clearing' plays a major role. It is a combination of physical, mental, and spiritual purification. The point of departure, here, is that people today live in a world soaked in drugs and poisons, and that humanity has contaminated itself with consumption of drugs and the abuse of medicines. The purification program of the Church's founder, L. Ron Hubbard, is praised as the "most effective means of delivering oneself from biochemical devastation by drugs."[3]

Physical aspects of the 'purification rundown' are, first, a precisely determined combination of activity, fasting, vitamins, nutrition, and the sauna, that Hubbard explains in his *Clear Body, Clear Mind: The Effective Purification Program* (1990). This program is intended to dissolve harmful deposits in the body, setting them in motion and 'sweating them out.' Then vitamins and minerals, a specified amount of oil, and a corresponding diet are supposed to regenerate and rebuild the body. Here it is 'natural' nutrition that is front and center, without more explanation as to what is to be understood by the expression. This programmatic step, then, is decidedly addressed to the biochemical aspects of a bodily hygiene from within, and excludes coffee, sugar, 'junk food,' and even medicines like aspirin, as 'drugs,' or 'false means of nourishment.'

The mental and spiritual factors of the 'cleansing program' include actions, and 'auditing' processes, to accompany Scientology's 'drug rundown,' offered especially by 'Narconon' (from 'narcotics—none')—a Scientology institution originally founded in an Arizona State Prison—and its 'drug rehabilitation technology.' Trained auditors in churches and missions carry out the 'drug rundown'. A problem arising here is that the indubitably positive aspects of the biochemical purification of a drug-dependent body are accompanied by the transportation of Scientology's ideology into the

actions and 'auditing' processes. In academic medicine, the 'drug rundown' is much disputed.

1. Watt/Welch 1980, 280.
2. Krawietz 1991, 249.
3. New Era Publication, Was ist Scientology? Copenhagen 1993, 192. See Church of Scientology International, What is Scientology? A Guidebook to the World's Fastest Growing Religion, Los Angeles 1993.

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→ *Body, Circumcision, Islam, Purity, Scientology, Tattoo, Water*

Assia Maria Harwazinski

Purity

General

1. The didactic distinction between purity and impurity, and the symbols and rituals that realize it, belong to the basic conditions of every religion. Notions of purity articulate a symbolically ordered world of flourishing religious life. The longing for purity is intimately paired with the yearning for salvation. The conception of 'impure,' then, or 'unclean,' identifies everything that this symbolical cosmos threatens or calls into question. The condition of purity is either very fragile, or else denotes a future ideal condition worth the striving. The evaluation of 'impure' comprehends all of those crafts, activities, places, and elements that endanger or destroy this salutary, ordered condition. If purity symbolizes a life-promoting conceptualization of order, then impurity symbolizes the opposite of this order, → evil, the anomic as principle of destruction. The impure is defined as aggressive: it infects, seizes, sullies, stigmatizes—wherefore it must be preemptively excluded, or repressed and eliminated.

Concepts of Purity as Cosmos of Values

Concepts of purity regulate both cult, and the ethical or moral implementations of a religious community. They are a kind of fundamental normative pattern of religion, a paramount difference, in the presence of which the world can be divided and understood. Often, one religion's concepts of purity can provoke another group's polemics, since the cosmos of religious values appears here in representation. Christianity, for example, arose out of a Jewish reform movement, that invalidated the old precepts of cultic purity. However, other models of purity, ultimately representing new interpretations of Jewish precepts of purity, quickly appeared. Thus, Christianity's key symbol, the surrogate sacrifice on the → cross, can be understood only against the background of the Jewish conception of the cleansing power of the surrogate sacrifice.

Ritual Purity

Frequently, although not exclusively, teachings on purity and uncleanness are bound up with purification rituals and washing ceremonies (→ Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming). In almost all religions, the primary medium of purification is → water. Its spheres of application, and levels of meaning, are multiple, ranging from washings, and bathing ceremonies, to blessed water and → baptism. Water also has a great meaning in the topography of sacred places. It is ascribed symbolical, or even magical, qualities; it is understood as water of salvation in a literal sense, and carried in small bottles and set on one's personal home altar. The holy Jordan is just as much a pilgrimage place as are the springs at Lourdes, or the Ganges in India. A cultic expression can also be attached to the color white in ritual attire, such as in the cult of the Parsi (→ Zoroastrianism), but also in the area of new religious movements, such as the *Fiat Lux* (Lat., "Let There Be Light") community.

Primary Medium: Water

The Body

2. On the most elementary level, notions of purity concern the human → body. Since antiquity, and not only in arcane gnostic styles of religion, the body, being matter, has generally remained under suspicion of uncleanness. The body was experienced as dangerous, as a threat against the religious spirit's elevation to transcendency. The human body was a reference to → pain, disease, and death, and literally embodied just what religion ought to address: precisely the body's finitude. For the chief movements of the great religious communities of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism, the human body is an ambivalent phenomenon. In the body, indeed, nearness to God, happiness, ecstasy, and → love can be experienced. It does not stand unambiguously in the catchment area of the impure. But at the same time it sponsors the greatest endangerment. The unclean therefore includes critical bodily events like → birth, → illness, and death (→ Death and Dying), as well as, affixed to these processes, bodily fluids and secretions such as excrement, pus, and blood. The persons from whose bodily orifices the 'unclean' flows, are stigmatized. This stigma affects behavior not only with the sick and dying, but also with women, who, in this perspective, through their menstrual cycle and their capacity to give birth, live ever on the edge of impurity.

Sexual 'Impurity'

In almost all religions, it is human → sexuality, more than anything else, that comes under the rubric of 'unclean,' or 'impure.' The verdict of impurity is radically pronounced, first of all, on deviant forms of sexual behavior, such as → homosexuality. Only more liberal traditions of interpretation, in the wake of modernity and social adaptation, have here managed more space for the interpretation of sexuality lived within a religious community. This space for interpretation has to fight a hard battle, and continues its existence as the last resort of rigorous concepts of cleanness. In the social debate over the immune system deficiency known as AIDS, in which discourse over body and sexuality all but coincides with itself, one observes the vitality of mythical notions of purity, and the social reality that they engender. The ascendancy of religious standards of purity, therefore, and a sexual practice ranging from controlled to rigid, and emerging from acceptance of these standards, have always found their most pregnant expression in models of continence. Along with the celibate life, chastity and 'virginity' play a great role here (→ Asceticism; Celibacy). Many of these religious conceptualizations have immigrated into middle-class societies and have attained continued existence as moral standards.

The social function of concepts of bodily purity is highly ambivalent, then. On the one hand, the ascription of impurity engenders a controlled, ritually accompanied behavior, in the context of life's critical situations. On the other hand, these ascriptions legitimize the exclusion and isolation of certain groups. One stigmatized as impure must be uprooted from the communion of saints, either for a phase, or forever. Such a person is not entitled or authorized to participate in worship, and, as 'dirtied,' must shun any approach to the Holy or its locations, or else must submit to rituals of purification. The distinction between clean and unclean therefore always serves the gender-specific legitimization of strata of religious leadership, which, as a rule, are male-dominated. A modern variant, in which the fundamental pattern of purity runs an underground course, is the debate over women in priestly offices, and the struggle over the role of women in the world religions.

Nutrition

3. A broader region of the realization of religious notions of purity lies in the area of nutrition. At its focus stands a symbol as important as it is explosive: → blood. On the one side, blood concentrates the element of the unclean; on the other, because it symbolizes life, it is conceded an extraordinary power of purification, which calls for special respect. The source of the nutritional prescriptions in virtually all religions therefore lies in the taboo against the spilling of blood. As a consequence of this taboo, the practice of religion includes the more or less strict observance of dietary laws, and of precepts that regulate the slaughter of animals, as with the bloody sacrifice of animals in Islam and Judaism. A compendium of this purity is available in the Book of Leviticus, in the Hebrew → Bible, which regulates all actions of life under the perspective of cleanness and impurity. From its further development arose the kosher (in Heb., *kashrut*) practice in nutrition. In modern times, a multiplicity of distinct cults of purity claiming to govern private religion developed into the modern nutritional culture. Here one finds zealous health-consciousness, and dietary delusions and eating disorders, bound up with salvific promises, and longings for salvation (→ Eating/Nourishment).

The Strange and Foreign

4. The semantics of purity play a great role in the organization of a community. The 'spoiling' of the social body can occur through the lack of a moral norm. The sanctions, meant as 'purification,' extend from ritual actions of compensation or balance, to punitive judicial sanctions. Here, the purpose of the 'clean/unclean' distinction is the reestablishment of an order. In corporative concepts of purity, the notion of the unclean is often joined to an idea of the strange and foreign, these being grasped as a menace to internal order. As a result of the paramount distinction between 'pure' and 'impure,' foreign influences lead to a risky mix, and only in the best case will they result in new associations. In mixed milieus, spheres long regarded as clearly and reliably divided become hazy and indistinct: whence an interpretation of social reality that takes its orientation in the distinction between 'clean' and 'unclean' conjures up ideas of a 'pure teaching' (cf. English 'Puritanism'), of 'clean speech,' or indeed of the 'purity of the common body.' While a rigorous purism in the field of the traditional great religions is strictly coupled with a concept of holiness whose internal and external aim is credibility and ethically responsible living—thus, a high personal pretension rather than an aggression—this offer of an interpretation was rewritten, in the area of

→ civil religion, as the delusion of a collective purity, 'racial purity,' 'acts of cleansing,' and a policy of apartheid (→ Race/Racism).

Purgatory—the Eschatological Place of Purification

It is especially apocalyptic eschatological conceptualizations whose source of life consists in visions of purity and operations of purification. In Catholicism, they lead to the doctrinally proclaimed adoption of a place of purification after death, purgatory (from Lat. *purgare*, 'cleanse,' 'burn'). Other religious myths of the future display the expressionistic image of an eschatological world conflagration, which consumes all that is unclean. This invocation of eschatological scenarios serves, on the one hand, to discipline the religious community, and on the other, to elevate that community over other groups. After all, ordinarily the elimination of the unclean is coupled with the happy survival of a pure, protected army of elect (→ End/Eschaton; Apocalypse).

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→ Asceticism, Blood, Body, Catharsis, Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming, Sexuality, Water

Petra Bahr

Qumran

History of the Find

1. In Jerusalem, in the late fall of the year 1947, and at the beginning of the following year, seven scrolls were brought to market that had been found in a cave by a boy who had been chasing his sheep. The region was that of the hill of Khirbet Qumran with its ruins, at the Northwestern end of the Dead Sea, twelve kilometers south of Jericho. Only from 1949 on were systematic excavations undertaken—from 1951 to 1956, at the hands of Roland de Vaux—in the region of the same hill ruins, where a small settlement appeared. Today fragments of some 800 manuscripts are known, from eleven caves. The adventurous history of the manuscript finds, and the order(s) in which the manuscripts originally appeared, leaves a great deal of room for speculation, since the texts had not been excavated in a controlled way, nor did their purchase follow the routes of established antique shops. When the most important manuscripts were published in the years 1950–1955, they attracted great attention amidst a larger public, as well.

Importance and Interpretation of the Finds; the Manuscripts

2. a) Up to one-third of the texts discovered contain biblical material, representing all of the biblical books except the Book of Esther. Apocryphal material, as well, otherwise transmitted mostly in a framework of the canon of the Eastern Churches, in their respective languages, is attested in Qumran, such as the Aramaic original of the Ethiopian Book of Enoch, and Hebrew fragments of the Book of Jubilees, the latter known before only in Ethiopian translation. Three of the songs preserved in the Syrian Church as Psalms 151-155 can be traced back to Qumran as well. Texts that, as testimonials of ancient Judaism, call into question the characterization, up until now, of the time as one of a spiritual and organizational 'low' in Judaism, are certainly among the most interesting for the history of thought. Thus, the scriptural commentaries that have been preserved (Targum and Midrash) testify to a form of commentary clearly departing, at an early point in time, from the form later known as 'Pharisaic.' Mystical texts have been preserved as well, often reckoned by scholars as akin to a Hekhalot mysticism otherwise known only since the early Middle Ages. Often in the foreground, for the ordering of the whole complex of Qumran, stand texts that were concerned with community organization, such as the community directive, or "Rule of the Community." But other textual genres, as well, are attested: hymns and blessings, horoscopes, oracles, magical documents, from fragments difficult to order to writing exercises.

Khirbet Qumran: An Installation of Essenes?

b) What is sensational in these finds is not limited to the biblical texts, to be sure. Writings were found besides that point to Jewish religious groups only marginally known, until then, from the presentation of Flavius Josephus. The place and character of the finds suggested seeking their origin in Khirbet Qumran, and an identification of the inhabitants of this location as 'Essenes' (probably related to Heb. *Hasidim*, the 'pious'), known from the presentation of Flavius Josephus. (Josephus identifies the Essenes as one of the four most important 'parties' of Palestinian Judaism around the middle of the first century CE, along with the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Zealots.) This conclusion was drawn, indeed, immediately after the appearance, in the 1950s, of the best-preserved scrolls. It has recently been more and more called into question, however, since the further publication of smaller fragments (see Maier's German translation), which brought to light an astonishing number of texts of the greatest variety. Are we dealing simply with a "collective concept for the most varied 'pious' reform movements in Judaism" (Klaus Berger)? Are the scrolls even from the library of the Jerusalem Temple? Research has not yet succeeded in establishing a compelling tie between the textual finds on the one hand and Khirbet Qumran, and/or the Essenes on the other, but the 'Essenic option' is still held up by most scholars today, arguing that Qumran represents an important sub-group of the larger Essenic movement. Others put stronger emphasis on the priestly background of the community, regarding the main settlement as a foundation of a group of priests (and their followers) who had turned away from the main Jerusalem temple cult.

The settlement at Khirbet Qumran existed between the second century BCE and its destruction by the Romans in 68 CE. According to the prevailing view, it was inhabited by a religious community, and included, in addition to commercial zones, spaces devoted to the common religious life and the study of the writings in question. Here a scriptorium, and a library with reading rooms, as well as the great hall of the collections, must be mentioned.

Older research has reconstituted the strictly regulated life of a Jewish community. Full membership was gained only after at least a three-year probation, which featured both a constant study of the Holy Scripture and a moral lifestyle. A piety based on the 'Torah'—understood as true and constantly revealed teaching—stood in the foreground of the community endeavor; the Qumran community saw itelf as the only legitimate representative of the People of Israel, and practiced a community of goods. Features of community life included baptismal baths, prayer services, and ritual meals. The notion of the end of the world and a last judgment, as well as the expectation of the coming of a messianic figure, were elements of the Palestinian Judaism of this time that were salient with the Essenes (→ Apocalypse). The burial installations authorize the conclusion that the Qumran community believed in a resurrection of the dead.

Qumran and Christianity

c) The great public interest accompanying the first decade after the revelations of the new finds, at the beginning of the 1950s, was also associated with the question of the extent to which the finds relativize the historical distinctiveness of the person of → Jesus. It is true that parallels are to be found with elements like Christian baptism, the → Lord's Supper, and the Messianic expectation. Still, attempts to establish direct personal links between the Qumran community and the primitive Christian community rest on very questionable premises (such as the assumption that the biblical Damascus, far from being the Syrian city of today, was Qumran). After the public debate around Qumran had quieted down, a bestseller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception*, by Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh, appeared on the market in 1991. The book contains three theses that cannot stand up to scholarly examination, but that were the foundation for the title's enormous financial success. It was maintained that only twenty-five percent of the textual material had so far been published, that this delay was owing to Vatican machinations, and that the explosive potential of the Qumran texts, allegedly uncovered by the authors, was owing to their revelation that, in consort with Jewish groups, the primitive Christian community had risen up against the power of the Roman occupation. Jesus himself, the book maintained, had been a bellicose rebel, and not the redemptive figure, averse from the world and apolitical, presented in the New Testament. (The Jesus thesis was further enlarged upon by R. Eisenman and M. Wise, in their *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* [1992].) For an audience unfamiliar with the problems of a philological examination of the Hebrew and Aramaic papyrus texts, the authors' reconstructions, and the conclusions that they drew from these, seemed altogether plausible. Attempts at a historical reconstruction of religious figures such as that of Jesus of Nazareth, however, their integration into the contemporary world of their times, and their historical associations, have been part of the daily labors of church historians, theologians, and scholars of religion since the nineteenth century. In the public mind, these figures readily awaken the impression that we are faced with a scandal that goes to the roots of theological doctrines, and that their identity, qualities, actions, and historical associations can therefore be sensationistically exaggerated.[1] Still, a consequence of the controversy concerning this literary success was that there promptly appeared a complete and authorized publication of the original texts, as well as Spanish, English, and German translations of all texts and fragments that had so far been translatable.

Qumran as Projection and Symbol

3. The extent to which the traditional picture of the Essene community in Qumran, with its writings, can be maintained, cannot at present be decided, especially in view of the fact that scholarship has not succeeded in unambiguously ordering and interpreting the burial finds. Not only in sensationalistic journalism, apparently, but also in serious research, Qumran is an easy target for projections and wishful fantasies. All have found there what they wished to: the Dominicans a monastery (Roland de Vaux), an American a military fort (N. Golb), the German investigator a publishing house (H. Stegemann), the Jew a study center of the Sadducees (L. H. Schiffmann).[2]

For the State of Israel, the Qumran texts have a high symbolic meaning. They are the most ancient comprehensive material manifestation of biblical texts—as it were, excavated foundations of Judaism's 'portable homeland' (H. Heine). Their discovery occurred in close temporal proximity to the founding of the State of Israel. The "Shrine of the Book," constructed in the years 1961–64, is attached to the Museum of Israel, and stands amidst the cultural and political center of Israel, near the Knesset, Hebrew University, and other important official buildings. It is one of the landmarks of → Jerusalem, and stands as a symbol of Israel's religious and cultural tradition. The architecture of the construction, two-thirds of which lies underground, is in the shape of a scroll, and features a white cupola on black basalt walls—making the edifice a monument of the national and humanistic claim of the State of Israel.

1. Another example of this is the enormous influence of "Jesus and the Essenes" on → New Age myth-making; see Hammer, Olav/Snoek, Jan A. M., "Essenes, Esoteric Legends about," in: Hanegraaff, Wouter J. et al. (eds.), Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism, Leiden 2005, 340-343.
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→ *Christianity, Jesus, Judaism, Palestine/Israel*

Heidrun Eichner

Qur'an

General

1. The Qur'an (in Ar., *al-Qur'ān*) is the sacred book of Islam. For Muslim believers, it is the word of the one God, Allah, revealed to the Prophet → Muhammad, 'in clear Arabic,' by the Archangel Gabriel. Its content may therefore not be touched. But through the centuries, it has been subject to various interpretations, just as it is today.

Its 114 'suras' ('chapters'), comprising from 3 to 286 or 287 'verses' (in Ar., *āyāt*, 'signs') are ordered in roughly decreasing length. The verses, as well, are of varying length. There are still two different verse-numberings today. Muslims designated the suras not by number, but by their names (e.g., "The Star," "The Table"). The latter come mostly from the verbal content of the suras. They are key words for the dominant verbal memorization and recitation, and for auditory memory, but only seldom say anything about the content, and do not belong to the recitation itself. The language of the Qur'an takes its orientation in the 'rhymed prose' of the ancient Arabic soothsayers, and in the early suras is characterized by passionate rhythm, and a vocabulary of high emotion. It is regarded as inimitable—the miracle confirming Muhammad's prophetical mission, and, for this reason, originally, untranslatable. Thus, the expansion of Islam brought the spread of Arabic into all conquered regions, from Spain to the valley of the Indus, and also amongst the Christians and the Jews. Even after the renascence of the languages of Islam's convert peoples, Arabic remained the language of worship and the source of numerous loan-words from the region of worship and culture, as of most of the personal names. Although not very compatible phonetically, Arabic script was retained as cultural confession for languages such as Persian, Kurdish, Pashto, and (until Ataturk's reform of its script in 1926), Turkish.

History of the Qur'an

2. A scientifically undisputed history of the Qur'an remains to be written. According to Muslim tradition, it received its first written form from oral, and fragmentary written, testimonials—consisting in stones, bones, and palm leaves—under the regime of the third Caliph, 'Uṯmān (644–656). It is the first written work of Arabic literature. The oldest Qur'anic manuscripts (in the Arabian consonantal script), from the eighth century, are only partly vocalized (i.e., fixed in their pronunciation and, thus, meaning), and testify to different recitations (and therewith different textual interpretations). Oral recitation was always the precondition for written fixation. A fixed vocalization followed only in the tenth century.

The 'revelations' that Muhammad set forth orally, over the course of some twenty years, first in his Meccan, then from 622 his Medinan, environment,



A small Qur'anic school in the city of Bahla, in Oman. Until the nineteenth century, Qur'anic schools were Muslim children's only official opportunity for an education. With few temporary exceptions (Iran, India), they were open only to boys, who could enter them as early as the age of four. The most important material, throughout Islam, was the Qur'an, in the Arabic language (thus, also in areas whose language was other than Arabic), which, usually read aloud, was learned by heart, beginning with the *Fātiḥa* (opening sura), then the short

are of a communicative nature. Many suras imply that Muhammad had visions from God; in many Meccan suras God summons him to 'Speak!' In others, God is spoken of as 'my,' or 'our,' Lord. The Meccans, opponents as well as followers, are directly addressed. Later the Medinan community often is the addressee. The speakers are God, Gabriel, or 'the Spirit' (*rūḥ*), as messengers of God, as well as Muhammad himself. The earliest suras demand belief in the one God Allah, warn the wealthy Meccan merchants of God's punishment, appeal to their social responsibility, and promise Paradise to believing men and women who fulfill their religious duties.

A few short, Meccan suras are identical in content. The later, longer to long, suras consist of parts with different content and structures, whose temporal origin is unclear. Nevertheless, a development is perceptible in the Qur'anic thought construct. On occasion, early 'verses' were 'abrogated' by later ones, although usually left in the Qur'an. The 'Satanic verses,' in suras 53:19-21, became the best known, at all events in the Western world in recent times, through the homonymous fantastical-ironic novel by Indo-Muslim Salman Rushdie (1988). They name the three Arabian goddesses al-Lāt, al-'Uzza, and al-Manāt as really existing, while the following verses 22-27 mention them as having become obsolete. Verse 52 of sura 22 is supposed to have been revealed, for Muhammad's comfort, concerning this 'intervention of Satan.'

Content, Genres, Function

3. The "Sura of Opening" (*al-fātiḥa*), is a prayer of fundamental relevance for Muslim believers; they use it ritually in a way comparable to the Christian use of the Lord's Prayer. The two, very short, last suras, "The Day Break" and "Mankind," are often applied in daily life as prayers for protection, like the

Basmala (a formula presumably attached only later to most of the suras, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate").

The Qur'an contains various literary genres, from formulae of swearing (81:15-20) and conjuration in the early suras, to other, formally summoning wording (82:1-5; 81:1-14), to rhetorical questions (104:5; 107:1; 83:4ff.), to maxims (10:35; 2:142), to narrative. These last are based on Near Eastern motifs or myths, and, usually in varying form, are also contained in the Hebrew Bible, such as variants of the temptation of the first human couple by the Devil in the form of a serpent in Paradise (not, therefore, Adam's temptation by Eve), and Noah (Nūḥ) and the Deluge. The creation story is not shaped as a seven-day sequence. The largest part of the Qur'an is formed by the tales of the Prophets, identified with several of the patriarchs of the Hebrew Bible: Adam, Abraham, Ismael, Moses, David, Job, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, and Solomon. These tales vary in detail from those of the Hebrew Bible. Jesus (Isa) is likewise a Prophet in the Qur'an, but not the Son of God. The lengthiest tale of the Prophets is that of Joseph (Yūsuf), in sura 12. Its second part, on the whole, is more favorable to woman than it is in the Hebrew Bible. Figures of non-biblical origin are, for example, the Prophet Sāliḥ, the ancient Arabic hero and sage Luqmān, and the 'Double Horned,' presumably Alexander the Great. Parabolic material, such as that of the pillar city of Iram (89:6), was further shaped in the literature. Iram became the parable of earthly impermanence. References to the Last Judgment also appear in the Qur'an. In the popular genre "Tales of the Prophets," Qur'anic stories of the Prophets, in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, took on characteristics of → fairytale or legend.

The Medinan suras contain cultic and social precepts, including particularly family law. These became the most important foundations of Islamic family law; they represent no complete legal corpus, however, as Muhammad unexpectedly died in 632. Some suras (e.g., 33:24), give glimpses of Muhammad's personal life conditions, such as his relationship with his wives, as well as his position in the community, and this became the cause of obligatory social directives or norms, such as, for example, the commandment of covering the hair and the bosom (→ Veil), gender separation, or punishment for calumny. The situations merely referred to in the Qur'an are more extensively portrayed in the Arabic, historical, and biographical literature, beginning in the eighth century. Works on the 'causes of the revelations' in Muhammad's life appeared from the tenth century onward. Commentaries on the Qur'an, beginning in the ninth century, reveal later religious and social developments and value judgments, for instance in the growing social deterioration of woman in the commentaries on sura 4:34.

On liturgical grounds, the text of the Qur'an was later divided into 7 *manāzil* (Ar., 'steps,' 'stations'), 30 *ajzā'* ('parts'), and 60 *aḥzāb* ('portions'). During the month of fasting, Ramadan, one thirtieth is to be recited daily. The seven *manāzil* are meant as texts for recitation for the seven days of the week. The sixtieths, a relatively late 'portioning,' are meant to serve individual or collective recitation after ritual prayer. They are brought into association with the brotherhoods, but are accounted by many as *bid'a*, (illicit) 'innovation.' The melodic recitation of the Qur'an in the fashion of psalms by voice-trained 'reciters' is generally of great importance for Muslims' emotional life, since, from early times, orthodox Islam has rejected religious music (like figurative religious art).

suras at the end, back to the longest sura, the second. The children's parents often materially compensated teachers. Ever since the gradual introduction of a secular educational system in colonial times, and later with the introduction of universal obligatory education, governments, especially in larger places, influenced the expansion of the material to be learned, introduced examinations, and managed the linguistic and content integration of Islamic teaching, which continues to be regarded as the core of all education. Under Ataturk, Turkey closed the Qur'anic schools in 1926, but today recognizes the (voluntary) Imam Hatib religious schools for boys and girls.

4. The Qur'an impresses the art and literature of the Islamic Near East to the present, especially that of the Arabic countries. As for the prohibition of images (not yet formulated in the Qur'an), it is not only sacred edifices that are decorated by citations from the Qur'an, and this in manifold calligraphic form: in literature, Qur'anic citations or allusions are often employed as metaphors, even, in the classic court poetry, in lighthearted, satirical, or erotic and sexual, even frivolous, fashion. Modern Arabic literature applies words from the Qur'an allegorically, in contexts ranging from social criticism to mysticism. Thus, they form a variety of codes, culturally specific, which stamp the community.

Qur'anic Schools

For hundreds of years, Qur'anic schools (*kuttāb*), in which the Qur'an was learned by rote, were the only educational opportunity for the lower social strata, for boys far more than for girls, who were married very early. Already in the classical Arabic literature, and still more in the modern, this school system led to the degrading of the image of the teacher, since it mostly educated neither in reading and writing, nor in thinking, but, with authoritarian methods and violence (flogging and caning), to unconditional subordination, and to the empty parroting of content that had not been understood. The teacher became the prototype of the dolt in older Arab literature, and the tyrant in modern.

The fact that every believing Muslim has learned the Qur'an by rote, leads to the words of the Qur'an being used as prayers, warnings, maxims, material for consolation, oaths, and instructions, as the basis for meditations and allusions in Muslims' everyday life, and thereby playing a great role, especially in Arabic countries. This renders them available for demagogic purposes, as well, in speeches by politicians, or, for example, during the First Gulf War, in the Friday preaching of Iranian mullahs supporting official governmental policy in Iran, and at the same time, in poetic encomia, in the style of the old Arabic poetry, of Saddam Hussein, which, propagated through the media, were to spur the Iraqi population on to heroism, and to instill in them the spirit of endurance.

Qur'anic Scholarship in Islam

5. In earlier centuries, the Qur'an had become the point of departure, in numerous works, for theological and philological discussion, historical biography, and (for instance, through the language of image) literary creation. Now, since the turn of the twentieth century, approaches to an Islamic Qur'anic scholarship have developed in the genre of historical criticism. However, it is narrowly bounded by doctrines of oral inspiration, inimitability, and miraculous character.

Especially with regard to the situation of woman, verses from the Qur'an have always been interpreted anew—for example in the Qur'anic commentary of Great Mufti Muhammad 'Abduh (d. 1905), in *The New Woman*, of Tunisian aṭ-Ṭāhir al-Ḥadḍād, or, since around 1985, by the Muslim feminists in the United States—such as Rif'at Ḥadḍād, Amina Waddud, and others—whose (re-) interpretation in the sense of a Qur'anic social parity and equality of woman and man (with observation of the biological differences) is impressive but not always defensible philologically.

Translation into Languages of Islamic Lands

6. a) Inasmuch as, for hundreds of years, the Qur'an was, and often still is, regarded by Muslim orthodoxy as untranslatable, commentaries on the Qur'an were translated before the Qur'an itself was. They were translated in

other Near Eastern languages, since the tenth century into Persian. In the twelfth century, the entire Qur'an was first translated into Persian. Eastern translations of the Qur'an have been interlinear until the twentieth century. That is, the Arabic text always runs along with the foreign language. The 1928 founding of the Turkish Republic, and constitutional laicization of the country, paved the way for the printing of Turkish Qur'ans without the Arabic original. The 'Turkization' of the prayer ritual, however, met with the robust opposition of religious authorities, and has been officially allowed only since the 1930s.

Translations into European Languages

b) The first translation of the Qur'an into Latin, done in 1142–1143, was the fruit of missionary intentions, and was made by Robert of Ketton, at the behest of the Abbot of Cluny, Petrus Venerabilis. The first translation into a living European language, Italian, was published in 1547 by Protestant-oriented printer and book merchant Andrea Arrivabene, of Venice, and rests on Ketton's translation. The latter was also the basis for the first German translation, that of Salomon Schweigger, who from 1578–1581 was ambassadorial preacher in Istanbul, and later preacher at the Church of Saint Mary in Nuremberg. In the wake of the Enlightenment, new translations, no longer fraught with hostility toward Islam, from Arabic into several European languages finally appeared in the eighteenth century.

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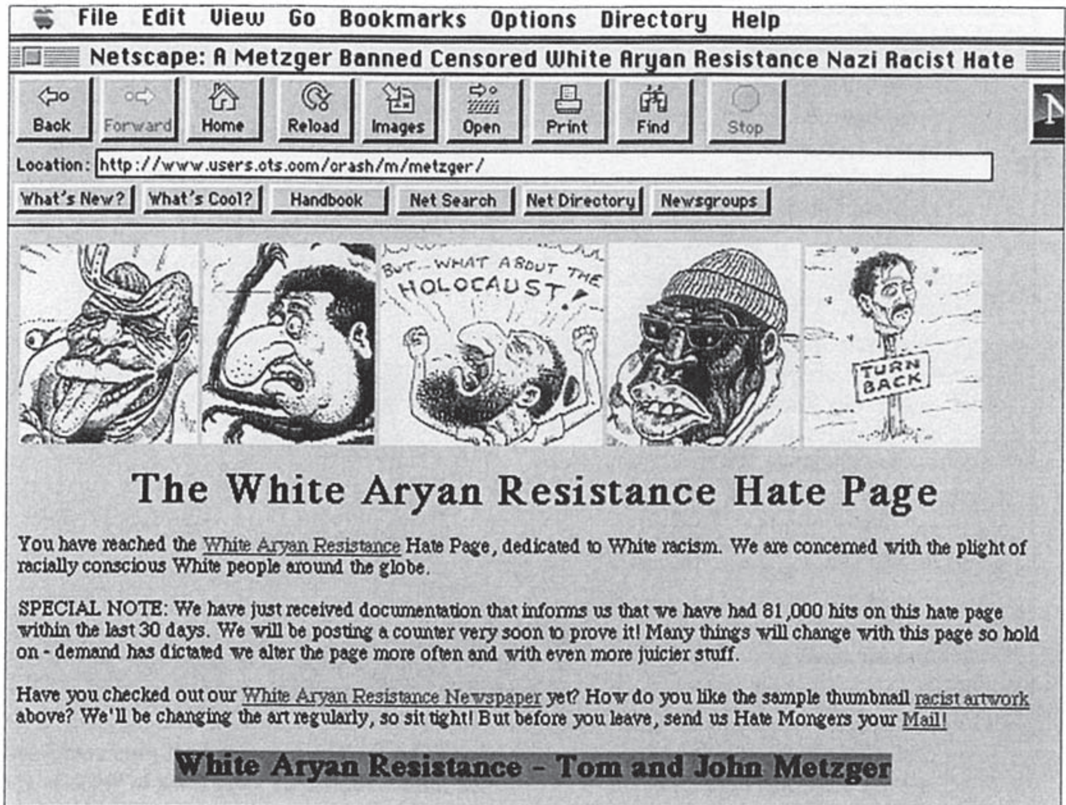
→ *Bible, Book, Canon, Islam, Muhammad, Revelation*

Wiebke Walther

Race / Racism

Race and Racism

1. Franco-Algerian sociologist Albert Memmi defines racism as the "generalized and absolutized evaluation of actual or fictitious differences, to the advantage of the complainant and the disadvantage of his or her victim, with the intent of justifying the privilege or aggression of the former."[1] This



An example of racist propaganda from the World Wide Web is the "White Aryan Resistance Hate Page" in the United States. Caricatures are labeled racistically, according to outer, phenotypical traits. There are the hook nose, the thick lips, the black hair, the beard, by means of which the disfigurations are identified as Arabs, Jews, Blacks, and Latinos. They are presented, in extreme hatefulness, as monsters, parasites, and therefore as a menace.

in an oft-cited definition, that describes today's widened concept of racism, how it is formulated by intellectuals from the once colonial lands, and how it has been introduced into the debate over (post-) → colonialism.

According to Memmi, not only certain biological traits but also cultural differences are invoked, to which to fasten negative evaluations of the foreign group, and positive evaluations of one's own group. Racial conceptions in the narrow sense are grounded, for one, on visible, 'phenotypic' bodily characteristics such as skin or eye color, head size, form of face or nose—and for another, on the concept of 'correct' descendancy that characterized the 'genealogical thinking' of the nobility ('blue blood'). In the modern age, this conceptualization has been linked to biological theories of reproduction. Today, instead, greater importance is attributed to cultural features, such as clothing (e.g., the head scarf), religion, or religious practices, with which are bonded, as a rule, negative, or, more rarely, positive evaluations. But differences are always made out, and distinctions produced, that can lead to the differentiation or exclusion of those so characterized.

The Concept, 'Race': Racial Theories and Racial Myths

2. The attempt to support the conception that human beings can be systematized in races invokes altogether distinct 'racial' theories and 'racial' myths. A fundamental presupposition for thinking in 'racial' categories, and ultimately for racism itself, is framed in terms of cultural anthropology: namely, 'ethnocentrism.' Ethnocentrism can be characterized by the attitude that one's own people, nation, or ethnic group, respectively, is inherently superior to others. It represents a special form of nationalism. French an-

thropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss[2] has shown that the concept of superiority is a phenomenon extending throughout all societies.

In older theories of 'race,' linguistic science and anthropology found themselves charged with the task of dividing human beings into 'racial' types. First, theories of 'race' gained increasing importance in the late eighteenth century, in the developing science of linguistics. Next, in the second half of the nineteenth century, these theories were attached to those of (social) Darwinism and evolutionism.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the quest for the origins of humanity, an association was seen with the origin of speech. Linguistics replaced the theory that Hebrew was the original language of the human race, with the idea of a more ancient Indo-European tongue. In addition, the theory of linguistic kinship was developed as that of 'racial' kinship. A common linguistic foundation for Latin, Greek, and Indian Sanskrit was then assumed. This theorizing linked that foundation with a presumed common 'race.' And this prehistorical hypostasis was only a step away from the 'Aryan myth'—the idea that the Aryans possessed a superior, noble culture. The concept of 'Aryan' served the view that Indo-Europeans were a 'racial unit,' and were to be distinguished from the less highly rated Semites, whose Eastern Arabian languages were used by the peoples between Anatolia, Persia, Armenia, and the Red Sea. It was a myth of the superiority of the Aryan 'race' and the inferiority of the Semite 'race.'

In parallel, in ethnology, anthropology, and → eugenics, human beings were more and more typified in terms of biological 'race.' Among the criteria according to which persons could be thus classified were body size, skin color, eye or hair color, shape of the nose, lips, or head. In function of these traits, more than forty 'human races' were sketched out, among them the Northwestern European, the Northeastern European, the Alpines, the Mediterraneans, the Southeast Asians, the South American Indians, the Ethiopians, and a 'Murrayan race,' named for the Australian river along which these aborigines lived. Actual sub-disciplines developed, such as 'human being measurement' (anthropometrics), and 'skull science.'

At the close of the nineteenth century, racial ideology found its way into colonial policy, and sharpened the belittlement of the colonized on an allegedly scientific basis. Anthropological investigations, now with the wings of the new Darwinism, relegated to an earlier phase of humanity, if not indeed to the animal kingdom, the members of peoples who were not 'white,' 'Caucasian,' or 'Aryan.' The individual races were ascribed character traits by which they were also assigned a 'worth,' in terms of which they found their place on a scale of values—in the case of the European colonizers, a Eurocentric one. Inasmuch as Africans, for example, were not Christian, they were disqualified as pagans or → heathen, and subjected to a missionizing that was cultural as well as religious (→ Mission). Socially, to boot, Africans were regarded in the nineteenth century as slothful, savage, and cowardly. In the eighteenth century, Oceanians ranked at first as the 'noble savages.' In the nineteenth century, this myth was supplanted by the image of cruel, barbarian → cannibalism, and headhunting natives. When all was said and done, Africans and Oceanians alike, in terms of these evaluations, stood far beneath Europeans, in a hierarchy that was political as well as religious (→ Evolutionism).

This division, in terms of a racial ideology, into subhuman and superhuman, was thus 'scientifically' warranted, and it legitimized the extermination



"Be a Help! God reward you!"—Until recently, Christian children in Europe could have fun with a special 'piggy bank' that frequently decorated the Christmas crib: a Black African boy, a 'Negro' sat there, his teeth bared friendlily, on a base. If you put a coin in the slot at his feet (or in a box on his knees), a simple mechanism was set in motion, and, to the delight of the little contributor, the 'Negro' (from Lat., *niger*, 'black') nodded a "Thank you." The contents of the box, one was told, flowed to brave missionaries in their battle with heathenism and cannibalism. Of course, these 'nodding Negros' are only playful testimonials to the racism that has prevailed in the Western societies of the modern age. The Christian mission thereby fit into the larger association of missionary ideologies, and sought to justify the colonialist or imperialist take-over of land and religion through a 'cultural task,' a *mission civilisatrice* (Fr., 'civilizing mission'). Their approach differed from that of the

campaigns undertaken by European 'defense forces' in the colonies and Europeanized regions. For example, Eduardo Galeano reports of a Father Gregorio García, that he has attempted to justify the seventeenth-century Spanish *Conquista* in Latin America on grounds that 'the Indians' were of Jewish origin: after all, like the Jews, they were "slothful, believed not in the miracles of Jesus Christ, and were not grateful to the Spaniards for all of the good offered them."[3] Adolf Bastian (1826–1905), the first professor of ethnology in Germany, in no way regretted the extermination of foreign peoples by German colonial policy, and declared: "The mind-bent of the savage is woefully feeble. Tap him in jest, and he scurries to his hut, so distracted, so confused, and forthwith so unaccountable that, like a wild animal, or the denizen of a madhouse, he must be fettered and bound."[4] In a report on his first journey to Congo, Leo Frobenius (1873–1938), the most distinguished Africanist in German ethnology, further developed that conceptualization: "The free Negro laborer here will work only when he feels like it. [. . .] Peevishly, and for entertainment, as he begins, and peevishly as he ends: the black child grows weary."[5]

This colonial racial ideology found its continuation—and intensification—in the policy and ideology of German National Socialism, with its mass murders of Jews, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, and the handicapped. The National Socialists were able to appeal to the Aryan myth. But they narrowed the concept of the superior Aryan 'race' and culture from that of the Indo-Europeans to that of the Teutons, Celts, and Slavs, and later to the Teutons and their descendants, the Germans. On the other side, National Socialist racism concentrated its assaults on the Semite 'race,' and its belief in an inferior 'race' on the Jews. However, the National Socialist racial propagandists also returned to the concepts of natal origin and breeding: the tie of 'blood and soil' was to generate 'pure-race' farmers and soldiers, while racially 'second-rate material for persons' would be eliminated (→ Eugenics; Euthanasia).

3. In science, the notion that there are human biological races was given up in the 1950s. Progress in genetic research has led to a recognition that genetic differences and peculiarities are manifold, and cut across all nationalities and ethnic groups, so that a 'racial' theory based simply on phenotypic characteristics was recognized as false. But, although the racial ideology is no longer represented in science, the concept of 'race' still exists, in everyday speech and conduct, as well as among political groups of the extreme right. Unlike historical racism, negative evaluations are based on corporeal differences, and, for example, on IQ tests ("Negroes are dumb"). Concentration today is grounded far more culturally—on 'insuperable differences' among personal groups ('culturalistic racism'). In a very widespread case of racism in Western countries, the opinion prevails that Muslim women with veils or head scarves are oppressed, and that they are indulgent and passive, and have no right to contribute to a discussion of important family circumstances in their milieus (→ Veil). In modern research into racism, this basic pattern that comes to light is called a 'meaning construction,' as labeled by British racism scholar Robert Miles. Here, a negative meaning is attached to a cultural trait—in our example, the wearing of a veil—and this concept occasions the construction of a foreign, even hostile, image. No importance is assigned to whether or not a specific case of discrimination against women can be observed in Muslim society.

In sum, the function of racism is to make individual persons and groups unequal, and to 'hierarchize' them. At first, persons are theoretically presented as equal social partners. Then, through the appendage of an evaluation, they are assigned a negative label, on a ladder, and made unequal. In class societies—one type of class society is capitalism—a 'hierarchization' of persons is regarded as the key opportunity for the solution of conflicts. For example, it might be assumed that the problem of scarce resources like work, qualification, domicile, and economic well-being, could be 'solved' through the creation of a hierarchy. Like many → prejudices, an elementary 'hierarchization' vis-à-vis ideological racism is based on a 'we/they' stereotyping: one's 'own,' which is good, is set up against the 'other'—here, the second-rate foreigners. On grounds of their 'looks,' or their cultural usages, they become negatively evaluated groups of persons. The guilt for problems can be ascribed to them. Once, the 'money-mad' or 'usurious' Jews were pronounced guilty for their own economic plunge. Just so, today the 'foreigners' are attributed guilt for unemployment. Although today a scientific foundation of racial thought is discredited and ignored in scholarship, an 'everyday racism,' as a special form of hatred of foreigners, continues its accusations, for instance, against Vietnamese ('slit-eyes') and Africans ('niggers').

racism of extermination, which dismissed the 'natives' out of hand as subhuman or non-human, as they were weaker in technology (usually meaning weaponry). Missionaries, meanwhile, according to the model of the patriarchal family, sought to rear them, as a father his children, to care for them, to support and encourage them, and to 'elevate' them to the level of European civilization. Such 'developmental assistance,' of course, exacted its expressed or tacit price. It was attached to the seemingly obvious requirement that the recipient be grateful, and assimilate the character and religion of the foreign 'benefactors.' Thus, even the figure here represented wears clothing of a European style. Only at the end of the twentieth century did doubts spread, and find a voice, regarding the good of this paternal, well-meaning mentality of superiority. And in many churches, a nodding little angel quietly replaced the 'nodding Negro.' (Hubert Mohr)

1. Memmi, Albert, Rassismus, Frankfurt/M. 1987, 103 (see Memmi 1982).
2. Lévi-Strauss, Claude, Rasse und Geschichte, Frankfurt/M. 1972 (see Lévi-Strauss 1952).
3. Galeano, E., Die offenen Adern Lateinamerikas, Wuppertal 1981, 53.
4. Bastian, Adolf, Zur heutigen Sachlage der Ethnologie in nationaler und sozialer Bedeutung, Berlin 1899, 13.
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→ *Anti-Semitism, Colonialism, Eugenics, Evolutionism, Gender Stereotypes, Hierarchy, National Socialism, Orientalism/Exotism, Prejudices/Stereotypes*

Burkhard Hergesell

Ramadan

Concept

1. The Arabic word *Ramaḍān* designates the ninth of the twelve months of the Islamic lunar year, to which a special holiness is ascribed in the Qur'an itself (sura 2:185, Paret ed.), where it is the only month to be mentioned. Ramadan has twenty-nine or thirty days (depending on the moment of the

new moon), and annually shifts some eleven days vis-à-vis the solar year, so that it travels through the seasons. The Arabic root *rmḍ* refers to summer heat, so that it can be assumed that, in the pre-Islamic solar year, it fell in the hot season. In the Islamic calendar, as in the Jewish, the day begins at sunset. So also begins the *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr* (Ar., "Feast of the Breaking of the Fast"), that marks the merry close of the Ramadan fast, and is one of the two great feasts of Islam, in the evening of the first of *Šawwāl*, the following month. Prayers and other meritorious acts that are performed then possess a special importance. For one thing, the revelation of the Qur'an was made in Ramadan, according to sura 97 in the *Laylat al-Qadr* (Ar., "Night of the Divine Decree," or "Night of Power"), ordinarily celebrated by the Sunnis on the night before Ramadan. This night, or the last twelve days of the month together, count as especially sacred. For another thing, Ramadan has a prominent meaning in Muslim ritual as the only obligatory time of fasting in the calendar. Fasting for Ramadan represents the fourth of the five pillars of Islam, and has been practiced since the second year of the Hijrah (624 CE). There has been a great deal of speculation on its meaning as a sacred month in pre-Islamic times—for instance, whether the *Laylat al-Qadr* was the ancient Arabic New Year. Attempts have also been made to derive the Ramadan fast from the Christian fast time, or from the Jewish fast days before the Day of Atonement. Muhammad became acquainted with the latter in the Jewish milieu in Medina, and in Islam's infancy, *Ashura* Day, which corresponds to the Jewish Day of Atonement on the tenth of Tishri, was still a day of fast. Even after early Islam's departure from the Jewish ritual, fasting on Ashura was still regarded as meritorious.

A Day in Ramadan

2. Fasting (in Ar., *ṣawm*, literally, 'to be at rest') in Islam means total abstinence from all substances that would break the fast, and from activities (in Ar., *mufṭirāt*) explicitly proscribed in this context. The fast lasts from dawn to sunset.

Breach of the fast (in Šafiʿitic law) consists in the ingestion of any material substance. Thus, it includes eating, drinking, and smoking. Likewise proscribed is sexual activity. Generally added, as well, are acts regarded as sinful (such as breach of oath, or murder), and immoral speech, and/or the like. Instead, it is recommended that the Qur'an be read or recited daily, with other meritorious activities (almsgiving, prayer), or penance for any sins. In many Islamic countries, shops and offices have restricted hours. Especially the afternoons are used as times of rest. In various lands of the Near East, cessation of the fast is signaled by the discharge of a cannon. Then there is eating (*ifṭār*)—in many places, on the streets, with festive illumination and décor. This commensality—like the preceding fast—fosters a sense of social cohesion, just as do the fast usages of other cultures. The needy are to be supported by the comfortable. Until midnight, then, a festive mood prevails. As late as possible after midnight, a second meal (*saḥūr*) is taken, and the fast begins anew at dawn ("as soon as a white thread [can be distinguished] from a black one" with the naked eye)—that is, as soon as the morning light becomes visible on the horizon. Since sleep does not break the fast, activity in this month is postponed to the nighttime hours, especially in hot regions, and sleep is taken during the day.

Special Regulations

3. In Ramadan, fasting is 'mandatory' (*wājib*) for every adult Muslim of good physical and mental health, men and women alike. Inasmuch as the

proscription of taking drink especially presents a physical burden during the summer, there are special regulations for the relief of persons performing especially heavy labor, for travelers, for the sick, for women who are menstruating or in childbed or nursing, for older persons, and for all of those for whom the observance of the fast could entail special harm. On the Internet, the "International Society for Ramadan Fasting Research" publishes contributions from Muslim physicians who take a position on, for example, the problem of the effects of fasting on blood fat, blood sugar, and offer recommendations for, for instance, diabetics. Those not impeded by a long-term illness, however, or anything similar, should make up the missing days as soon as possible, preferably on the days recommended for voluntary fasting (see § 4). For instance, persons impeded by metabolic diseases are recommended to compensate for the fasting with almsgiving. Intentionally breaking the fast is understood as sinful.

The Meaning of Fasting in Islam; Optional Fast Days, and Prohibitions

4. Ramadan is the sole mandatory fasting time in Islam. Still, there is an opportunity of practicing fasting on other days of the year, especially on *Muḥarram* (Ashura), two days before the Festival of Sacrifice (→ Mecca), or on the White Nights (the thirteenth to the fifteenth of every month), as well as Mondays or Thursdays. Fasting is forbidden on feast days such as the *Tašrīq* days, the Feast of Offering, and the Feast of the Breaking of the Fast; and also on Fridays.

Theology of Fasting

→ Fasting, in Islam, is understood as a meritorious act, a religious duty, and a means of → purification (such as from sin, or from major ritual impurity), but also of attaining self-control and fear of God (suras 2; 183). It is by no means to be a torment. Muslims, then, feel the fasting of Ramadan to be less hard than that of the weeklong abstinence of Christian fasting. The notion of fasting for pure penance, or indeed as penance for universal human sinfulness, is foreign to Islam. Buḫārī's *ḥadīṯ* Collection, for example,[1] gives a comprehensive view of the Sunnite practice, and of the meaning for Sunnite theology of the month-long fasting. It becomes especially clear that the festival aspect of Ramadan as a month of special grace is repeatedly emphasized. The Prophet is supposed to have been especially generous in Ramadan, and one *ḥadīṯ* declares that, at Ramadan, the gates of Paradise are opened, and those of hell closed.

Social Function

Fasting together, and subsequently eating together, promotes the social cohesion of the group, as previously noted. As with fasting in other cultures, however (for example, with Christian abstinence from meat on Fridays in parts of Europe), there also exists a group pressure by means of which the observance of the fast is protected. Those not fasting with the others exclude themselves from festival and community. In countries where public eating, drinking, and smoking during Ramadan are forbidden, these are therefore looked on with disapproval. In Saudi Arabia or Iran, there are particular punishments (in Ar., *tazīr*) for public breach of the fast. Restaurants might therefore be shut during the day, and even non-Muslims must share in Ramadan.

The postulate that good or evil deeds in Ramadan have special weight means that, for example, a deed of violence cancels the merit of the fast. For another thing, it encourages fundamentalist groups to seek to lend special weight to their actions by means of Ramadan. This can be by ostentatious

fasting, and words (sermons), but it can also be by (violent) deeds listed theologically as sin.

Ramadan in the Diaspora

5. The precise definition of the fasting time in the diaspora sometimes confronts modern theology with a problem. The task presents itself of adapting the religious tradition of a pre-industrial era to the conditions of work and life in highly industrialized societies, especially when Islam represents a minority, as it does in Western countries. The criteria for the determination of the beginning or end of the month, or of the day, usually cannot be met, since they depend on the visibility of the moon to the naked eye. Therefore various solutions are appealed to.

For example, tables are displayed at the beginning of Ramadan, listing the astronomic sunrise and sunset for each day. Or the orientation taken is to the time in the nearest Muslim country, or at Mecca. These data are especially important where the position of the sun can determine a daily lengthening or shortening of the fast (for instance, in Northern latitudes).

There have been various → fatwas on these and similar matters over the last forty or fifty years—even on whether the fast is broken by watching television (this question was answered in the negative).

1. Al-Buḫārī, Sahih, Nachrichten von der Taten und Aussprüchen des Propheten Muhammad, selected, trans. from the Arabic, and published by Dieter Ferchi, Stuttgart 1991, 230-241 (*Ḥadīṯ:* transmittal of pronouncements or deeds of Muhammad; → Qur'an).

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→ *Calendar, Eating/Nourishment, Fasting, Illness/Health, Islam, Mecca, Muhammad*

Agnes Imhof

Rationalism / Irrationalism

Assertions and Truth

1. The fifteenth-century Renaissance effected a completely new orientation of the sciences. The manner of thinking appeared that was typical of the sixteenth century: rationalism. Here, it was the philosophy of René Descartes (1596–1650) that founded a new form of thought and made it the standard of the sciences. As Descartes demonstrated in his *Discours de la Méthode* (Fr. "Discussion of Method"; 1637), reason was no longer satisfied that it only maintain assent to received teachings. A doubt abiding in the reason prevents the latter from giving unconditional assent even to received truths, though these be pronounced by the highest authority, the ecclesiastical. Not only truths understood dogmatically, however, are met with this doubt: even sensory perceptions are doubtful, and thus can by no means function as valid testimonials for or proofs of truth. To use a now famous example,

in the second of his *Meditations* (1641) Descartes shows that a piece of wax can be perceived in very different ways, depending on its condition: thus, the consistency and scent of wax completely changes when it is brought into the vicinity of fire: it becomes soft, and ultimately fluid. Despite this changed condition, however, it is still 'cognized' as wax. Normative for this cognition, Descartes holds, are not the sensory data, which constantly alter, but rather the judgment that the mind pronounces in consideration of the sensory data. And this judgment of the mind in this case, "This is wax," is determinative for cognition. The mind performs this judgment in the form of "an insight into itself" (in Lat., *inspectio*), whose highest end is self-cognition: the cognition found in the judgment, *Cogito ergo sum*, "I think, therefore I am." Here the mind has grasped itself as a *res cogitans*, a 'thinking thing (substance).' Abiding and radical doubt is the sole path to this insight. Inasmuch as the mind doubts everything, even itself, it then cognizes itself *in* the doubt as *that which* performs the doubt (the substance). Besides the thinking substance, there is also the *res extensa*, the 'extended thing,' that is, 'substance that occupies a space.' This substance, however, is not grasped immediately, but likewise, only through the judgment. This mediation is the basis of why, for Descartes and for rationalism across the board, one's own body is itself a foreign body. It is just as approachable as all other bodies, and just as unapproachable.

With this conception of cognition, Descartes founds the typical traits of rationalism, which can be summarized in the following criteria:

(1) Nothing is certain to thought (to thinking) except that which it has 'perceived'—comprehended—through itself. (2) This perception (comprehension) is reached by way of a radical doubt. (3) The objects of this doubt are not only doctrines or assertions, but sensory experiences, as well. (4) On this path of confirmation by way of doubt, thought encounters its own substance. (5) This substance is seen as radically different from the extended substance of the body. (6) In the splitting of thought from extension, of mind from body, the body can be conceived only through extension being taken into account.

Bounds of Rationalism: Feasibility

2. a) One of rationalism's weighty consequences consists precisely in the last point. This conception has led to a deeply rooted basic assumption concerning the possibilities of cognition of nature, that worked its way into the twentieth century, and that has become determinative for the sciences. Here problems arise when sciences are confronted with the human body. Thus, it is particularly medicine that has kept true to this rationalistic conceptualization of the human body. Even today we see this in the understanding of illness as a simple interaction with the human body—in the understanding of illness as a simple organic defect. It is not only here, however, that scientific intercourse with nature encounters certain bounds; rather, today, in increasing measure, the problematics result from a scientific understanding that makes nature accessible solely through calculation and utilization. Thus, rationalism's constriction and problematics, with respect to living nature, leads to irrationalistic countercurrents, that call into question not only rationalism's relation to nature, but also its entire conception.

Romanticism

b) These irrationalistic tendencies scarcely constitute a phenomenon of the twentieth century. → Romanticism itself, which was certainly widespread in Germany, arose out of this opposing stance. Stimulated by Rousseau's

critique of the sciences and arts, which had not led to the → progress of the human race, they pursued their "Retournons à la nature!" (Fr., "Back to nature!") in the form of poetic, artistic, and philosophical relatedness to → nature. But this return to nature implies a political return to medieval forms of society and life. In philosophy, as well, a reactionary trait is recognizable. *Ratio* (Lat. 'reason') no longer stands at the focus of knowledge. It is seen as corruptive, and destructive of life. As in the systematics of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, it is the intellect that is responsible for the higher and authentic insights (→ Reason). Consequently, Romanticism established the concept of 'intellectual observation,' which then became the key concept of irrationalism. The common note of the otherwise differing systems maintained by Fichte, Schelling, the Romantically oriented Schelling school (especially von Baader), and Schopenhauer, is their 'discovery' that it is the sensory system in itself—therefore, without the logical operations of concept, judgment, and conclusion—that is the organ of cognition. Logic, in the best of cases, can only trail along behind this primary opportunity for understanding; but it thereby actually destroys these insights and cuts them off from life.

Philosophy of Life

Through the deficits of scientific cognitions, the triumphal march of the sciences in the second half of the nineteenth century provoked a reinforcement of irrational tendencies. These tendencies have always been joined under the diffuse concept of 'philosophy of life,' a designation that spans the critical attitudes toward scientific and logical positivism, but that also includes a dangerous mythologization of life forces. After the Marxist-oriented disparagement of the philosophy of life as having laid the groundwork for National Socialism, irrationalism in general and the philosophy of life in particular were improperly politicized. This shift rendered unilaterally suspect their important and valuable attacks on scientific and technological, progressivist thought.

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→ *Atheism, European History of Religion, Miracles, Progress, Reason, Romanticism, Science, Wholeness/Holism*

Stephan Grätzel

Reason

Understanding / Reason

1. Today's concept of reason is a product of the philosophy of the Enlightenment, which places reason above simple understanding as the highest capacity of the mind. This ranking reversed the translations of the medieval and early modern ages. For scholastic and Reformation translators, 'understanding,' insight, was the English word for the Latin *ratio*, and the translation of the superior capacity, *intellectus*, was 'reason.' In most Western languages, in the Enlightenment, this correspondence was reversed: 'reason,' as a superior capacity, became *intellectus*, insight, while 'understanding' remained the translation for *ratio*, or discursive thought. In Romance languages (Fr., *raison*; Italian, *raggione*; Spanish, *ración*), as well as in English ('reason'), dependence on *ratio* was retained. These differences are the cause of many misunderstandings.

Faith and Reason

2. With its higher evaluation of reason, the → Enlightenment and → rationalism endeavored to emancipate the mind from the predominance of hierarchical conceptualizations. In the old conflict over the relationship between knowledge and faith, knowledge was accorded independence. Medieval philosophy's normative principle, *Credo ut intelligam* (Lat., "I believe in order to understand"), now became obsolete. Henceforward, understanding was possible without faith. This revaluation of reason not only broke with the biblical 'corruptibility' of reason, but went so far as to found an actual cult of reason, as practiced in the French Revolution, especially by Robespierre. True, *le culte de la raison*, which presents reason as the highest essence, culminated in the dictatorship of the 'common prosperity' of the state, and ended in mass executions. Auguste Comte then propagated another cult of reason in his *Catéchisme positiviste* (Fr., "Positivist Catechism"; 1852), the goal of which was a religion of surrender to reason. In service to an ideal of humanity, its doctrines promoted a special altruism that was to remove all forms of self-relation.

Kant

3. This relinquishing of the individual, in favor of reason, is also to be found in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, as the most meaningful confrontation with reason. His 'critique' of reason is the result of his confrontation with the Scots philosopher David Hume and the latter's skeptical philosophy. According to Hume, it was not possible to find universally valid causal propositions. All propositions upon causes rest on habit, and have nothing that would be binding for the future. Kant felt Hume's propositions as an attack on human autonomy. In his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, and *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (Ger., "Critique of Pure Reason," 1781, 1787; "Critique of Practical Reason," 1788; "Critique of Judgment," 1790), as well as in his anthropology (1798), he seeks to underline the independence of reason vis-à-vis the 'last' (that is, the eschatological) truths. Thus, he assigns the question "What can I know?" to theoretical reason, the question "What should I do?" to practical reason, the question "What may I hope?" to judgment, and the question "What is the human being?" to anthropology. The ultimate questions are not posed by the understanding, but by reason. Reason deals not with the concrete facts of experience, but with questions that touch the whole of the human situation and human existence. Here Kant sketches

his fundamental concept of reason: reason is the capacity proceeding from human freedom, and is that which understands (science), performs (ethics), and shapes (art). The various tasks of reason have the common goal of emphasizing this freedom and independence as the value of the human being, and of holding and proclaiming it against all temptations to return to nature or natural associations. In Kant's theory, this independence of reason is seen with respect to the human being's interest in his or her ego, in the world, and in God. At this point questions arise that—as a result of the critique of reason and the critical self-appraisal of its capacities—cannot be answered conclusively and unambiguously. Thus, there can be no complete knowledge of the ego, its origin, and its destiny—whether or not it might be immortal. Just so, the world and its creation are not precisely determinable. Nor can the existence of God be ascertained, or, still less, demonstrated, any more than can the nonexistence of God. The fact that these questions remain open preserves the critical reason from slipping into dogmatism and superstition. Yet, at the same time—and herein lies the positive side of the critique—the critical reason provides the opportunity for a new kind of relation of the human being to → transcendence. The critical form of the questions, and the fact that they remain open, have the effect that, in a regulating mode, they reach into the inner-worldly problematic. Hence, only an → ideology—and not a knowledge founded in reason—can rule out the questions of the meaning of ego, world, and God. It is precisely the peculiarity of reason that it not only allows these meanings, but actually elaborates them scientifically. Ignoring these questions, or belittling them as fancy, corresponds to a reduction of reason to understanding, and thereby demonstrates a renunciation of the basic thought of the enlightenment: *secularity.* The latter is guaranteed when the human being can freely reflect on these questions, touching her and his inmost concerns, without being limited in them by any authorities.

Dilthey

4. Kant's concept of reason receives a further complementation through the hermeneutics of Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911). In a critique of historical reason, Dilthey shows that the capacity for a historical understanding of earlier areas depends upon having 'understood' the sketches, goals, and plans that have led to events. This mode of understanding is clearly distinct from an analysis of causal factors, which Dilthey leaves to 'explanation,' and thereby further clarifies Kant's already created distinction between reason and understanding. The 'elucidating' or 'explanatory' sciences contemplate nature from the standpoint of the outside observer, and in this are 'natural sciences.' The 'understanding' sciences observe expression and meaning association from within, and in this are 'humanities' (*Geisteswissenschaften*).

Twentieth Century

5. In the course of the century just ended—ever since this attempt by Dilthey to relate the critique of reason to one of its installations, 'history,' in a manner whose orientation is to Kant—there has been an entire series of such critiques of reason. Especially noteworthy is M. Horkheimer's 'critique of instrumental reason,' along with the "Dialectics of the Enlightenment" of Horkheimer and T. W. Adorno, which handles reason's confrontation with myths, and proceeds from a point of departure in reason as enveloped in myth. There are, besides the position taken in the philosophy of life, positions critical of reason (such as Ludwig Klages's *Der Geist als Widersacher der Seele*; Ger., "The Mind as Adversary of the Soul"; 1929), in which there are now approaches to thinking about the environment (Klages's *Mensch und*

Erde; Ger., "Human Being and Earth"; 1913). Here, as with Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) and his ethics of a 'reverence for life' (*Kultur und Ethik*; Ger., "Culture and Ethics"; 1923), the environment is drawn into ethical reflection. With Hans Jonas (*Prinzip der Verantwortung*; Ger., "Principle of Responsibility"; 1984), and the ecological thinkers of the present (such as K. M. Meyer-Abich, *Praktische Naturphilosophie*; Ger., "Practical Philosophy of Nature"; 1997), this eventuality leads to a system of problems arising from the fact that technological intrusions into nature no longer extend over encompassable distances and spaces of time; thus, a consequent assessment constantly becomes more difficult. In corresponding fashion, the treatment is no longer available to an ethical submittal to the principles of reason, but must be broadened to include → nature and the ecological association.

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→ *Atheism, Criticism of Religion, Enlightenment, Ethics/Morals, Humanism, Rationalism/Irrationalism, Science*

Stephan Grätzel

Rebirth

Rebirth may refer to both the idea of → reincarnation and that of being spiritually born again. Reincarnation involves a person being physically reborn into the world after having exited it through death in a previous individual existence. The previous existence cannot be consciously remembered by the individual, but still affects the person. For example, deeds and experiences in a previous life may influence the type of incarnation a person now has.

Around 1900 European religious historians tended to see reincarnation as a distinguishing characteristic of what was perceived as the cyclical and non-goal-oriented Eastern religions in contrast to the linear and goal-directed assumptions of European religions. This differentiation was sometimes used as a point of criticism, sometimes as a reason to affirm Eastern religions.

In the Christian tradition, rebirth also plays a significant role in the concept of being born again. It is not the actual experience of → death, but the fact of its inevitability that motivates 'rebirth,' not in a physical sense but as a → conversion to a new spiritual life. This experience, though it takes place within a single individual lifespan, is believed to have an influence beyond the point of that person's physical death by allowing an access to redemption. The paradoxical idea of a person being able to be reborn is portrayed



"My shaman belongs to me." The white man's gesture is plain: the Western adept has his master, Huichol shaman Don José Matzuwa, well in hand. This snapshot, from the First International Congress of Shamans, held in Alpbach (in the Tyrol) in 1982, shows the problematics lurking in Western reception of non-European forms of religion and healing: genuine interest in foreign modes of thought, and engagement for the 'threatened peoples' of this earth, is frequently mixed up inseparably with commercial exploitation. In other words: the route of transmission between the Third and First Worlds leads from the traditional →

in the Bible in a conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus in the Gospel of John (John 3:1-15).

This notion has remained broadly popular, as may be seen in the periodic prevalence of names like Renée and Renata. The inheritance of the Great Awakenings in the nineteenth century with their revivalist emphasis can likewise still be seen in the conviction of many American Christians that being 'born again' represents the very core of Christian life.

→ *Reincarnation*

Christoph Auffarth

Reception

1. The term 'reception' derives from the Latin *recipere*, 'to receive,' 'to take up.' It is applied with various meanings in scholarship. In the cultural sciences, it found wide application after its adoption from the Constance theory of option in literary reception. In the area of anthropology and religious studies, it denotes any orientation of a cultural or religious current to a tradition. The bearers of the latter are varied. Correspondingly, religious receptions are identified as forms of religion that, according to their own self-concepts, refer to certain 'foreign' elements for ritual or doctrinal con-

tent. These elements, unlike → tradition, lie outside the legitimized or conventional canon of cultural elements of their bearers' religious framework.

2. The reception at issue, then, is that of cultural elements. Among these, the following, in principle, can be received: (a) one's own past cultural elements; (b) one's own, or (c) foreign, cultural elements that are socially different. In the first case, borrowing a concept from religious ethnology, one speaks of nativism—in the second, of layer-specific adoption—in the third of exoticism (→ Orientalism/Exotism). With these categories, → European history of religion is understood as a process drawing its dynamic from the constant, contrasting, polemical or idealizing, new interpretation of various receptions. The latter can assume the most varied forms, and are not unambiguously divided from one another. Receptions describe respectively different viewpoints, with respect to the received cultural element of the bearers—the vessels, the vehicles—of a religious tradition, and not that tradition itself. It is Tacitus, in his *Germania* (98 CE), who brings forward the basic blueprints here, which are then evinced throughout European history of religion. However, a single pattern can become dominant in discrete phases. Thus, for example, in the baroque and rococo a reception of idyllically presented sheep herding societies predominates, that is marked by an idealization of nature. The poor, mountainous Greek regions of Arcadia, on the Peloponnesus, were promoted—even in antiquity—to the status of the ideal. The notions of the idyllic, Homeric scenarios and heroic landscapes in literature and painting (Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682)—but William Chambers's (1723–1796) English landscape → gardens, as well—had nothing whatever to do with the real Greece of this or any other time (just as similar phenomena, in later → Romanticism, had no real elements of a Nordic ambient). Rather, they shaped aesthetical concepts to genuine models of sensitivity (and later, to genuine models of German idealism), just as to genuine models of the notion of decadence, which conceptualized the transition from primordial innocence to civilization as a process of spiritual alienation. With classicism, and the French Revolution, came a temporal and systematic shift of received contents to the time of the ancient Greek 'polis' (philhellenism)—and of the Roman Republic (Jacques-Louis David, "Oath of the Horatians")—as well as of content moving from individualistic to the dogmatically communitarian (→ Paganism/Neopaganism; Civil Religion).

In the nineteenth century, → occultism explicitly received the cultures of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India. These cultures had become accessible partly by way of sensational excavations, but also through the deciphering of (Ancient) Eastern Languages. On the heels of the ideas of historicism (→ History; Science) and nationalism, attention likewise went to the conception of a cohesive history of one's own cultural space—all the more so inasmuch as industrialization (→ Industrial Society) entailed the task of establishing an identity for the masses of the new urban population. The workers' and youth movements at about the turn of the twentieth century offered new modes of expression for identification that seized upon the alienation models of Romanticism, and finally issued either in the nature mysticism and political liturgicism of → National Socialism, or in holistic anthropologies of various esoteric content (→ Wholeness/Holism; Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society). The last phase of Western reception so far was finally shaped by the emergence of the alternative and hippie movements in the 1960s (→ New Age; Esalen Institute).

master-pupil relationship to a new context, in which the shaman's (etc.) pupil must offer the knowledge—sometimes received over years of great self-denial—in a powerfully embattled market stretching from San Francisco to Tuscany. Here, the concealment of 'claims' and jealous guarding of masters is just part of business. Brant Secunda, Don José's pupil, has twelve years of apprenticeship behind him, and has taught 'worldwide' since 1979. In the year 2000, he was preparing seminars on, for example: "Shamanism of the Huichol Indians," and "Seminars at Places of Power," with titles such as "The Dance of the Stag" (with reference to the stag myths), "Sports and Spirit" (with a triathlon world champion), and "The Healing Path of the Heart." (Hubert Mohr)

Declaration of War against Exploiters of Lakota Spirituality

Whereas we are conveners of an ongoing series of comprehensive forums on the abuse and exploitation of Lakota spirituality; and *whereas* we represent the recognized traditional leaders, traditional elders, and grassroots advocates of the Lakota people; and *whereas* for too long we have suffered the unspeakable indignity of having our most precious Lakota ceremonies and spiritual practices desecrated, mocked and abused by non-Indian 'wannabes,' hucks-ters, cultists, commercial profiteers and self-styled 'New Age shamans' and their followers; and *whereas* with horror and outrage we see this disgraceful expropriation of our sacred Lakota traditions has reached epidemic proportions in urban areas throughout the country; and *whereas* our Sacred Pipe is being desecrated through the sale of pipestone pipes at flea markets, powwows and 'New Age' retail stores; and *whereas* pseudo-religious corporations have been formed to charge people money for admission into phony 'sweatlodges' and 'vision quest' programs; and *whereas* sacrilegious 'sundances' for non-Indians are being conducted by charlatans and cult leaders who promote abominable and obscene imitations of our sacred Lakota sundance rites; and *whereas* non-Indians have organized themselves into imitation 'tribes' assigning themselves make-believe 'Indian names' to facilitate their wholesale expropriation and commercialization of our Lakota traditions; and *whereas* academic disciplines have sprung up at colleges and universities institutionalizing the sacrilegious imitation of our spiritual practices by students and instructors under the guise of educational programs in 'shamanism'; and *whereas* non-Indian charlatans and 'wannabes' are selling books that promote systematic colonization of our Lakota spirituality; and *whereas* the television and film industry continues to saturate the entertainment media with vulgar, sensationalist and grossly distorted representations of Lakota spirituality and culture which reinforce the public's negative stereotyping of Indian people and which gravely impair the self-esteem of our children; and *whereas* individuals and groups involved in the 'New Age movement,' in the 'men's movement,' in 'neo-paganism' cults and in 'shamanism' workshops all have exploited the spiritual traditions of our Lakota people by imitating our ceremonial ways and by mixing such imitation rituals with non-Indian occult practices in an offensive and harmful pseudo-religious hodge-podge; and *whereas* the absurd public posturing of this scandalous assortment of pseudo-Indian charlatans, 'wannabes,' commercial profiteers, cultists and 'New Age shamans' comprises a momentous obstacle in the struggle of traditional Lakota people for an adequate public appraisal of the legitimate political, legal and spiritual needs of real Lakota people; and *whereas* this exponential exploitation of our Lakota spiritual traditions requires that we take immediate action to defend our most precious Lakota spirituality from further contamination, desecration and abuse.

Therefore We Resolve as Follows:

1. We hereby and henceforth declare war against all persons who persist in exploiting, abusing and misrepresenting the sacred traditions and spiritual practices of our Lakota, Dakota and Nakota people.
2. We call upon all our Lakota, Dakota and Nakota brothers and sisters from reservations, reserves and traditional communities in the United States and Canada to actively and vocally oppose this alarming takeover and systematic destruction of our sacred traditions.
3. We urge our people to coordinate with their tribal members living in urban areas to identify instances in which our sacred traditions are being abused, and then to resist this abuse, utilizing whatever specific tactics necessary and sufficient—for example—demonstrations, boycotts, press conferences, and acts of direct intervention.
4. We especially urge all our Lakota, Dakota and Nakota people to take action to prevent our own people from contributing to and enabling the abuse of our sacred ceremonies and spiritual practices by outsiders; for, as we all know, there are certain ones among our own people who are prostituting our spiritual ways for their own selfish gain, with no regard for the spiritual well-being of the people as a whole.

5. We assert a posture of zero-tolerance for any 'white man's shaman' who rises from within our own communities to 'authorize' the expropriation of our ceremonial ways by non-Indians, all such 'plastic medicine men' are enemies of the Lakota, Dakota and Nakota people.
6. We urge traditional people, tribal leaders, and governing councils of all other Indian nations, as well as all national Indian organizations, to join us in calling for an immediate end to this rampant exploitation of our respective American Indian sacred traditions by issuing statements denouncing such abuse; for it is not the Lakota, Dakota and Nakota people alone whose spiritual practices are being systematically violated by non-Indians.
7. We urge all our Indian brothers and sisters to act decisively and boldly in our present campaign to end the destruction of our sacred traditions, keeping in mind our highest duty as Indian people: to preserve the purity of our precious traditions for our future generations, so that our children and our children's children will survive and prosper in the sacred manner intended for each of our respective peoples by our Creator.

Wilmer Stampede Mesteth (Oglala Lakota)
Darrell Standing Elk (Sicangu Lakota)
Phyllis Swift Hawk (Kul Wicasa Lakota)

At the Lakota Summit V, an international gathering of US and Canadian Lakota, Dakota and Nakota nations, about 500 representatives from 40 different tribes and bands of the Lakota unanimously passed a "Declaration of War Against Exploiters of Lakota Spirituality." The declaration was passed unanimously on June 10, 1993. (Source: www.native-net.org/archive/nl/9308/0227.html; accessed 28 June 2005)

Today, patterns similar to those of Romanticism are received once more, but with far different—sometimes opposite—interests. Instead of anthropologies emphasizing reason, those characterized by patterns of a skepticism of rationality stand in the foreground. Then too, beginning in the nineteenth century, the focus of reception has shifted from classical antiquity and its Eastern pre-history, as well as from one's own pre-history, to extra-European cultures. Manifold lines of influence can be shown in these developments, as, for example, the collapse of the colonial empires, the oil industry, and the Social Democratic education reform of the 1960s and 1970s. Important objects of the reception that today forms an essential aspect of → esotericism and → New Age, are the North American Indians (→ North America [Traditional Religions]), the Buddhist culture of India and East Asia (→ Zen Buddhism), the Celtic peoples of Europe, and, recently, the native inhabitants of Siberia (→ Northern Eurasia/Circumpolar Regions) and → South America.

Types and Motifs of Religious Reception

3. The forms of expression developed by religious vehicles of reception, and assigned to what is received, can constantly be read as direct responses to the tensions in their own cultural space. The description, in the cultural sciences, of processes of reception, and of their forms and motifs, must elucidate how reception develops for the recipient within a broader culture, and what needs it answers. It sees the inner/subjective perception of its claim to reception, therefore, not as a dialogue, but as evidence, materializing against the background of a projected horizon of culture. The relation between recipient and received eventuates as multi-layered: the 'foreign' cultural element adopted is itself sketched in intra-cultural matters and convergences/oppositions. The cultural scientific analysis, then, has to be executed in terms of the following question, bearing on communication: what, how, why, and by whom, is anything received?

Reception as Mechanism of Projection

a) *In what fashion does reception occur?—forms of assimilation:* If and when foreign, past, or socially different elements of culture are taken up and received, they then often serve as projection screens for the compensation of moods such as uneasiness and discomfiture with processes of mechanization, urbanization, loss of identity through a dissolution of social-role images, or loss of privilege through a democratization of education and access to knowledge (with the assistance of unapproachably secret truths and mysteries). Thus, in current forms of reception, such as, for example, → fantasy literature, on the one hand there is the tendency to a projective metaphysical fixation of orientations that in the current world of recipients are increasingly relativized, and on the other, the creation of experimental fields in which, with new proportions between role-adoption and role-escape, there is room for 'play' or adjustment. Hence, receptions are often suited for a tendency to conservative value-concepts, that are felt as 'better' or 'natural' (wish-) orderings of that which is received.

Reception as Product of Synthesis

No cultural space is an enclosed unit that could be concisely defined, and would draw all of its members from a single form. Culturally determined forms of expression are therefore called into question again and again, and measured by the standard of the societal and social reality that, for their own part, they themselves shape. In many important traditions of reception, the cultural element received is constantly the product of syntheses of a preceding phase of reception, which, for its part, refers once more to the earlier one. Thus, one may speak of a mechanism of transmittal, in which the tradition reflects itself, and in which, in the presence of current social constellations, it is developed anew. In this mechanism, the quest for authenticity forms the subjective moment of motivation in the measure that the really intelligible cultural expressions become objectively more inaccessible. Widespread current religious forms of reception—such as the Native American, the Celtic and Teutonic reception, but also in folklore, and in today's → tourism—come away with only marginal, if any at all, 'chips' of a corresponding substrate. In these cases, the authentic, in the form of a religious and cultural continuity, has been reduced to a disappearing minimal value. Furthermore, the proportion of genuinely foreign cultural elements being submitted to processes of reception is not open to objective appraisal as 'authentic' or 'inauthentic': instead, the 'foreign culture' is constantly smelted together with one's own cultural interpretations, and thus metamorphosed.

Quest for Authenticity

Reception as Intra-Cultural Differentiation

Forms of religious reception are principally the expression of intra-cultural differentiation, then: they introduce new opportunities for action and new traditions of thought into one's own culture, and are therefore one of the important mechanisms of the European history of ideas. Bypassing the 'foreign,' 'archaic,' or 'buried primordial,' they make it possible to confront one's own current bestowals of meaning on the occasion of one's possession of a projection screen, which warrants a distance from one's own socialization.

Vessels of Reception

b) *Who receives?—The vessels or bearers of reception:* On the basis of the dynamic character of culture, in every cultural connection there exist deficits, or instances of one-sidedness, reliably experienced as subjective, on the part of the majority ('mainstream') culture, that motivate individuals or minorities to receive foreign elements of culture. The incipient rediscovery

or → renaissance of past phases of culture is often the work of small, highly motivated groups: of intellectual circles (the Florentine 'Academy' under Lorenzo de' Medici in the fifteenth century for → Platonism, reception of antiquity in Munich's Bohemia around 1900), groups of social dropouts (reception of Buddhism by beatniks, reception of Indian culture by the counter-culture of the 1970s), or groups of representatives of scientific disciplines. In the nineteenth century, it was precisely the new disciplines of archaeology, ethnology, Eastern studies, and comparative languages that promoted the reception of many cultural and historical spaces in Europe and North America, or finally made them possible. Thus, Indian reception in the West, at the beginning of the twentieth century, built on the achievements of scientific Indology, and were nourished by the ever more available Buddhist texts (F. M. Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*, 1879ff.). Frequently, scientific interests and personal reception were joined in one person, as in the brilliant personalities of many researchers and explorers: African scholars Mungo Park (1771–1806) and David Livingstone (1813–1873); Alexandra David-Néel (1868–1969), who traveled Tibet in disguise, and who practiced as a Lamaist nun; Isabelle Eberhardt (1877–1904), who converted to Islam, and lived as a Sufi pupil in North Africa; or Sven Hedin (1865–1952), who researched Central Asia and the Silk Route, and became the forerunner of an esoteric Tibetology.

c) *Why does reception occur?—Motives:* Grounds for the reception of foreign cultural content can be found in the subjective discomfort with one's own culture that we have mentioned, as well as in fascination with the 'other.' Thus, purposes range from the attempt to replace one's personal practice of faith with that of the received culture ('going native' as a form of cultural → conversion), to an active and strategic commitment for the purpose of an alteration of one's cultural environment in terms of a given model of reception, as is the case in reform movements, redemption cults, or some of the → new religions.

Motivation Components and Patterns of Reception

The individual motives and subjective patterns of reception can be catalogued as follows.

- *Motive of alienation:* Many current models of religious reception refer to a motive of alienation for these models that can be demonstrated since ancient times. Individual patterns of socialization, like their framework of cross-societal functions, here appear out of current tensions as alienated from 'nature' (the variant of Rousseau), from 'human beings' (anthropological variant), from the cosmos or life (gnostic variant), or from God (mystical variant). The vehicles or vessels of the variants call for corrective behavior, in order to bring the unilateral and thereby alienated societal processes once more 'into good order.'
- *Pattern of extension or complementation:* Especially for the more recent forms of reception during the last thirty years, in the areas of → New Age thinking or the ecology movement, a pattern of extension or complementation can be identified: the cultural and social framework of the self-concept of these groups—equated, depending on its own political direction, to Christianity or to industrial capitalism—admits of only a limited and impoverished repertory of socially legitimated patterns of behavior. Others, and especially 'more authentic' kinds of human behaviors such as feelings for nature, protection of the biosphere (→ Environmentalism; Wholeness/Holism), emotionality and corporality, on the other hand,

would have been abandoned, if not altogether suppressed, by the mainstream cultural tradition of the West, and consequently would have to be complemented, particularly by religious means.

- *Pattern of compensation:* A variant and radicalization of the pattern of complementation can be grasped as a compensation pattern. Here again, the possibilities of expression and the symbolical systems are felt as unsatisfactory and coercive. They are not complemented by a hypothetical whole, however. Instead, at one and the same time, they are to be neutralized, and are to have their compelling character overtaken by new types of expression. These latter now present themselves as diametrically opposed to socially legitimated expressions. In these cases, a systematically controlled violation of rules leads to psychological liberation, and compensates the daily role-pattern that has been experienced as so coercive. This mechanism enters the scene especially on the occasion of a 'European → nativism,' and therefore along with the reception of so-called indigenous European religions (→ Celts, → Teutons, 'Aryans')—not least of all in connection with Fascist movements—as well as in the Indian reception.
- *Pattern of reaffirmation:* On the other hand, where it is not so much a new orientation of personal meaning that is front and center, but rather the warranty of this new orientation, religious reception comes in contact with exoticism. In the latter phenomenon, along with a Romantic glorification of the alien, the foreground is shared by the indirect wish for the endorsement of one's own cultural elements—as with parts of nineteenth-century enthusiasm for the Orient and antiquity, which are applied in ornamental fashion, and are to serve to emphasize the sovereignty of one's own, allegedly superior and 'reason-ed' cultural context. With an intellectual orientation of reception, however, the opposite pattern can be followed instead: the endorsement of one's own overall cultural framework as the fallen condition of a heroic substrate of reception (see below, § 3d (1), Reception of Antiquity).

In sum, foreign cultural elements can be readied specifically, and worked into a new synthesis that will incorporate one's own notions (exegesis; → Translation). In the presence of receptions, groups develop new manners of expression, and of reflection, and finally, of → identities—all of which, in the overall cultural situation of (Western, etc.) mainstream culture, cut a new facet within the already many-faceted relation of tensions. This new facet can later be taken in hand once more, or else, with individual elements, radiate outward into the cultural mainstream. Thus, religious and cultural reception is primarily to be interpreted as an inner achievement of cultural differentiation, and can by no means be interchanged with intercultural dialogue or scientific discussion. This distinction is reflected in the fact that, for groups undertaking or maintaining religious reception, the current existence and dynamic of the received is unimportant, or even obstructive. Nothing can be so irritating for a Western group receiving Indian spirituality as to contact modern, all too real Indians. And the latter forbid themselves any interest in foreign persons and enterprises using their religious traditions (see the Lakota "Declaration of War") as special bargains on the 'cult market.' Thus, revitalizations of the 'primordial' or 'original' in the Western context are almost completely constructs of historical fantasy—extensively, receptions from other cultural spaces. Still, to summarily regard it as a 'pipe dream,' or 'forgery' would not do justice to the frequent subjective striving after 'the genuine' on the part of vessels of religious reception (→ Fantasy).

Horizons of Culture

d) *What is received?—Horizons of culture:* In the course of early and late European modernity, a broad repertoire of received horizons of culture was shaped:

(1) *Reception of antiquity:* For Europe, and largely for North America as well, the most important context of reception is classical antiquity. This reception builds on the → Renaissance as the foundation of modernity. Since then, approaches to the reception of antiquity, constantly transformed, have always been present in Europe; they develop in humanism, and in connection with Romanticism and classicism, especially in art (Johann Jakob Winckelmann, → Art Religion). In the nineteenth century, antiquity became the impelling means of the groundbreaking Prussian reform of the gymnasium, under Wilhelm von Humboldt and Baron von Stein, and thereby became a material for school formation that was extensively effective. With Friedrich → Nietzsche's iridescent 'Dionysian' legacy, *The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music* (1872), with the turn of the century in Vienna (Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Elektra*, 1904), with the reception by the 'Cosmics' (c. 1900) of a 'matriarchal' prehistory as J. J. Bachofen had imagined it, as well as with James G. Frazer's ethnologization and folklorization of antiquity (*The Golden Bough*, 1890ff.), the threshold of a 'pagan' counterculture to the Christian West was crossed, and a nocturnal image was sketched out, full of mysteries, cruel rites, and primitive sacrificial cults. On the other hand, "The Naked and the Dead" (K. Wolbert), of classical provenance, and an ancient cult of heroes and the dead, continued to determine the aesthetics of the → political religions of the twentieth century, as well as the art and ideology of National Socialism and Fascism. The artists in the service of the state corrupted the Greek notion of the heroic-and-divine to an architecture of monumental emptiness (Albert Speer's 'Doric' *Germania*—Berlin—based on sketches of classical postal-card painter A. Hitler), and (as in the work of Arno Berker) to mighty and colossal plastics. The ideologies of the apparatus of government made analogous use of expressions of heroic honor in Greek religion, for the sacralization of violence and of military and political power (→ National Socialism). Classical humanism's formative ideal did not survive the collapse of an educated middle class and the modernization thrusts of the twentieth century; thus, knowledge about antiquity, its cults, myths, and materials, became marginal, despite instruction in Latin. Meanwhile, in its Romantic and archaistic variant, a reception of antiquity found sub-cultural interest chiefly in areas of spiritual feminism; in the feminist quest for a → matriarchy, and in the 'new → witches.' Knossos and Malta have replaced Athens and Sparta—an observation that is not altered with postmodern attempts at a confrontation with antiquity.

Reception of the East

(2) *Reception of the East:* Reception of the East was kindled in historical phases of strengthened contact—the Crusades (1096–1291) and the Turkish wars (fifteenth to beginning of the eighteenth century)—which, besides coffee and sofas, popularized a plenitude of oriental subjects in art (harem painting, Jean-Auguste Ingres, Ferdinand Cormon). In the eighteenth century, the Near East was joined by the Far East, whose reception led to, for example, Chinese pagodas and tea-houses in the gardens of European princes, as well as to the first products of a Japanese Samurai romanticism. Religious models and elements were mostly only ornamental, however, adopted as movable aesthetic scenery. It was in British → colonialism, especially, that enthusiasm for the 'Orient' reached its climax, with Lord Beckford's *Vathek*

(1786), Sir Richard Burton, who traveled the East in disguise, secretly visited → Mecca, and produced the new, fantasy-charged *Tales from the Thousand-and-One Nights*, and Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*. Colonial cultural contact with → Iran, → India, and 'Indochina' led to the discovery of the Ancient Persian, Indian, and Chinese religions (→ Zoroastrianism; Yoga; Zen Buddhism). Not only were they received in philosophy (Hegel, Schopenhauer) and literature (Pearl S. Buck, Hermann Hesse), but religious groups such as the Theosophical Society (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society) have their point of departure here. The penultimate wave of Eastern reception came in the footsteps of the hippie and drug culture of the 1960s and 1970s, and led to the success of neo-Hindu and Buddhist religions in Europe and America (→ Hare Krishna; Osho Movement; Dalai Lama; New Age; Esalen Institute). Reception of Islamic → Sufism is still in the ascendant.

Reception of 'Indigenous European' Traditions

3) *The reception of ostensibly 'indigenous European' traditions:* Teutonic and Celtic reception has a long tradition, accompanied by nineteenth-century Pan-Slavism, and the recent 'rediscovery' of the cultures of an ancient 'Baltia,' 'Serbia,' 'Croatia,' or even 'Magyaria.'

- Celtic reception (→ Celts) can be traced to the Middle Ages (Arthurian myth, Tristan and Isolde). It enjoyed a strong upswing by way of the middle-class Scottish regionalism of the eighteenth century (Robert Burns, 1759–1796), and in Romanticism it had its influence on the rest of Europe by way of the fashionable currents of Ossianism. In the nineteenth century, 'Celtic consciousness' awoke in Ireland (Irish Republican Brotherhood—or Fenian Movement—founded 1858). Cultural reception in Ireland and Scotland is still closely connected today with nationalistic movements (Sinn Feinn, Scottish National Party; → Northern Ireland). Since the 1970s, by way of J. R. R. Tolkien, the reception of 'Celtic' myths has flowed into the broader context of → fantasy literature and fantasy role-playing (→ Drama [Sacred]). In → New Age contexts, as well, 'Celtic' elements like ornamentation, rune oracles, or '→ Druid' teachings continue to be favorites.
- *Modern Teutonic reception* (→ Teutons) is found in the Nibelungen enthusiasm of the 1850s (Richard Wagner), continues in its utility for the founding of the German Reich in 1871, and finally, by way of → *völkisch* religions (Ludendorff Movement, 'Ariosophy'), leads to National Socialism. The defeat of the Nazi state in 1945 had its consequence in the discrediting of all blueprints of a *völkisch* religion that would relate to a 'Teutonic past.' Only since the 1980s have parts of the counterculture engaged in a modernization of 'Teutonic,' and even of *völkisch*, thought material—by way of Celtic and North American Indian reception—and managed their inclusion in the greater connection of a new → nature piety. Recent groups undertaking 'Teutonic' reception are, for example, the *Armanenorden*, or the *Germanische Glaubensgemeinschaft* ("Teutonic Faith Community," the former "Neo-Heathen Community").
- A variant of the reception of supposedly indigenous European substrata is represented by certain esoteric directions of a 'Great Mother' cult, and myths of the Matriarchate, with a reference to *neolithic and bronze-age substrata* (megalithic culture in Brittany, on Malta, and in Great Britain), as well as to Bronze Age cultures (Crete). Mingled with Celtic and medieval reception, these are prolonged in the twentieth-century witches' movement (Wicca). A more and more important form of reception is the

assignment to prehistoric sites of special, although extremely abstract, meaning-content (Stonehenge, etc.), and their esoteric use as 'power places,' or as places of cult.

Reception of Extra-European Indigenous Religions

(4) *Extra-European Substrates:* Since the 1960s—along with the religious traditions of → India, → China, and Japan—religious receptions have adopted extra-European substrates, as well.

Reception of American Indians

Enthusiasm for American Indians deserves special emphasis. Its roots lie at the beginning of the past century, and, in connection with the nature-protection and the ecological movement has enjoyed a new phase in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s, the midpoint of interest has shifted from the North American prairie Indians, to tribes of the Southwest, such as the Hopi, and to South American tribes of the rain forest. The high cultures of Middle America, meanwhile (Maya, Aztec, Inca), have been generally passed over, since they seem to be less suited for the function of an exemplar of a 'holistic' understanding of nature (for purposes of a critique of civilization). The use of hallucinogenic drugs in Western alternative culture since the 1960s led more strongly to the reception of the peyote cult of Central American tribes, such as the Huichol or Yaqui (→ Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens).

African Religions

The reception of *elements of African nature religions*, for instance that of the Dogon in Mali, has been developed in the footsteps of French anthropology, and both the Jamaican Rastafari movement, as well as Haitian → voodoo, can be described as Americo-Caribbean forms of receiving African culture.

Reception of Shamanism

The newest form of reception of extra-European substrates is to be seen in → shamanism, which refers, along a broad spectrum, to conceptualizations entertained in nature religion. An identifying note of this newest phase of reception, a phase attracting attention since the 1970s in the United States, and since the 1980s in Europe, is a further detachment from concrete historical and cultural substrates. Components of the most varied traditions of healing, and most widely varied ritual elements of → Northern Eurasian and American Indian cultures, generate religious models as vague as they are flexible: these, under the label of 'shamanism,' or 'nature religion,' sometimes assume the patterns of *natural religion* or *universal religion* of the eighteenth century.

Forms of Religious Reception as the Expression of Current Sociopolitical Problem Situations

Nationalism and Separatism

4. Current problem situations, legitimated by forms of religious reception, are, on the one side, ethnicism, nationalism, and separatism. The centralizing policy maintained by national states finds a counterbalance in marginalized cultural spaces, precisely to the extent that the awareness prevailing there of political and cultural impotence is balanced by certain forms of religious expression. These, qua reception, enable a consciousness of cultural superiority, or at least a consciousness of indigenous traditions of equal value, to prevail. Thus, in the 'Celtic' regions of Europe, in Southern France (Languedoc), in various regions of Spain (Catalonia, Galicia, the Basque country), and among the peoples of the Balkans, as well as—in the wake of the political emancipation of the former Soviet Union—in the Baltic region and the Slavic states, political reconstructions of a former autonomy go hand in hand with a reinforced interest in supposedly independent cultural and religious roots.

Environmental Movement and Preservation of Nature

Religious reception sponsors another indicative connection by virtue of its proximity to the movement for the preservation of the natural environment (→ Environmentalism). The vehicles of that movement are groups that connect an anti-modernistic nativism, along with nationalistic or racist components, to a frankly enthusiastic relation to their own country.

5. Religious reception can appear in extremely varied connections and phenomenal visages, corresponding to the current, intra-cultural relations of their social environment. Capacity for reception is an important thermometer of a society's capacity for innovation and plasticity. The best analogy for the reception of supposedly foreign—but actually imagined—cultures is perhaps the phenomenon of individual → dreams and → fantasies. Both form the fundament of development and creativity, even on a societal level. Just as readily, however, they are jammed together, stunned, into deadening lies of power and stagnation, by way of an orientation to concrete political goals. And yet the aggressive success of Western culture is due partly to its capacity to assimilate the supposedly foreign, time and time again, as its own material.

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→ *Celts, Druids, European History of Religion, Fantasy (Genre of), Identity, Memory, New Age, New Myths/New Mythologies, North America (Traditional Religions), Orientalism/Exotism, Paganism/Neopaganism, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Projection, Tradition, Translation, Teutons*

Georg Hehn and (3d, no. 1) Hubert Mohr

Reformation

New Type of Religiosity

1. The Reformation radiating from Germany hosted a confluence of social, political, and religious developments. In terms of religion, the various motifs were focused through scriptural principles, and a teaching on justification. The criticism of the Church by that Church itself led to a collapse of the medieval concept of a unitary Christianity, the *Corpus Christianum*. Into its place stepped the co-existing confessional churches. In the Protestant regional churches, there arose a new type of Christian religiosity, one characterized by a rational piety, with an orientation to preaching, and a new, positive evaluation of the secular life of labor and profession. The juridical distinction between clergy and laity was abolished, and the condition of academically formed preachers replaced the condition of priest.

Theological Criticism of the Excluded Religion

2. Important preconditions for the Reformation included the growing requirement on the part of the urban middle class for suitable and apt religious care and concern, and the widespread criticism of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as well as the theological criticism of the alienation and commercializa-

tion of religion, as it was shown in the practice of indulgence. It was against this last item that → Luther's protest was originally directed in 1517, and it became the initial event of the Reformation. Luther's reforming thoughts soon went beyond this scope, were quickly adopted and spread in sermons and pamphlets, and were concretized by Lucas Cranach and others. The Reformation found its fertile social sustenance especially *in the cities.* The cities institutionalized ecclesiastical and societal alterations, in a cooperation between councils and population that was as a rule complex. The impetus of the social revolution, brought *to the countryside* by reception of the new ideals in the context of social conflict, on the other hand, was suppressed in the Peasant War of 1525. The Reformation would probably not have been able to develop its system-demolishing effect, had greater *territories*—Cursaxony and Hesse—not continued to come in on the side of the cities in the 1520s. They understood the pronouncement of the Diet of Speyer in 1529, which left the implementation of the Edict of Worms to their responsibility, as a carte-blanche for the implementation of the Reformation, above all with the assistance of visitations on the part of the local rulers; these controls of the pastors and parishes soon became an important tool of 'social disciplining' in the pre-absolutist state. At the *Reichstag* of Speyer in 1529, the classes that had remained 'old believing' sought to enforce the Edict of Worms once more; however, the Reforming classes protested against it (hence their name: "Protestants"). After the rejection of the Reformational Augsburg Confession at the Augsburg Reichstag in 1530, the political fronts dug in. The result was belligerent confrontation, and various provisional regulations, until, with the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555, the coexistence of two confessions in the Empire was definitively recognized. The Reformation had made its transition then to the stage of confessionalization.

Normative Centering

3. Recent research has increasingly understood the Reformation against the background of changes in society and piety in the late Middle Ages. In this context, the Reformation represents neither a mere stage, nor a radical breach. Instead, by way of the principle of scripture and the teaching on justification, it availed itself of opportunities to establish a normative 'centering,' on whose grounds fundamental conditions of medieval society could be overcome.

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→ *Christianity, European History of Religion, Jesuits, Luther, Protestantism, Renaissance*

Volker Leppin

Regeneration / Fertility

1. Fertility can be described as the capacity of human being, animal, and plant to reproduce and maintain life. 'Regeneration' comes from the Latin *re-generare*, 'beget again/anew,' a process including the moment of discontinuance, death. This peculiarity of living matter is bound up in shapes, specific to each respective culture, which also subject the human being to a process of socialization. "To be fruitful and to multiply" (Gen 1:28) therefore counts among the basic concerns of groups that seek to see the guarantee of their continued existence. Socio-demographic studies represent the theme chiefly under the aspect of varying human biological 'fertility' (birth rate, population growth), while anthropological studies seek to develop the reciprocal relationships between the relation of regeneration of social groups and the natural resources used by them, with attention to the → collective representations emerging from these relationships. These latter will be: processes of adaptation to nature; cosmologies; conceptions of social relations between the sexes and their tasks in the work of reproduction such as → hierarchy, division of labor, → sexuality, and gender roles, or categories of female and male (→ Gender Stereotypes), concepts of the → body (bodily substances); relations of kinship (patrilinear or matrilinear descent); and finally, the legitimization of progeny.

2. In many societies, the human capacity for regeneration is the object of rituals with which changes is the → life cycle (→ Birth; Puberty; Marriage/Divorce) are accentuated as critical processes. → Initiation or maturity rites, through which girls' and boys' entry into sexual maturity is modeled—sometimes even before the biological transition—, mark the conversion to the status of marriageability. Here, physical manipulations like circumcision oftentimes figure as a means of attaining to capability of procreation, or are performed in order to guarantee virginity as a prerequisite for marriage. The transmission of the 'elders" knowledge of sexual behavior, successful reproduction, and motherhood may be associated with initiation. For example, among the Mende in Sierra Leone, girls symbolically become respected women when they are received into the female sodality (*sande*). Included in this reception, as the most important pubertal rite, is the clitoridectomy (→ Circumcision). Their status, like that of male initiands in the *Poro* sodality, is described as that of "those who would procreate."[1] Frequently, the first menstrual blood (menarche), as a symbol of fertility, constitutes the most important point among the rites for girls. On the other hand, menstrual blood is often associated with physical passion, and temporary impurity (→ Purity)—dangerous properties, to be counterbalanced with prescriptions of ritual seclusion and → purification. Western observers have preferred to deal with this state of affairs as male control of female fertility, and it is sometimes criticized.

In societies whose social organization is based on structures of kinship, woman's fertility means that groups of kin to whose line of descendancy the offspring are ordered may grow in economic and political influence. The birth of a child means that the parent may become an ancestor, to receive the corresponding ritual demonstrations of honor. At the same time, the economic and political strength of the network of kinship is reinforced, and the status of the mother increases. Just so, childlessness is often regarded as grounds for divorce, or for the taking of a second wife.

3. Fertility was a key social concern in all pre-modern societies. The fertility of animals and soil guaranteed nourishment through successful hunting, husbandry, and harvests. Human fertility guaranteed the maintenance of the → family, the complex of kinship, and the religious community. Religious rites that symbolically support these elementary wishes are universal. In hunting cultures, rites of regeneration—perhaps as old as the Old Stone Age—effectuate the return of quarry (→ Northern Eurasia/Circumpolar Region; Shamanism; Animal I; Pre- and Early History). Farming cultures developed refined harvest rites, festival cycles, and myths, to promote the growth of crops, and to minimize periods of unfavorable weather (→ Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic). The rites of the life cycle conferred order on human sexual behavior. Saints, gods, and ritual specialists, as bestowers and intermediaries of the blessing that confers fertility, are present in these societies down to our very today.

Fertility as the potential for regeneration is accomplished, or made visible, in procreation. Here, in symbolical representations of regeneration, the biological propagation of the group, such as biological parenthood, may play a role subordinate to mythic accretions, when, for example, generative reproduction is referred to a primordial creation event. Propagation is then presented not as a biological capacity, but as a faculty that society receives as it follows the moral directions of the ancestors, and holds these ancestors in honor. In reverse, infertility in such a case is categorized as a consequence of moral transgression of the order bequeathed and solemnly imposed by ancestors or other transcendent beings.

Agricultural socieites especially offer metaphorical and symbolical representations of fertility, applied analogously to the areas of 'nature' and 'society.' In Java, in Indonesia, the ripening of the rice and the stages of pregnancy are matched with analogous conceptualizations and ritual acts: thus, with the formation of the ears of rice, the rice is ascribed the longings of pregnancy, and the development of the fetus, like that of the rice plants, stands under the protection of the goddess Devi Sri, for the warding off of insalubrious spirits.

Modern Ideologization and Neo-Mythic Positions

4. Anthropology and the study of folk religion that arose in the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, made regeneration and fertility, and their symbolic representations, a focus of the questions that these sciences posed in the history of religions. Stimulated by the social experience of industrialization (→ Industrial Society), together with the journeys to 'nature peoples,' researchers and scholars collected abundant material on the presence of corresponding religious conceptions and rites on the European countryside, just as in extra-European cultures. At the center of their theories—developed mostly in relation to individual discoveries—stood efforts to demonstrate correspondences between, on the one hand, economic, social, and cultural developments of societal organization, and on the other, conceptualizations of the divine (→ Evolutionism). The Judeo-Christian tradition, whose term of reference was their own God of creation, YHWH, had polemicized against the Canaanite religion's fertility cults. But the studies now undertaken afforded the occasion of a positive determination of concepts like 'fertility cult' and 'god,' 'harvest demons' (W. Mannhardt), 'orgiastic' or 'chthonic deities.' Here the connection that these supported between fertile earth and cult of the dead was included. They could also be interpreted as elements that had been incorporated into the Judeo-Christian tradition.



Maya rain ceremony in Yucatán, Mexico. If the rainfall for their cornfields fails, Maya peasants beg rain gods and *santos* (Span., 'saints') for it. In the open air, within the ceremonial space, a high altar is erected. On its eastern side stands a cross. Farther to the east stands the small altar, for the small but mighty rain god, who resides in the east of the arch of heaven, the direction from which the rain comes. At the four corners of the ceremonial space stand four arches of palm leaves. Under the arches, and east of the small altar, young persons sit on stones, striking the earth with agave leaves and generating sounds like thunderclaps. Beside them and under the high altar sit children, spraying water, which represents the wished-for rain. In the spirit of imitative

Owing not only to the existential meaning or importance of the theme, the interpretational pattern of 'regeneration/fertility' acquired elasticity in terms of the history of reception, which turned out to be problematic when it came to currents of neo-paganism and nature religion. Components of, for example, 'folk piety' in Christian Europe were now interpreted as remnants of the fertility cults of Teutonic and Celtic religion. Local usages, for their part, like May celebrations, or the Tree Blossom Fêtes, whose revitalization or creation emerged in the traditionalizing thrust of industrialization, were idealized in terms of nature mysticism. This pair of phenomena occasioned the metamorphosis of the interpretational pattern of fertility/regeneration into a formula that was undefined, as well as ideologically and mythically open. It could stand in the service of an 'archaizing' conception of religion, or of the 'blood and soil myth' of the National Socialists, or of the models of matriarchal spirituality in today's women's movement. In the discourse of feminism, the female work of reproduction at first registered as a 'biologizing' foundation of the theory and phenomenon of the equal rights that were being refused by a patriarchal 'government.' Thus, since the end of the 1970s, voices have multiplied and become audible that defend women's natural fertility and faculty of birthgiving as a self-defining difference vis-à-vis a 'male practicality-mania in reproductive medicine.' Followers of the new witch cults neo-mythically equate women's procreative capacity to the life-spawning force of the earth, and conceptualize the female body as a means of approach to nature by which woman can generate magical powers. Against the background both of the history of Christianity, and of an industrialized society so lethal for the environment, women's self-concept as witches, magicians, and followers of a mother goddess is the expression of a

discourse critical of society and religion, a discourse that unites the beings of nature themselves with the re-mystification of woman as such a being.

Endless Fertility? The Religions in the Face of the Population Explosion and the Agricultural Industry

5. With the introduction of fertilizers, with the husbandry and geno-technological patenting of useful plants and breeds of animals, whose orientation is to secure or maximize a harvest, and with the success of birth hygiene and reproductive medicine ('in vitro fertilization,' 'surrogate mothers,' contraceptives) fertility today seems to have become a calculable quantity (→ Genetic Engineering). On the other hand, economic factors that affect human, animal, and vegetable fertility and regeneration (agricultural production for export, over-exploitation of resources) by fostering population growth, cause global population problems: urbanization and famine. The rationalities of end and value oriented to fertility, which are transmitted in the religions, stand today in a number of different relationships of tension with these developments. They maintain a likewise varied relationship to social modernization processes that seek to react to the consequences of fertility (social-security insurance by government legislation, migration of labor, family-planning programs). The ongoing criticism of the sexual-ethics guidelines of the Vatican—prohibition of prophylactic measures and abortion in the face of a world population of six billion persons by the year 2000—is but one example among these rationalities.

magic, they now imitate the croaking of frogs, heard in the rain. On the high altar stand offerings of food and drink, which are distributed to all participants after the closing ceremony. Before the high altar kneels the priest: he directs his entreaties eastward to the rain gods (*cháak*) who reside there and in the 'four corners of the sky,' as well as to various 'saints,' of Catholic derivation. Dark clouds loom, indicating a promising closing ceremony. (M. Gabriel)

1. MacCormack 1982, 119.

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→ *Abortion/Contraception, Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic, Ancestors, Animal, Forest/Tree, Initiation, Paganism/Neopaganism, Puberty, Ritual, Sacrifice, Sexuality*

Claudia Naacke

Reincarnation

Concepts

1. The standard word 'reincarnation' is a coinage of the nineteenth century: it appeared in the movement known as → spiritism, and is based on the term 'incarnation,' the Christian theological 'enfleshment' of the Divine Word as Christ. The concept of reincarnation designates the return of someone's aspect of soul or spirit in another person, or, less frequently, in an animal or a plant. In European thought, for centuries, the → soul itself has stood for this aspect. Only in the nineteenth century, further concepts join the latter, including spirit, ego, and entelechy. The ancient Greek *metempsychosis* has also been translated as 'transmigration of souls.' 'Rebirth' in Christian tradition means a spiritual 'new birth,' but in the nineteenth century was also

applied to Hindu and Buddhist conceptualizations. Since the nineteenth century, the function of retribution for or accounting of guilt or merit has also been designated as *karma*, in dependence on Indian tradition.

History

2. In Europe, the notion of a renewed embodiment first occurs among the Pre-Socratics. Pythagoras (c. 570–497/496 BCE) is regarded as its ancestor, but was supposedly only the agent of crystallization of circulating concepts of reincarnation. It is disputed in scholarship whether it came from India, or from shamanic context, for example ideas of a journey of the soul, and whether it was inspired by or was the product of an intra-Hellenic development, the differentiation of body and soul. The content of the Pre-Socratic notion is known in sketches: Pythagoras assumed a re-embodiment into animals, Empedocles into both animals and plants. Functions of punishment and atonement usually formed the key soteriological concern.

In antiquity, ideas of reincarnation constituted a repeated theme of intellectual reflection. They are not attested, however, as a theme of popular piety. In Plato, they reinforce the sanction against transgression of the laws, in Virgil they are a metaphor in Aeneas's descent to the underworld, in Lucretius they are a biting satire on contemporary Pythagoreans. In ancient Judaism and Christianity, and accordingly in the Bible, notions of reincarnation are absent. Origen had conceptions of reincarnation imputed to him posthumously, although he had explicitly rejected such.

Since ancient times, there is scarcely any continuity of belief in reincarnation in European religious history. In the twelfth century, reincarnation emerges with the Cathari (→ Heresy), and around 1200 in Kabbalistic Judaism as well, although a connection of the two is improbable. In the → Kabbalah, the *gilgul* (Heb. 'to roll') achieved some popularity (for example, through Isaac Luria, 1534–1572). In → Hasidism it has lasted to our own day. The religious function could be determined in great variety. With Luria, reincarnation gave meaning to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, inasmuch as existence abroad, as a temporary ('reincarnatorial') existence, prepared the coming of the Messiah. In → Hasidism, to be caught up in injustices plays an important role, as the return in reincarnation was to create justice or punish injustice for the powerless minority. Jewish notions often possess no system of karma as the logic of a condign reward. Re-embodiment is usually accounted a contingent deed of God.

In Christian Europe, spokespersons for a transmigration of souls were altogether rare. Giordano Bruno's (1548–1600) concept of reincarnation found no echo. Then, finally, through Christian Kabbalists like Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont (1614–1699), transmigration-like notions of Judaism—the 'revolution' of souls (a return in the same body)—were taken up and worked out in his successors to theories of transmigration—partially, presumably, in order to sharpen the consequences of a → predestination to damnation in Calvinism.

The popularization first occurred in the usually anonymous literature of the English "Dissenters." In Germany, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), who had occasionally discussed a transmigration of souls, with the final chapters of his *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (Ger., "Education of the Human Race"; 1780), sparked the public debate. It is with him, at the latest, that the philosophical point of reincarnation is finally 're-set.' Re-embodiment is no longer punishment, but boon, and serves progress.



A bodhisattva, according to the Tibetan Buddhist conceptualization, renounces liberation from the cycle of rebirths, and accepts reincarnation once more. Out of compassion for others, a bodhisattva is re-embodied until all beings are liberated from that cycle. The Tibetan word for the reincarnation of an awakened one is *tulku*. Beginning in about the twelfth century, the re-embodiment of certain persons was sought. A good many tulkus, before their death, give indications of the place of their future return. Oracles, signs, and dreams help with the search for the right candidate, as a rule a small boy, who must also identify himself, for example by unhesitatingly recognizing, once more, certain persons or objects with whom he has dealt with in his earlier existence. Before China's invasion, tulkus were sought only in Tibet. In exile, the situation is more difficult. This young tulku, whose name is Tenzin Nüden Losang Chöphel, is the reincarnation of South Indian prince and monk Shantideva (in Tib., *Shivalha*), comes from the eighth century, was born in Jona, in the canton of St. Gaul, Switzerland, and was recognized as the eighth Shivalha Tulku. At the age of eight, he entered Sera, a monastery of the Tibetan exile in South India, where he is receiving his religious formation. Here he is seen in a meditation accommodation that he has built himself, at the *lahrang*, the domicile of a tulku. (Benita von Behr)

In the nineteenth century, the discussion on reincarnation is charged with the concept of evolution. Reincarnation becomes its spiritual pendant. The most decisive agencies of popularization are Allan Kardec's (1804–1869) → spiritism, along with Helena P. Blavatsky's Theosophy (→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society). The more illustrious recipients of the history of the Theosophical reception of reincarnation include, for instance, Irish poet William Butler Yeats, or, in Germany, Rudolf Steiner, who in his later years preferred to appeal to non-Theosophical sources.

In the twentieth century, many religious communities represent conceptualizations of reincarnation, for example → Scientology, Universal Life, or the Lectorium Rosicrucianum. A large market appeared for 'reincarnation therapies.' Attempts to demonstrate reincarnation empirically (Ian Stevenson is a serious representative) are not extensively followed by scientific → parapsychology. According to (rather unreliable) demoscopic deductions, some ten to twenty percent of the inhabitants of Europe and America in the 1980s and 1990s believed in reincarnation.

3. In *oral religions*, notions of reincarnation are found in which 'rebirths,' usually limited to the family clan, are to be read as models of vitalistic participation, in which parts of a collective life force are re-embodied. In *Hinduism*, the idea of reincarnation finally appears in religious history in about the eighth to the sixth centuries BCE, and in *Buddhism*, rebirth holds a key meaning, and has attained an effect that marks society (exceptions: China, Japan, Bali).

In Hinduism, the concept finally prevailed of an individual soul (in Skt., *atman*) that lasts beyond death, and that takes up a new body. The → Buddha's philosophy of 'no-self' (*anatman*), on the other hand, has its point of departure in a rebirth without an abiding subject, where only the five groups of corporeal and spiritual phenomena (*skandha*) emerge at the beginning of a new life. In place of such an 'incarnating' self, the conception of causal effects between two lives, or life courses, is taught. They consist of the ethically relevant activities of the will (*samsara*) in works, words, and thoughts, that in their totality, called karma, lead to rebirth. In Hinduism and Buddhism, the idea of karma was expanded in comprehensive structures of thought,

in which the consequences of a deed (*karma*) were thought out. Here, a logic of retribution for good or bad deeds dominates, with positive or negative consequences in the present and in a new existence. The doctrine of karma is conceptually shaped as an impersonal juridical norm, to which, in Buddhist concepts, the very gods are subjected. Contrariwise, karmic guilt could be diminished or removed with the help of the bodhisattvas, or by the transfer of karmic merit. In the Hindu spirituality of Bhakti, even the inevitability of the karmic logic in the 'cycle of births' could be eliminated, by surrender, and gift of self, to God. The 'subject' of reincarnation can be differently, even contrarily, conceived. In Tibet, reincarnation serves to select the religio-political elite: the Dalai Lama and other important lamas are determined by reincarnation (→ Lamaism). In Islam, conceptualizations of reincarnation are found in the Shia, which hand down many probably ancient gnostic motifs.

4. The fact that, in Europe, notions of reincarnation long found no echo, is to be explained by the hegemony of a Judeo-Christian thought in which the dualism of soul and body required for re-embodiment was rejected, and the human being totally 'resurrects.' Reincarnation is ordinarily accepted only in view of an interpretation of injustice and suffering as consequences of an earlier life (→ Theodicy). In modernity, the Western tradition was radically re-coded on this point: reincarnation is no longer read as punishment, but as good fortune. It is also fundamentally distinguished from Hindu tradition: while, in Asia, redemption is read as an ascent from the cycle of rebirths, in Europe and North America today the entry into a new birth is often interpreted as part of a religion of self-realization. The current appeal, furthermore, may lie in the option of conceiving progress as something beyond the grave, as well, and thus of 'proving' reincarnation, and thereby → 'immortality,' through memories of earlier lifetimes. The price of ideas of resurrection is, for one thing, the relativization of the body to the point of enmity to the body, since only the spiritual element maintains identity vis-à-vis the interchangeable body. As far as reincarnation into animals and plants is concerned (which modern ideas usually preclude, in the West, owing to that culture's progressive orientation), these concepts do not ordinarily come to bear. Of course, pressure can arise in favor of an attention to nonhuman nature and a concern for it. Social and political effects of thoughts of reincarnation are practically unknown in the West. Conversely, for India, the supposition is discussed—and Indians also propose—that rebirths and their million-fold repetition in the cyclical theories may contribute to social passivity.

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→ *Buddhism, Esotericism, Heresy, Hinduism, Immortality, Lamaism, New Age, Progress, Psyche, Scientology, Soul, Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society*

Helmut Zander

Relics (Veneration of)

1. Relics (Lat. *reliquiae*, 'leavings'), in the religious understanding of the term, are remains having a relation to the Holy. Thus, especially in Christian veneration of relics, 'memorial pieces' of chief figures, or of figures who have served as models of Christian life or Christian death (saints and martyrs), such as their blood, bones, or ashes (primary, or 'first-class' relics), are reverenced or venerated. Relics of the second order, or relics of touch, are objects with which the saints, or the primary relics, have come in contact. These include objects of use, martyrs' tools or clothing. Relics are ascribed a God-given power or efficacy that acquires an influence on persons by way of seeing, touching (kissing), or through invocation of the saint. Functionally, relics are means of help that are supposed to guarantee defense in time of danger (storms, war), and healing in illness, and to serve as pledge and surety at the Last Judgment.

2. a) A precursor of the Christian veneration of relics was the ancient cult of heroes in Greece, where the relics of the heroes were deemed to secure the city. In early Christianity, the religious self-concept of the communities was directed toward the tombs of the saints or martyrs. For one thing, God, according to early Christian tradition, protected his faithful by *patrocinia*, 'patronages'; for another, the Eucharist might therefore be celebrated only atop the tomb of a martyr. Bodily relics, then, were connected with every altar: the latter served at once as tomb and as sacrificial place. In order to accommodate a growing demand, beginning in the eleventh century, the fractioning of the relics was justified if no injury or sacrilege had been done them, in which case, just as their efficacy was maintained in the 'entire and integral body,'[1] so also did it abide in the smallest parts. The wish to possess a relic soon led to a thriving commerce, such as, for example, with supposed splinters of the Holy Cross ('Jesus relics'), preserved in amulets.



Privileged members of the Brotherhood of Mary from the pilgrimage place of Kevelaer (Germany) bear the reliquary housing the relics of Saints Ludger and Willibrord (1980). The tradition of the procession of relics, with a typical frame for bearing a shrine, has been preserved to our own day.



"Elvis *poured out his soul* for you, and NOW you can let his PERSPIRATION be an INSPIRATION." The words of a good-luck greeting card by Maiden Jest, Inc. are theological 'directions for use.' They render the 'sweat-filled' plastic capsule a parody, in the extreme, of the ancient practice of the veneration of the relic. Blood containers, such as that of the blood of Saint Januarius venerated in and around Naples, or tear-containers, are found especially in Catholic worship. Believers ('fans'), saints, and magical objects testify reciprocally: the cloudy fluid here, purportedly a bodily secretion of rock singer Elvis Presley (1935–1977), 'hears prayers,' 'fulfills dreams,' and provides 'inspiration.' *Pars pro toto*, it refers to the erstwhile bearer of such gifts ('charismata'), who, through these things, posthumously rises to the status of miracle man. Indeed, not only that, but Elvis's body registers a rich allusion: with the help of the New Testament Christology, it recalls the 'Body of the Lord'; his perspiration is his soul, poured out for us, his community of fans (see Matt 26:28)—a soul whose location, in sweat, is rather unorthodox, but which recalls Elvis's ultra-energetic (for the time) stage performances. Indeed, fans are to know that "the King lives," and that—in accordance with the motto, *Credo quia absurdum* (Lat., "I believe because it is in breach of reason"; Tertullian)—precisely in their belief in the relic, they can feel themselves to be true, indeed the most dedicated of, believers ('most devoted fans'). Thus, the decision

A typical example of transregional traffic in relics is represented by the transference of the relics of the *Three Wise Men* from the East to Milan, and thence to the Cathedral of Cologne (1164). The 'translation' to the altar was always preceded by exhumation ('Elevation'). Other relics of the cathedral were set forth in the Shrine of the Three Wise Men (a reliquary) as well. These constituted the purpose of profitable pilgrimages, and were an expression of the claim to legitimacy, and aspiration to prestige, of bishops and kings. Only if the relics worked miracles, however, did the believer see in them the 'really present' twin existence of the saints: as helpers on earth, and as patrons and guardians in heaven.

b) Humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466 [1469?]–1536) launched the critique of the veneration of relics. Reformers such as Luther and Calvin addressed themselves polemically ("veneration of the devil!") to an outgrowth such as the hoarding of remains in 'collections of relics.' The Council of Trent (1545–1563) countered this with an emphasis on the fundamental legitimacy of a veneration of relics, as it was directed not to the relics themselves, but to the person destined for resurrection, in whom the Holy Spirit dwelt, and who had worked miracles.

After a brief revival in the Catholic popular piety of the nineteenth century, the veneration of relics has played rather a subordinate role in the Catholic Church today. Nevertheless, the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) held to the usage of the veneration and the introduction of relics into the table of the altar: even in today's church law, every → altar must include a sepulcrum ['grave'] of relics; however, the sale of relics is prohibited and the 'translation' countenanced only with Rome's concurrence.

In *Buddhism*, the veneration of relics began with that of the corporeal relics of the Buddha himself, whose ashes were interred in eight relic containers (stupa). The Buddha's footprint and especially the relics of his tooth, in Sri Lanka, are still today the popular objects of many pilgrimages (→ Buddha). In *Lamaism*, it is especially the relics of the Dalai Lama, in his various reincarnations, that are venerated. In *Islamic religion*, it is especially the footprints and beard-hair of Mohammed, as well as the turbans of great saints, that enjoy veneration.

whether the fluid relic is a product of commercial tastelessness, a cynical parody, or a wonder-working talisman, also remains a matter of faith. (Hubert Mohr)

3. One hears practically nothing today about the veneration of relics from the side of the Church. Small memorial relics of the departed are tolerated; a macabre, discomfiting traffic in relics is avoided. But the auction of a relic of the Cross of Christ (with "Certificate of Authenticity") was reported in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, of May 15, 1993: "The relic was offered at auction by successors of emissaries of Napoleon III, the latter having received [it] as a gift from the Patriarch of Jerusalem. After an opening bid of 10,000 F, offers shot up, via two telephone lines, to a final figure of 100,000 F. The splinter of the Cross was said to have been transferred, with the disapproval of the Archdiocese of Paris, to a local church, and the ransom to have been donated to a social institution."

In Catholic sacred practice, especially in the Mediterranean countries, relics are connected with local, traditional piety, as they have always been. For example, the question of the actual authenticity of the Shroud of Turin scarcely applies a brake to that relic's ongoing veneration today, and this constitutes a profitable economic factor for the city of Turin and for the Church. Today, however, instead of the earlier blind faith in the power of relics, it is the moral (ethical) function of the saint's example that is recalled by these sacred objects. The secular now seems to be reconcilable with the religious: relics evince the character of a symbol, and it is the social salvific role of the saints that is emphasized. But other personalities shift into their place today, such as pop stars (Elvis; see illus.), political leaders (Lenin),[2] and media celebrities (Princess Diana). The need for idols and their marketing for economic or political purposes through the mass media leads to today's modern veneration of persons, in which the grave, the mausoleum, and thus once more the relics, are objects of reverence.

1. Angenendt 1997, 149.
2. Zbarskij, Ilja, Lenin's Embalmers, London 1998.

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→ *Amulet, Body, Magic, Materiality, Pilgrimage, Popular Culture, Procession, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult, Veneration of the Saints*

Marcus Raach

Religion

The Power of Definition

1. a) The boundary between what religion is and is not, has important effects: it excludes it from undeserved privileges, and lays out its concerns as either illegitimate or unlawful. These issues arise in the debates over 'fundamentalism,' Islamic religious education, or over 'sects and cults,' as, for example, in the disagreement over whether Scientology is a religion or a (criminal) 'economic undertaking.' An example may clarify the point. In

December 1992, Hindus destroyed a mosque, in Ayodhya, in India (→ Indian Subcontinent). There were then weeks of street fighting, with many deaths. → Hinduism is regarded as a peaceful religion, while → Islam is often seen as potentially aggressive. Here, then, what happened was precisely the reverse: Hindus destroyed a sanctuary, and killed people: Muslims are the victims. When these Hindu fundamentalists appeal to religion, do they then abuse the designation of 'religion'? According to both the Indian Constitution and the 'essence' of Indian religion, there ought to be no → fundamentalism.[1] Yet there is. The foundations must be interrogated: Mahatma → Gandhi had given a religious sense or meaning to the Indian democracy that had been created on the Western model (the essence of Hinduism, held Gandhi, is nonviolence)—that was the condition of the British for their withdrawal. This was an appeal to a → tradition that had already long grounded a religious opposition to British rule, as well as an opposition to the Muslims: the prohibition of killing cows, the 'sacred' cow. Reverence for every living being, *ahimsa*, of course, sounds much better to the Western ear. Furthermore, he punctured the traditional division, in Hinduism's social system, of the → caste system: according to a strict definition of Hinduism, the caste system excludes the 'untouchables' (*dalit*s) from the religion of the Brahmins, as from the rest of this society with its orientation to caste. Only ascetics, the *sadhus*, are not bound to the local, caste-determined, order. Gandhi took up the principle of the ascetics that shattered caste: that exception was then explained as the essence of the religion. Thus, even the *dalits* can be regarded as having equal rights. Gandhi called them *harijans* ('children of God'). This interpretation provided a religious solution for the danger that the 'untouchables' might be converted to the religions in which 'before God, all are equal'—to Islam or to Christianity. Gandhi's formula is a daring one, created for the purpose of linking Hinduism and → democracy. It signifies an enormous change in religion. On the other side, the fundamentalists, as well, can appeal to a religious tradition: that of the warrior caste, with its mythical God-King, Rama. Four hundred years before, the Muslims had happened to build their mosque on the legendary birth-site of this human form of the God Krishna!

b) In confrontation with other religions, the self-concept of a religion changes. The examples of Ayodhya and Gandhi show that the object of an academic study of religion is the given historical and local form of that religion, and not a form such as might spring up in terms of the wish of the modern Western observer, or in terms of what is declared to be precisely its 'essence.' Religions are not all peace-loving by essence: wars, too, are founded on religion. The attempt to determine religions according to their ideal concept, and to dismiss historical upshots as an abuse, is an attractive defense, especially at the hands of those who practice religion as a profession. The defense is a facile one, when the 'essence' of a religion is deemed to be that of one's own side, while the effects of the religion of the other side are adjudged evil. For a discipline aiming at historical description, then, religion must be determined otherwise.

'Religion'—a Word and Its History

2. a) But is there not, after all, something common to all religions—something that could be called 'religion'? The word that so self-evidently escapes our lips in Europe and America today has a long history, and a history principally European. For the Romans, *religio* especially denoted ritual precision. Being religious, 'having religion,' did not mean believing cor-

rectly, but performing acts such as sacrifice or oracles (*sacra et auspicia*) at the right point in time and in the right series of parts: *religio, id est cultus deorum* (Lat., "*Religio*, that is, the worship/cult of the gods").[2] Proverbially, the 'augur's smile' is that of the specialists who preside over the 'tricks.' *Superstitio*, then, the counter-term to 'religion,' was not aberrant *belief*, as it is usually translated, but aberrant *activity*, wrongly performed, exaggerated, often excessive or unauthorized. The meaning of practical divine reverence was taken over by Christianity, and even remained in the Middle Ages, when the practitioners of the monastic form of life in orders—as in Catholicism to this day—were *religiosi*, in a special meaning of 'religious.' In medieval discourse, *religio* was a designation for foreign *religiones*, especially for the Abrahamitic ones. In Christian theological discussion, however, it was always employed to a considerable degree, but had less importance for the 'Christian religion,' until the modern age, than did *fides*, 'faith,' 'belief,' 'loyalty,' or even *devotio*, 'piety,' or *ecclesia*, 'Church.' Two lines of interpretation mark modern times. For one, with the Reformation, 'religion,' a "concept of difference" (J. Matthes), received new meaning—one that marked it off from what was magical, from incorrect devotional action, especially in the sense of Catholic devotion. At the same time, with the Enlightenment, 'religion' became a 'general' concept of 'natural religion' (David Hume), or 'religion of reason,' itself standing behind, and as a concept standing above, 'individual religion.'

b) 'Religion' in the singular, as a general concept, first emerges—just as 'history' comes to replace 'histories'—in the late Enlightenment. 'Religion' was thought of as designating a 'whole,' imperfect in its respective phenomena, and deformed in its historical realizations. The normative aspect of this fiction of one religion impugns really existing religions in terms of a critique—and makes religion 'in itself' unimaginable, since there exists no corresponding reality. On the other hand, this idea of the one religion—and (consistently enough) of the one God, revealed in the form of the respective gods, YHWH, the Christian 'God of love,' or Allah, supplies a utopian potential that—as in Lessing's parable of the ring (*Nathan der Weise,* Ger., "Nathan the Wise"; 1779)[3]—could be turned and applied humanly against any totalitarian appropriation, or attempted missionizing, of a tradition.

Furthermore, the concept contributes to a critique of Christianity in the sense that, since there is now a unitary history of religion, religion is conceptualized as developing in steps (→ Evolutionism): from (1) 'primitive' forms of fear of the dead, and of spirits lurking in every tree, spawn offspring of a *nature religion* or a 'primitive' → animism , to (2) *national religion* that can imagine God only if he battles for his people, and who takes his sacred dwelling place in the capital of the land, to (3) the *world religions* that conceive of God as dematerialized and spiritualized, and dwelling in transcendence.[4] Now Christianity has lost its exclusive position, indeed, and has been inserted into a global 'world history,' one that transcends the biblical—to the very point that imperialism can be grounded in religious terms. And at the goal of its development stands the individual and his and her soul, in familiar communion, for which there was no more need of intermediaries (priests, sacraments)—the 'mysticism of modernity,' Protestantism in ideal form. Granted, this course opens the gates to other forms of a critique of Christianity, which conceptualize the 'religion of the future' pantheistically, monistically, or esoterically.

Incomparable Religion? The Comparative Problem

c) Religion, in terms of what comes to light through the history of the word, is a concept of → European history of religion. Consequently—as has been forcefully indicated in recent years—it has been formulated from the viewpoint of a Western-ancient-Christian vantage. More exactly: it is a concept of 'Christian object-speech,' that is applied 'exclusivistically' (H.-M. Haußig) within that speech. However, 'religious' science has taken up the legacy, albeit critical, of these tradition(s), and applied 'religion' as a comparative concept of 'meta-speech in religious studies' (B. Gladigow). As a result, that science at once finds itself exposed to the reproach of being Eurocentric, monopolizing, and inclusivistic, and now it seeks pronouncements and draws comparisons bearing on the relations and structures on the far side of this mental and linguistic space: each foreign culture, and, indeed, foreign religion, gets its own label. On the other hand, if one walks the path of a consistent relativism, and limits one's argumentation by a recognition of the immanence of each respective culture, then the Christian religion produces a multiplicity of self-images that cannot easily be brought over a common denominator. Now, instead of reducing 'religion' to the least common denominator, it seems more reasonable to observe and describe each distinct model of religion in the other cultures in its cultural differentiation and its other delineation. Thus, *Hinduism* presents the Sanskrit word *dharma*, whose spectrum reaches from '(world) order' to '(caste) order.' Its signification arose in the Vedic era from the mythic notion of the "power of the gods to maintain the world in being" (cf. root *dhr*, 'hold,' 'support'), and was later referred, concretely and exclusivistically, to the ritual and social order of Hinduism, especially the → caste system. The *Buddhist* concept, in its Pali orthography *dhamma*, addressed the Buddha's 'eightfold path,' and thus was a self-designation; but it could then mean the doctrinal systems of individual masters as well, and—in a generalized and comparative sense—the law and teaching of other religions.

In *Judaism*, again, one of the models of religion is that of a contract between God and his people, the 'Covenant' (in Heb., *b^erit*). In the course of history, the conditions of that contract were repeatedly broken; nevertheless, from his side, God kept the Covenant and renewed it. The Christian version of the "New Testament" could only be connected with the renewal: the Covenant with the Jews is never abrogated. The juridical character of 'religion' generated an altogether different pattern of what counted for 'profane,' and what for 'sacred.' What stood in the foreground was not the salvation of the individual, but that of the people.

If we take these examples seriously (and other designations, as well, circulated in the religions that we have cited), then, by reason of the diversity and varying span of the prevailing designations of 'self' and 'foreign,' the institution of an inter-culturally valid definition of religion turns out to be impossible.

b) Since there is no supra-cultural and supra-historical concept of religion, scientific investigation can no longer select, a priori, by virtue of such a definition, what is religious or nonreligious in a culture. Religion can then be researched only as a 'part in the whole' of culture (Fr., *histoire totale*), with the multiplicity of methods of cultural science. Religious juridical determinations are part of the respective history of law; religious images are only part of the 'art' that subsists in the whole of the respective culture. Comparisons are meaningful, then, not when they reduce to identity, but precisely when they observe the differential as well. Accordingly, the attempt of

today's comparative study of religions, with a model proposed by linguistic philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein, seems altogether plausible: not to think of 'religion' as an 'essentially' established quantity, but as a merger of similar significations, a 'family,' that possesses a kind of system of kinship—'family resemblances'—with one another.[5] In a similar manner, Dutch scholar of religion Jacques Waardenburg conceptualizes religion as an 'open concept.'[6] To be sure, the question then remains, by what means such a family can be recognized. One answer: by a catalog of criteria that distinguishes 'dimensions,' or 'components' within a 'system of religion,' and follows their occurrence, their connection, and their social dynamics.

Religion as System and Construct

3. a) A Christian experiences and lives 'Christianity' in many ways:

- One receives a knowledge, hears the biblical stories and myths, learns sentences and expressions by heart, and then knows them as one's 'faith';
- One learns by way of a register of sins (Ten Commandments, 'list of sins' for confession), upbringing and social control, the difference between 'good' and 'evil,' and behavior in the (religious or secular) community;
- One takes part in devotion and rituals, attends divine service on Sundays, participates in the Lord's Supper or goes to Communion, prays at meals;
- One belongs to a society, a 'religious community,' by baptism and membership in a specific parish or church, in which—by free contribution or church tax—one must pay membership contributions; one belongs to a church community, in which one meets persons of the same mold and attitude, and who provide succor in need, but one regards oneself as a 'vis-à-vis' of the pastor, bishop, nun, or pope, → specialists with theological, pastoral, and ritual professional knowledge; indeed, with appropriate additional formation, can oneself assume offices;
- One sees the sacred ornamentation, hears the ringing bells and the sermons, drinks of the Eucharistic cup, feels the 'Kiss of Peace,' recognizes 'God's house' by the Cross, and the Christian mind by the fish symbol on automobile bumpers, and enjoys the frescos of a baroque church, the homemade Christmas crib, the choir, Bach's "Passion according to Matthew";
- One feels 'uplifted' at a solemn service, swept into the solidarity of care for the elderly or the needy, consoled by Christian burial, euphoric as a member of the great mass of persons assisting at the closing ceremony of a Church Day.

It is American sociologists of religion Charles W. Glock, Rodney Stark, and Ninian Smart who, in the course of their research into religious attitudes and behaviors, have systematized such 'dimensions of religiosity' (Glock and Stark):

- *The intellectual, ideological, or cognitive dimension:* the system of belief, its narrative structure in the stories of the gods in mythology (→ Myth/Mythology), its rational penetration and systematization through → theology, its memorized compendia in confessional formulas, songs, maxims and dicta, dogmas—in short, religious knowledge and the resulting worldview;
- *The dimension of social ethics:* Certain values, norms, and patterns of behavior are interiorized with the help of rules for action, but also imitated by way of upbringing, legendary models, and behavior in the group; these are constantly practiced, and finally lead to attitudes and manners of living determined by religion;

- *The ritual dimension:* symbolical actions that develop in simple rite (→ Prayer/Curse; Proskynesis), or in the elaborated forms of ritual and cult;
- *The institutional dimension:* the formal or informal structure of the community that has been created: association, religious society, brotherhood or sisterhood, union, order, circle—its legal status and inner organization, especially the distinction between clergy (functionaries) and → specialists on the one side, and laity on the other;
- *The aesthetic dimension:* for one thing, the sensory and perceptual element of the religion—its colors, scents, and fabrics, its spaces and landscapes (→ Perception); for another, the symbolical system, with group emblems (crescent, Star of David, cross), special images, the historical supply of devotional images and iconographical formulae, and the ritual gestures, with artistic creations such as architecture, works of music, poetry in hymns, and edifying literature (→ Art; Symbol/Sign/Gesture);
- *The psychic dimension:* → emotions and 'moods' generated and lived out in cult and ritual, wishes and hopes awakened, confidence (for example, in a life after death) received, experiences of identity, concern for others (→ Charitable Organizations), but also such feelings and experiences, of an extreme and extraordinary kind, as isolation, experiences of union (*unio mystica*), and hallucinations.

Definitions

It is not difficult to recognize, from this—admittedly ideal-typical—model, that attempts to define religion are ordinarily limited to one of the following dimensions or components:

- *Religion is 'faith':* a *Weltanschauung* ('worldview') or a 'belief system' that, "through signs and actions, mobilizes the feelings and volitions of human striving;[7]
- *Religion is 'church':* an organization that—especially in → Catholicism—seeks to render it self-evident that it is the sole salvific instance and sacred government ('hierarchy');
- *Religion is 'ritual action':* "interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings";[8]
- *Religion is 'ethics':* a store of ethical maxims and axioms;
- *Religion is a 'symbolic system':* a cultural 'text' (C. Geertz), or a communications system (N. Luhmann, F. Stolz, B. Gladigow);
- *Religion is 'feeling':* an 'oceanic' thing (→ Freud, according to R. Schickele), a *tremendum* and *fascinosum* (R. Otto), a sense of being overwhelmed and subjected ('complete dependency'; Schleiermacher).

Evidently, these determinations are reductionistic. They extract a single facet of the overall spectrum of religious facts and concrete behaviors, and often reveal more about the person and position of the one making the definition than about the object. Besides, they make such powerful abstractions that only the faintest glimmer of daily social intercourse with religion, and of its compass, actually shines through.

Religion as Scientific Construct

b) 'Religion,' then, is an umbrella concept. It packages the components and expressions of a combined field of facts, and molds an ideal type, a heuristic framework, a search screen, with whose help, among other things, religious studies can define and circumscribe its object. It is only in recent years that research has recognized the constructive and imaginative character of the concept of religion, and has ordered it within the broader, whole context of projection mechanisms, stereotypes, and 'social construction of reality'

(Berger/Luckmann). But it is not exhausted in this. The provocative declaration: "*there is no data for religion*. Religion is solely the creation of the scholar's study" (J. Z. Smith)[9] overlooks the fact that the word, concept, and thing 'religion' are also available outside the ivory tower. Not only is it found as colloquial and literary discourse (not to forget that of the tract and the pamphlet, or the audiovisual discourse of the television documentary), 'religion' also possesses, as word of correct speech, a tradition that reaches back into antiquity, and is present today in, for instance, juridical concepts like 'religious society' or → 'freedom of religion.'

Religion as Identity

4. Religion as a system asks for comparison, analogies, and correspondences, to the point of constraining the system. Experiences of lived religion do not always easily fit it. The difference between my religion and the system of religion together with its systematic sponsors can be experienced as a helpful interpretation of my identity in the context of the community, but can also seem to be a compression and a confinement.

(a) Religions installing priests as supreme authority have a low estimate of the ability and competence of the—unofficial—'laity.' The religion of the 'people' (in Gk., *laós*, whence 'laity') is utilized (wrongly) as a form of religion, and thereby distinguished from the true religion of the specialists, which is an expropriation of 'my' religion.

(b) In the opposite direction, one recognizes in Jewish religion the 'portable homeland' (Heinrich Heine)—the capacity received by every Jew at birth to qualify as a Jew through religion. Thus, according to the Christian self-image, which appeals here to Paul the Jew, religion was precisely not directed to laws, which it would be fearful to observe. However, Jews speak, for example in Ps 1, of their "delight [. . .] in the law." In their observance of the everyday rules of eating and clothing, the rules for festival days, and so on, is contained their membership in the community, even abroad, or even in a hostile environment. The Sabbath as a day of rest is a law—however, at the same time it is a gift, and is conferred not only on companions of the faith, but on slaves and on work animals (→ Sunday/Sabbath).

Crises, Routines, Alternatives

c) In crises, religion comes into competition with alternatives, when the usual means fall short—the rituals and routines that religion offers for the defeat of adversity. Or a crise may arise if, on religious grounds, such rituals are simply not offered, such as divorce in Western Christianity. In this situation, alternatives have a certain amount of 'luck,' including the sort prohibited by official religion (→ Magic). But reliance on traditional religion needs to be preserved in the everyday, if it is to be of support in times of crisis as well.

d) The customary definition of religion in sociology today implies the charge of religion as ultimate instance in questions concerning the sense of human life. When death renders all plans 'incidental,' religion offers a meaning against the 'coincidence'; religion is supposed to be an instrument for 'coping with contingency,' then. This analysis renders religion once more a marginal phenomenon—but not a vehicle of identity within life and the community, in a 'certified' system of interpretation that promises each individual person the competency to shape the world. In most religions, *homo faber* (Lat., 'the human being as artisan') and God's concurrence, prosperity as god's blessing, do not oppose, but confirm each other. Ascetical movements are not the whole religion: they can only exist in symbiosis with

wealthy communities to support them, and offer the wealthy an opportunity to 'do a good deed.'

Religion as Communicative Act: Social Formation and Sitz im Leben

5. In order to inquire as to, or into, 'religion' in society, one must inquire as to, or into, human beings: their needs, wishes, cares, and especially their social acts. After all, the social formation of religion takes form and *Sitz im Leben*, as a part of societal activity.

Religion as Social Pattern for Act and Attitude (Behavior)

a) Religion does not exist in a 'vacuum,' but always as a 'social act' (É. Durkheim)—as part of societal activity. When Muslims gather for Friday prayer, when Jehovah's Witnesses offer a religious tract for sale on a street corner, when a Buddhist convert withdraws to a remote place on an estate for his or her meditation 'retreat,' when the pilgrimage to Lourdes gets under way, when the professor of theology sends his publisher the files for his next book, when the Sunday morning service is broadcast on the radio, or when a Santeria devotee lights a candle to keep the police from tracking him—these are always acts certified as religious in terms of the self-image of the participants and their environment (they are 'signs of' religion)—which, on the other hand, by being executed, once more generate religion, make it visible, and make it conveyable. They are 'signs for' religion.[10] Religion, in all of its historical manifestations, is constituted by way of the social activity of its members (and of those who come into association with them). To put it another way: religion appears in daily intercourse ('interaction'). That is, it arises by way of the constant interpretations, positions taken, decisions, perceptions, and gestures through which, as actors of society and of its groups and organizations, persons interact, make their opinions, interests, and needs understandable, divulge them, and even try to establish them. Thus, religion is not a 'depth-dimension' of human existence and being (P. Tillich), but a respectively historical and culture-specific means that allows one belonging to a religion to express and convey anthropological 'depth-dimensions,' and, in the course of his or her life, to share them with others, in the spirit of community. Religions offer a forum in which feelings are expressed, and in which opinions are acknowledged and cemented, but also are called into question—where community is produced, at times 'over the heads' of outsiders and minorities. Religions provide means of expression for giving symbolic expression to nonreligious ('pre-religious') experiences, and the coincidences and accidents of common life, and for enacting them. In religious communities and religious systems, members find rules, norms, and values—in general, 'patterns'—that make their lives easier (or, should they fail to do so, then 'make them hell'); *patterns for interpretation* that provide cognitive means for imbedding environment, temporal conjunctures, and life story in a 'meaningful whole'; *patterns for acts* that ritually guide the behavior of the individual, make the latter a respected member of a group, by way of good behavior, and, in given cases, promise him or her, by way of compensation, a reward after death; *patterns of orientation* that set goals, and give—mythical, theological, and ritual—responses to the ultimate questions of whither, whence, and for what purpose; *patterns of experience* that take up and thematize life situations and occurrences, as well as offering a platform for feelings, from 'exulting to the sky' (→ Feasts and Celebrations), to 'affliction unto death' (Christian Holy Week, Shia Ashura; → Iran), and indeed, produce such feelings, to the very point of the limit experience.

Religion as Discourse

b) Inasmuch as religion is constituted by way of social acts, and thus is interactively produced reality, it belongs to the social communications process as a whole. In the latter, it forms a 'meaning province,' or 'symbolical universe' (Berger/Luckmann), with an independent 'reality theory' (A. Schütz), and a 'cognition style' (H. Knoblauch), with its own content, themes, symbolical route-indicators, and vehicles. In brief, it forms a communicative repertoire, supported in media and institutions, of signs, acts, and enunciations—a 'discourse.' In order to determine the content of the → 'discourse that is religion,' and thus bound it off from other societal discourses, for example the political or the aesthetic, we must say: religion is the name for speech about the 'last things,' the ultimate things—about ultimate foundations ('legitimizations'), basic assumptions ('axioms'), binding rules for living ('maxims') and commandments—and the interactive presentation of this speech to view. Religion as discourse supplies a framework of designation and presentation of the spatial ('utopia': place of desire, the 'beyond'), temporal ('eternity'), cognitive ('the absolute'), and normative ('God's commandments') abolition of a frontier, the crossing ('transcending') and surpassing of social normality. It is manifested by agents ('actors') who present a certain role-activity related to religion, such as preacher, shaman, or monk. Formally, 'religion' means 'asymmetrical communication' (P. Watzlawick) with determinate partners—God, saints, demons of illness, totem-ancestors—or with → collective representations ('nation'). Religion means a communication ultimately produced only by the reality addressed: heaven becomes real when the pastor speaks of it, or when an angel wafts down from it in the Passion play; the sacrificial act, the soothsayer's interpretation of signs proves the existence of the gods.

But in the 'religious framework,' to act also means to speak and act 'in the name of the Lord,' with the authority and legitimization of an ultimate instance. The appeal to religion, then, is that to a source of legitimization beyond scrutiny or control. Formulated as a claim on rights, this arrangement can lead to significant privileges—or, in case of conflict, to turbulence (as the biographies of the Hebrew Bible prophets or the debate over → Scientology show quite adequately).

The 'discourse that is religion' bears on 'reality beyond control,' then: persons, personifications, and powers that are dependent on the role-activity of those participating in the discourse. Thus, that discourse has its preferential usefulness as a strategy of immunization: the 'Holy,' the 'mystery of faith,' is exempt from criticism and logical thinking—indeed, it is precisely as paradox that it is ultimately valid. "I believe because it is absurd"—in Lat., *Credo quia absurdum* (Tertullian)—"too good not to be true" (Chesterton). The code, 'religion,' and its derivations can just as well be an expression of the most intimate feelings as—qua a paragraph of blasphemy—a social technological instrument of 'power-guaranteed interiority.'

Internal and External Pluralism

c) Religions are lived in contexts that always have their alternatives:

(1) *Alternatives in the form of non-religious institutions:* For example, in ancient Greece, for healing from a disease, besides the 'healing houses' of the god Asclepius, and the protective capacity of the 'cleansing' god Apollo, there was the 'profane' or secular 'school medicine' of the Hippocratics, who were held together by a professional ethos—the 'Hippocratic oath.' Or, alongside traditional Indian medicine—for example, the system of the *Ayurveda*, which is closely tied to religion—stands the Western 'apparatus

medicine' and 'medicinal medicine' that was introduced by the English in the colonial period.

(2) *Alternatives in the form of alternative religious rituals:* There can be distinct religious solutions for the same problem. In order to receive assistance for an imminent decision, God can be directly interrogated, in → prayer, or by the reading of Sacred Scripture; or a clergyman can be sought for counsel; or a look into the horoscope of the morning paper may seem directly related to the person making the inquiry; or home rituals, such as the use of the pendulum, can authenticate rationally determined decisions, or reverse them—or even, as in many ancient practices of divination, dismantle them—if they seem unfavorable.

These examples show that → pluralism is internal to religion as well, and not only to secular entities and phenomena. Even in scriptural religions, with a strict canonization, simultaneous alternatives remain available, whose relationships can be referred to distinct communities ('vehicles') within the religion—the various corpora in the Jewish Torah, the four gospels, the *Hadith* to the Qur'an—and especially to the appropriation of religion in everyday religious life. After all, each believer creates a personal approach to religion, by learning, developing, and appropriating its respective doctrines and practices. Of course, she or he does not stay as passive as the vassal in Kafka's famous parable of the porter, but—much to the chagrin of many a guardian of the faith and systematizing scholar—creates a personal image of God and the world. Owing to their tortuous nature, the results—religion as practiced, and private mythologies—are frequently only summarily filed as 'popular,' 'folk,' and → 'private religion.' Thus, it is this everyday religious availability to local adaptation, amalgamation, → translation, and transformation of abstract or general 'givens'—along with frictions that may appear—that religion begets and bears. Here, brooding master shoemaker Jacob Böhme at Görlitz is only an extreme case in the records. Granted, the multitude of followers itself puts a check on the variegated multiplicity of diffuse struggles, when it exercises an assimilating pressure. In case of a conflict with the → hierarchy, however, the pluralistic experiment speedily ends in → heresy.

'Religion' in the Modern Age

6. a) At first sight, all cultures seem to make a distinction between the sacred and the profane. But this assessment is the result of a nineteenth-century confrontation: while previously it had been birth that determined membership both in a people and in its religion, now religion was a part of the mechanism of society and government. The French → Revolution engineered a split: on the one side, there arose a comprehensive claim on the part of the state to exercise regulation over all persons, while, on the other hand, the individual was left free to join a religion or to leave it. The churches, by contrast, organized themselves into institutions, and these claimed their own autonomy. A consequence was the exclusion of institutionalized religion from political and public life, as well as from the educational system. → Laicism was the order of the day. On the other hand, a debate—without resolution—was conducted on the diminishing influence of the churches, and the reproach of → secularization was common. The transformed religion, meanwhile, was under suspicion of illegitimate application.

Religion as a Private Affair

b) Thus, as the French Republic of 1789 deprived the clergy of all peculiar rights and autonomous spaces, an apparatus of law claimed validity in the

affairs of each person without exception, and, through courts, taxes, and arms control, forced, 'spoiled,' the (Christian) religion into a partial institution. The new liberal state programmatically delimited its totality in matters of religion: in freedom, what anyone believed might not be subjected to state pressure. Just as with the sphere of intimacy of the home, or with one's level of income, so also, in a state of citizen government and governing, religion became a private affair, and the state had no purchase on it. The consequence was twofold: religion lost meaning for social status in the modern age; at the same time, religion now became legitimate outside of the religious institution of the Church. On the other hand, anyone wishing to belong to the Church must become a member, and finance it. Religion was less and less determined by birth automatically: the individual, as a young person or as an adult, needed to make a decision. The situation was rendered more acute by the fact that entry into professional life, and the founding of a family at the same time was accompanied by a distance taken from the influence of elders, and by incorporation into an age class, a peer group, in which one became acquainted with the behavioral rules. In addition, industrialization and urbanization, and the growing pressure toward mobility, sharpened the situation still more. The situation in which one needed to make a decision was reinforced by a theological belittling of 'popular' or 'folk' religion, which was concerned to maintain sheer social-contract membership in a religious community ('card-carriers' church'), and to use the socio-religious proffer of cult only for baptism, marriage, and funeral. The astonishingly high percentage of generous financial contributions on the part of members, in order to finance the Church's engagement in the area of works of mercy, kindergarten, the care and upkeep of buildings, and church music, was to make the various levels and functions of religion clear again. Now, along with faith and active cooperation (commitment), these levels and functions indicate a less active identification. Nor must it be forgotten that the 'heretical imperative' (P. Berger), i.e. to select among offers of cult, means, positively, freedom of choice—the opportunity and possibility of dealing with religion in all autonomy.

Knowledge and Faith, Feeling and Law

c) The → Reformation's criticism of the exteriorism of religion as practiced leads to a deep breach in the understanding of religion: religion is to be reduced, interiorly and at its core, to the individual's relationship with her God. This reduction tends to the dissolving of the personal 'Thou, God,' my implacable judge after death, into → conscience within me, as it comes to expression in Kant's enunciation: "The starry sky over me, and the eternal law within me," are my severe judges at all times of life, and no offerings or prayers can render them gracious. God may be only a projection, then, necessary in earlier times for demanding social behavior; but when morals and law are subject to rational insight, and enforceable in the consensus of the citizen state, 'God' becomes superfluous.

As a consequence, this leads to the concept that religion can be visualized without God, and God without religion. Religion without God approximates the program of French sociologist Émile Durkheim, who holds that, for modern society, which no longer exercises control over itself through class and dignity, a citizens' or middle-class morality is surely indispensable in the area of scholarship, in order also to be able to control situations of lawlessness ('*anomie*'). The nation and its memorials form a point of projection for identification, rituals, and faith in history and future—a point that

creates unity, over and above confessional and regional differences. A → civil religion determined by the state should replace the now absent consensus of society in things of religion. Is there, as there is considered to be in the question of → human rights, a consensus throughout the Western world in respect of human ethos on which a global world can build?

New Syntheses

d) Under the pressure of the thrusts of societal and technological modernization, the religious landscape has changed over the last two centuries, doubtless as never before in religious history. Juridical postulates such as 'religious freedom,' and → democracy, tendencies to 'de-Christianization' and 'privatization,' globally active 'new religious movements,' media-churches, immigrant religions not merely in the metropolises, gender-specific religions of the new women's movement—these are only some of the categories of that change. The traditional religions—and thus the understanding of 'religion' thence derived—have had to meet mighty competition in respect of their achievements in knowledge of orientation, bestowal of meaning, and salvific promises of practical assistance in illness and need, as well as security in society: the meaning-system of science—empirical natural science and the humanities, the social science that does the observing, and the sciences of historical criticism—has in the meantime altogether intercepted religious knowledge of the constitution and the disposition of person, society, and world. In parallel fashion, there arose, with the national states—these being, meanwhile, called into question once more—a 'faith in the nation,' that was supported by exaggerated ethnic values, by racism, or chauvinism, and that received its cultic solidification in the → 'political religions.' Today, the → popular culture of the mass media, in film, sports, and music puts the religious supply on the defensive. Nevertheless, this does not mean the end of traditional religions, or of religion as such. Only: the 'framings' (E. Goffman) of religion and other societal 'subsystems' are changing, new alliances and syntheses are forming—between religion and politics in → civil religion, between religion and media in the TV church (→ Televangelism) and in 'virtual' internet communities, between Christian and Buddhist forms of piety in Zen meditation. → Sports and political productions can also be religiously motivating. It is not loss of religion's function that one sees here, but change of function. Describing this 'religion beyond/after religion,' seeking out the old and new role-carriers and community formations, determining the lines of demarcation at which the (multi-) religious traits of a future information and 'multi-option society' (P. Gross) are bound up with worldviews, ideologies, or entertainment supplies—these are tasks of social reflection that may possibly yield up a new concept of religion.

1. Gensichen, Hans Werner, "Christen," in: Rothermund, Dietmar (ed.), Indien, Munich 1955, 195.
2. As in Feil, Religio, vol. 1, 48, paraphrasing Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* ("The Nature of the Gods") 3,5 and 2,9.
3. The parable of the ring, verses 395-545. On the future, cf. Niewöhner, Friedrich, Veritas sive varietas. Lessings Toleranzparabel und das Buch der drei Betrüger, Heidelberg 1988.
4. This series ultimately goes back to Paul, Rom 1-3 (natural religion, religion of the law, religion of freedom).
5. E.g., Saler 1993; cf. Wittgenstein, Ludwig, Philosophische Untersuchungen (1945), Frankfurt/M. 1971, §§ 66-69.

6. Waardenburg, J., "In Search of an Open Concept of Religion," in: Despland/Vallée 1992, 225-240.
7. "[. . .] which, through symbols and action, mobilize[s] the feelings and wills of human beings" (Smart, Ninian, Worldviews: Crosscultural Explorations of Human Beliefs, New York 1983, 2-3).
8. "[. . .] an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings" (Spiro, Melford, E., "Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation," in: Banton 1966, 96).
9. Smith 1982, XI.
10. Geertz 1966 is foundational here.

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→ *Academic Study of Religion, Christianity, Church, God/Gods/The Sacred, Meaning/Signification, Theology—see also the introduction to vol. 1*

Christoph Auffarth and Hubert Mohr

Religious Contact

1. 'Religious contact' denotes the encounter of at least two religions. In the following, → religion is intentionally applied in the broad sense. The concept ranges, then, from systems of belief, to → ideologies, and to liturgy

and cult. Thus, it can relate to societies with a high degree of differentiation (industrial societies with diverse denominations and *Weltanschauung* communities), as well as to societies with less division of labor, in which religion is an integral component of social consciousness and the social everyday ('autochthonous ethnic communities').

Typology

2. Religious contacts, then, in the broad definition, can be at hand when believers of several religious communities live together in one area or one city, without any attempt on the part of any of them intentionally to provoke a change in the status quo. In these kinds of multiethnic or multi-religious regions—examples would be → Bosnia-Herzegovina before 1991, or → New York—long lasting types of relations characterized by a mutual tolerance, or at least coexistence, have frequently emerged among the communities. However, they are sometimes delusory (→ Conflict/Violence), and can collapse as the result of a fragile balance of interest and a climate of reciprocal mistrust.

Of special interest, alongside the others, are other religious contacts whose course is deliberate. This case obtains with missionary religions (→ Mission).

From these viewpoints, the following types of religious contacts can be distinguished:

- Two non-missionary and undifferentiated societies meet, for example two autochthonous peoples;
- A missionary society with high differentiation encounters one without differentiation, such as Christianity in the age of → colonialism and imperialism with American, African, Australian, and Oceanian peoples;
- A missionary society with high differentiation encounters a differentiated, but not missionary society, as in the case of Christianity and Islam in India and China, Christianity in Japan, Buddhism and neo-Hinduism in Europe;
- Two differentiated missionizing societies encounter one another, as in the case of Christianity and Islam or Buddhism, or of Islam and Buddhism.

Apart from these intentional religious contacts, there is the phenomenon in which the religion of a → minority is tolerated and protected by the dominant religion. Examples would be: Judaism and Christianity as 'religions of the Book' in Islamic countries; Judaism, but also dissident communities, in Christian states of the modern age (→ Dissident; Diaspora); or the religion of migrants (→ Migration), for example of Turkish workers in Western Europe today. Contact between religions can assume hostile forms, as religious war (→ Conflict/Violence; Jihad), or peaceful forms, as a dialogue among religions. Since the World Congress of Religions (1893) in Chicago, there have been institutionalized dialogues among the world religions on an international level. Informal contacts among believers of distinct religions in everyday life are an important element of inter-religious encounter, but one difficult to appraise, and standing in need of even more exact studies. Among these, the special contact form of modern → tourism should be listed.

Finally, the series of religious contacts includes intellectual—or more generally, cognitive—reflection on foreign religions. Thus, scientific manners of adaptation, such as anthropology and religious studies, are part of the process of contact. Here the fundamental problem arises of how believers and religious organizations react to foreign conceptualizations and

usages. → Projections, stereotyping, and → prejudices can make perception and → reception of the 'other' religion difficult and even impossible.

Courses of Contacts: Michael Pye's Model

3. Contacts occur not among systems of belief, but among their social vehicles, persons. The most convincing model of courses of religious contacts of an ideal type—a model, however, that is far from having been received—was offered by English scholar of religion Michael Pye, in 1969. Here, each religious contact follows the schema of (a) contact, (b) ambiguity, and (c) *recoupment.*

Contact

(a) Religious contact is first and foremost a *material contact*, occurring by way of sensory perception. Media with physical qualities are the premises. Eyes see writings, rites, buildings, and pictures, ears hear speech and music, the nose smells scents, the mouth tastes food and drink. It is on this material level that the integration of individual elements from one religion into another is the least problematic. Here we are speaking of formal integration, or assimilation. The adoption of individual elements is unproblematic so long as the meaning content, and horizon of religious sense, belonging to them need not necessarily be adopted along with them. This occurs when elements can function as mere 'ornaments' in the adopting religion, for instance elements of dance from an African context in Christian worship, or the practice of Zen Buddhism in Christian meditation. By contrast, the adoption of elements from African and Indian religions in Catholicism led Latin America to a syncretism: some of the elements assumed were such as could confer identity, such as African belief in spirits taken up in devotion to the saints and Mary.

Ambiguity

b) *Ambiguity* denotes that stage in the contact of two religions at which it is still undetermined which development is being assumed: adaptation or differentiation. Ambiguity, then, is a consequence of that advanced religious contact in which the foreign simultaneously fascinates and unsettles—evokes self-assurance, or new orientation. Here a distinction must be made between unintended and intended ambiguity. Ambiguity intended for the sake of intelligibility is actually a necessary presupposition for the extension of a missionary religion. It occurs when a religious community permits the alienation of its proclamation in teaching and devotion to the extent that it can also be understood in a framework of the horizon of meaning of another religion: the new understanding, and misunderstanding, of one's own teaching is approvingly 'purchased' by the other religion. However, intended ambiguity need not necessarily lead to missionary success, as we see in a comparison between Buddhism and Christianity in the China of early modernity. Both religions emphasized those elements that were familiar to Confucians, and therefore acceptable to them, and suppressed foreign elements in doctrine and rite that Chinese could not understand. Thus, Catholic missionaries like Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) accepted the rites of the Chinese → ancestor worship in Christian devotion (→ Confucianism; Daoism). The 'Figurists,' a group of French Jesuits in the first half of the eighteenth century, even sought to demonstrate, through a 'figurative' (allegorical or typological) interpretation, that Christian morality, and the Christian notion of God, were attested in the earliest Confucian writings. Had this approach been crowned with success, Christianity would have been deformed to the point

of being unrecognizable, and doubtless would have taken the way of today's indigenous Christianity in Southern Japan, which likewise materialized from the first Christian missionary phase—or would even have dissolved into the foreign religion, as has → Manichaeism in China since the ninth century. The fact that, from Indian Buddhism, a Chinese Buddhism emerged, is to be attributed to social, political, and cultural structures. Comparable processes are to be found in today's Europe, with non-European religions, such as the Hinduism, and Buddhism of the immigrants.

Recoupment

Recoupment, or in rough translation, 'reverse orientation,' denotes a reflux to ambiguity—an orientation to a traditional religion that can be considered an 'original' and 'unfalsified' one. In a situation of contact, this means an orientation to the former religious tradition, the one that only through contact with the 'foreign religion' has been consciously acknowledged as one's 'own' religion (→ Nativism)—or else an orientation to the religion of the region of origin: in sixteenth-century China, Buddhism's orientation was to that of India, as Catholicism's was to Europe (more precisely, to the papacy). The Buddhists accepted the ambiguity, and, thus, partially adapted to it, by acknowledging the public order of the state and its Confucian foundations, nor did they interfere with the Chinese distinction between private and public. Meanwhile, in the case of Catholicism, in Europe the decision took the form of recoupments: Rome prevented the process of the intended ambiguity, by, for instance, prohibiting the rites of devotion to the ancestors, and therefore the reverencing of Confucius and other 'saints,' in a number of Papal documents between 1704 and 1742, and only the Roman rite was permitted. The Chinese state thereupon saw the papal decision as a fundamental assault on its autonomy, and exiled all Christians.

Today's Islamism and → fundamentalism in the Muslim immigrant communities of Europe can likewise be understood in terms of the above model of recoupment. Only the communication structures with the countries of their origin have changed, as these elements function with essentially more rapidity owing to modern technology. In the diaspora and the migration, phenomena of recoupment are observable with all religions. A special case is presented by → Judaism, since an immediate, concrete relation to the land of their origin has been missing for centuries. A common point of reference for Jewish identity, in all countries in which Jewish communities existed, was, instead, the Torah. Only since 1948 has Judaism also gained the land of its origin as point of reference.

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→ *Colonialism, Conflict/Violence, Diaspora, Fundamentalism, Jihad, Migration, Mission, Pluralism*

Ulrich Nanko

Renaissance

Concept and Period

1. The concept of 'Renaissance' (in Ital., *Rinascimento*, 'Rebirth') was coined by the historiography of the nineteenth century. Jacob Burckhardt adopted it from the French of Honoré de Balzac, and made it popular through his *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Ger., "The Culture of the Renaissance in Italy"; 1860). The denomination was intended to mark an era in European art history and intellectual history, that seemed especially characterized by a resumption of attention to now 'classical' objects and thought, and by fostering a 'rebirth' of Greek and Roman thought. All of this was then set in polemical division from 'dark' Middle Ages as the Dark Ages. The concept of a 'rebirth' (in Ital., *rinascità*) is to be found as early as Giorgio Vasari's biographies of artists (*Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*—Ital., "Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects"; 1550; 2nd ed., 1568). At the same time, however, there is a great satisfaction with innovation that distinguishes the Renaissance as an era. Owing to the fleeting transitions, an exact dating is extremely difficult—many historians even leave the Renaissance out, and have the → Middle Ages cross directly into the → Enlightenment. Ordinarily, however, the space of time ascribed to the Renaissance spans the 170 years between 1430 and 1600 CE. Furthermore, a distinction must be made between the concept of era in the narrower sense, and its expanded application, in which 'renaissance' stands for any form of renascence or resumption (when anything 'experiences a renaissance'; see Panofsky).

2. Politically, the decline of papal authority and strengthening of the Italian city-states under mercenary captains (*condottieri*) particularly distinguished the Renaissance. Philosophies of the state, such as that of Niccolo Machiavelli (Ital., *Il Principe*, "The Prince"; 1532) took as their theme a new image of the ruler, one that had gone beyond a religious legitimization of power. That philosophy, as also the image of the 'courtier' sketched by Baldasare Castiglione (*Il libro del Cortegiano*—Ital., "Book of the Courtier," 1528), are the expression, in political philosophy, of the increasing importance of the individual, and the exploration of the latter's 'capabilities and creativity' (in Ital., *ingegno*). In addition, it points to the effort—despite the doubt that had arisen concerning the personal immortality of the → soul, as the Christian faith anticipated the same—to achieve worldly renown, and thereby live on, if not in Paradise, at least in → history. In this connection, it is easy to understand the stout ascent of representative art, for example that of the portrait, in the Renaissance, at times to the point of 'image magic': after the attempted assassination of Lorenzo de' Medici by the Pazzi, in 1478, in the Cathedral of Florence, the fleeing conspirators were represented as

hanged. In his *Adorazione dei tre Magi* (Ital., "Adoration of the Three Magi"), Sandro Botticelli represents members of the Medici family—together with himself—in the entourage of the Three Wise Men. Simultaneously, artists were interested in an ideal type and form in their art. Reality is not only to be represented, but to be 'elevated.' To the same extent as literature euphorically describes beauty,[1] to that extent painting and sculpture also strive to present beauty in ideal form. Sandro Botticelli's female forms, for example his Venus, are characteristic of this ideal, which rests largely on the growing popularity of → Platonism. The 'good modern style' (in Ital., *buona maniera moderna*) should not merely imitate antiquity, but, if possible, surpass it. The cult of beauty, and enthusiasm for allegorical representation, in which ancient divinities represent ideal principles—such as Aphrodite/Venus beauty—finally issues in the mannerism of the sixteenth century.

The New Image of World and Human Being

3. The development of the sciences, and the secularization of representation in general, occasioned a new image of the world. Discoveries and achievements such as the theory of Copernicus (1473–1543), which placed the sun instead of the earth at the center, paved the way for a new image of the human being. On the one hand, man was robbed of his central position in the universe, and on the other, the new image produced a new ethics of self-/creation. Theologian Nicholas of Cusa, German Bishop of Bressanone (1401–1464), had already presented a 'pantheistic world image' (→ Pantheism) that understood the world as an 'unfolding' (in Lat., *explicatio*) of God, while presenting God as simply the 'coinciding of the opposites' (in Lat., *coincidentia oppositorum*) in the world. In his *Oratio de Dignitate Hominis* (Lat., "Address on the Dignity of the Human Being"), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola shaped the new picture of the human being in clear expression: unlike other creatures, the human being had no secure or surely predetermined place in the world—instead, it lay within human free → will alone whether an individual might reach divine perfection, or degenerate to the animal state. Deterministic movements, such as Calvinism, took the contrary position.

Humanism

Pico's image of the human being explains the high level of value accorded to education, and this in the framework of → humanism. The comprehensive development of all human qualities, to which the formation of character belongs just as surely as does the study of a comprehensive canon of sciences and good behavior, is understood as a 'formation toward God' (Nicholas of Cusa). By way of this new ideal of formation, → ethics achieved a great importance, and this attention led to an energetic confrontation with ancient philosophy, especially with Plato and the Neo-Platonists. It was through a concern with original texts—which were now made available in translation to wider circles—that philosophy grew in importance. Chiefly at the hands of Italian scholars, a deliberate attempt was made to uncover ancient writings. During the Council of Constance for example, Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) hunted for Latin manuscripts. The study of languages like Greek and Hebrew, just as, to some extent, Arabic, was no longer the privilege of monks. Now it became a common occupation in educated circles. Florentine Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) was famous for his special, beautiful style in Latin and Greek, and was the first to compose poetry in the ancient Greek language. Even reading and writing, in foreign languages as well as in the vernacular (which had now been discovered for literature), was a component of the humanistic formation.

The 'Platonic Academy' in Florence, founded (1459) under Cosimo de' Medici, and headed by Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), quickly became renowned for its work in publishing, translating, and commentating, especially where the Platonic dialogues were concerned. His celebrated commentary on the Platonic *Symposium* (1469) sketched out an ethics of mutual human attraction (in friendship) and coined the term 'Platonic love.' His involvement with the classical texts, which was not limited to pure philology, but which also included his own thoughts, under appeal to the 'masters,' can be seen as exemplary for a major part of Renaissance publishing and commentating. Within these circles, Plato was celebrated and reverenced as a representative of *prisca theologia* (the 'eternal philosophy'), and thus stood for a line of revelation that could go beyond the Judeo-Christian tradition (→ Esotericism). Most thinkers of the Renaissance, however, saw no contradiction between their philosophic considerations and their Christian faith, even though those considerations at times stood contrary to the latter. Thus, philosopher Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525) was concerned to refute the immortality of the soul philosophically, but accepted it as a Christian.

Reception of Antiquity and Paganism

4. The development of ancient textual sources, with early attempts at archaeological investigation, entailed considerable peripheral effect for the history of religions. Not that the ritual and mythic sketches of ancient polytheism had been until this moment unknown, but the interest now accorded them led to their entry into everyday living, and therewith into religion as well. On the one hand, 'pagan' religious concepts were somehow neutralized pedagogically (as educational material) or aesthetically (in representational motif). At the same time, they offered opportunities promptly seen as alternatives to (monotheistic) religion, and to spirituality across the board, and attempts were soon made to revitalize 'pagan mysteries' (→ Paganism/Neopaganism; Reception). As early as 1467, Pomponio Leto's (1428–1497) 'Roman Academy' whose ideal was to live 'as the old Romans did,' and consequently to revive their pagan rites and festivals, was closed by the Inquisition at papal command. Leto himself was arrested and tortured. By contrast, the attempt to revive the ancient Greek religion, by Georgios Gemistos Plethon (1355–1450? → Polytheism) one-half century before Leto, had entailed no juridical consequences (see § 6).

New 'Syncretisms': Philosophia Occulta, Hermeticism, and Esotericism

5. Essentially more frequent than this manner of paganism in a pure form, however, was the incorporation of ancient piety in the Christian religion, as with Ficino. Additionally, owing to the influence of magical and hermetical texts, new types of → syncretisms sprang up. Hermetical conceptualizations of a parallelism between → microcosm and macrocosm, along with composite systems of → astrology, mysticism, and magic, are documented by the reception of → Kabbalah, the *Corpus Hermeticum* (translated by Ficino by 1463), and *Picatrix*, a compendium of the occult sciences ascribed to Arab scholar Magriti. These materials found new entries into the world of the religious concepts of Europe. There arose a new speculative philosophy of nature and religion, still influential today (→ Gnosticism; Esotericism). Physician Paracelsus (1493–1581), for example, a favorite authority of these movements, speculated, in terms of the analogy between the human body and plants, that the latter were perchance suitable for the healing of the former, and early homeopathy took up this approach once more. Further, he delved into sympathetic → magic. Astrological speculations on the part of

French physician Michel de Notredame ('Nostradamus,' 1503–1566), on the end of the world, became very popular once more at the end of the twentieth century, in a framework of → millenarianism.

The occult image of the Renaissance was fostered, for instance, by the nineteenth-century *Gesellschaft der Naturforscher und Ärzte* (Ger.; "Society of Natural Scientists and Physicians"), to which, among others, J. Salomo, C. Schweigger, C. G. Carus, and A. von Humboldt belonged. It was taken up in the twentieth century by → New Age currents, for instance in the framework of the apocalyptical prophecies uttered (with explicit reference to Nostradamus) on the occasion of the total eclipse of the sun on August 11, 1999, where appeal was made to the 'forgotten' and 'secret' knowledge of the Renaissance for the purpose of constructing a privileged tradition of special hermetic 'undercurrents,' and thereby legitimizing a worldview primarily maintained in private religion.

6. In the sixteenth century, the religio-political situation changed in Central Europe. → Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the founding of the → Jesuit Order, and the great powers' policies of alliance, which made use of the confessional tensions at hand, effected a reinforcement, and radicalization, of religious contradictions: the Inquisition then became the most important tool of the Catholic Church against heresies of all kinds. Granted, in the fifteenth century, Plethon had survived his calling Moses, → Jesus, and → Muhammad the "three swindlers who corrupted human kind," and had sought to revive and revitalize a polytheistic 'Greek' religion—and yes, Marsilio Ficino had still been able to reconcile hermetic ideas with his episcopal quality in Florence. But his younger contemporary Pico already had to confront the censure of the Inquisition. Giordano Bruno's (1548–1600) massive religious criticism, motivated by speculations of natural philosophy (on the basis of Copernicus and Nicholas of Cusa), is accompanied by powerful anti-religious polemics, and refers to the → Enlightenment at this early moment. It finally leads the author to the stake of Campo de' Fiori in Rome. His spectacular death made Bruno a 'martyr of Freethinkerdom.' The Neo-Platonic vocabulary of his writings, however, awakened the interest of Romanticism, as well, and that of the twentieth century: on the site where he had burned, Christian liberal circles in Italy erected a monument to him, as the leading figure in the protest against the papacy and the dogma of papal infallibility, of 1871 (→ Rome). Bruno served Anthroposophy, as well as the German Monist Union, in the capacity of a figurehead; conversely, Marxist authors of the end of the 1960s saw Bruno as one of the first materialists.

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→ *Esotericism, European History of Religion, Genius, Humanism, Platonism, Reception, Reformation, Science*

Agnes Imhof

Revelation

1. The word 'revelation' (in Gk., *apokalypsis*; in Lat., *revelatio*) is a category of reflection and abstraction, belonging to theological 'second-order discourse.' It can denote either the occurrence, or the content of a manifestation of the divine, by which, not infrequently, it performs a function of legitimization. After all, anyone professing to have received a revelation claims to be able, and to have the right, to make authoritative pronouncements concerning God or other things of faith. In this form, of course, the concept of revelation is foreign to the Bible or to the ancient Church. Only in the theological epistemology of medieval scholasticism is it elevated to the rank of a source for supernatural knowledge that transcends reason, and perfects it. With the Enlightenment, this intellectualist understanding of revelation entered a crisis. Immanuel Kant postulated: it shall no longer be the appeal to the authority of revelation, but only a critical examination by reason, that is to guarantee the validity of philosophical and theological propositions.

Revelation is not exempt from scrutiny on account of a supernaturally guaranteed foundation. Rather, it is itself an object and expression of faith. A defeat of the polarity between revelation and reason made it possible to create a broader understanding of revelation, one transcending the boundaries of epistemology: revelation is a process that includes a relationship (founded on and bestowed by God) of the creature that (moving in the contrary direction) actually reaches God. In this understanding, revelation, although open, remains concealed and unavailable to manipulation.

2. In terms of the phenomenology of religion, it is as suggestive as it is problematic to extend the concept of revelation to other religions, and to specify them as revealed religions, after the manner of Christianity, or, indeed, in all correctness, of the Abrahamitic family of religions. This extension requires that the concept be formalized and generalized in a manner that often fails to do justice to the self-concept of the individual religions. In this formal description, revelation designates a relation that consists of five basic elements: author (the Divine), recipient, means or medium, content, and effect. A correct determination of the content of these elements produces a correct concrete understanding of revelation. Thus, as to the *means or medium*, a distinction can be made between immediate revelation (through apparition or inspiration), and mediated revelation (through sacred objects, places, or times, written and oral traditions, or through authoritative teachings). *Content* embraces the self-disclosure of God or of gods in words, visions or auditions, and the disclosure of truths and commands through divine mysteries, the course of history (especially in apocalypticism), a

commentary on the world as evil or malignant, the salvific goal or end, the salvific way or path, and so on. As to the *effect*, there are distinct manners of taking up and working through the message, for example, in the form of a fundamental 'existential' transformation (→ Conversion). It is not difficult to discern, however, that this systematic stands in a Christian framework of argumentation.

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→ *Apocalypse, Channeling, Communication, Epiphany, Esotericism, Prophet*

Reinhold Bernhardt

Revolution, French

Development of a Civil Religion

1. The importance of the French Revolution (1789–1799) for → European history of religion emerges primarily through the → secularization process for which the Enlightenment had supplied a theoretical preparation. That process identifies the transition to the modern age. At the same time, the Revolution developed its own myths and cults—oriented, in the main, to Greco-Roman antiquity—with which it hallowed both its abstract values, such as liberty, reason, and homeland, and its heroes and → martyrs. The indistinguishability, for which it strove, between religious and political symbols—with which, according to Émile Durkheim's thesis, the principal function of religion is performed (the self-sanctification of a society)—compelled it to sketch a → 'civil religion.'

The *Ancien Régime* was replaced by the → utopia of a 'common entity of reason,' which was to rest on the foundation of a → nature interpreted as divine, and with which, through an absolutization of the common will, 'primordially good human beings' were once more to be brought into harmony. The dream of a new society was even manifested in a new chronology, introduced on October 5, 1793 with a Republican → calendar. As a symbol of equality, the calendar opened with a year 1 calculated according to ancient Egyptian tradition, with its summer equinox reckoned as occurring on September 22, 1792.

Although long-term developments materialized, and traditional elements did not completely vanish, the event of the French Revolution was experienced first and foremost as a cultural happening, and in the sense of a radical break with the past, and indeed its achievements (such as equality of confessions and → human rights, proclaimed on August 26, 1789) and tendencies (e.g., → Laicism) have in some measure extended to the present.

Secularization and De-Christianization

2. Even in the course of the eighteenth century, owing to the Enlightenment, especially in the effect of the latter among many of the educated, the French church had lost influence. Furthermore, owing to its secularization, and to

the hedonism of extensive portions of the higher clergy, it had come into question. However, the National Assembly did not wish to do away with the Revolution's 'greatest loser,' the totality of whose goods were nationalized on November 2, 1789. It would only integrate the clergy into the new state as a social and moral instance, by their transfer to the status of state officials (*Constitution Civile du Clergé*, July 12, 1790). A split within the French church, and an increasingly sharpened cleft between Catholic Church and Revolution, occurred as numerous priests refused the oath of allegiance to the new Constitution (sworn on November 27, 1790), and succeeded in convincing many of the faithful—especially the agrarian population of the countryside—of the 'godlessness' of the Revolution. After the execution of the King, on January 21, 1793, which was felt by many to be a 'ritual parricide,' the conflict escalated, in the cities of the Vendée, to a 'crusade for God and the King' (March 10 to December 12, 1793). This uprising serves as an example of the violent confrontation between clericalist and monarchist reaction and revolutionary forces, which demanded numerous victims on both sides. Further, it stands as an incident of the 'de-Christianization campaign,' which was supported by not a few elements of the population. The conflicts were somewhat sharpened by the Directory, which declared religion a private affair, and, on February 21, 1795, established an official separation between church and state. An effect of this separation was a (not always successful) secularization of public life. The political and religious division of France into a clericalist conservative side and an anti-clerical 'laicist' side persists, in attenuated form, even today.

Festivals of the Revolution

3. The contradictory overlap between irresponsible destruction and the ideal of a political and moral harmony, with the hope of happiness here below—not infrequently proclaimed in a messianic or religious manner—was concentrated partially in the revolutionary festivals, which reached their climax in the time of the Jacobin government. Despite sometimes-considerable regional differences, they can be divided into three phases, analogously with those of the Revolution:

(a) The festivals of 1789–1792 were celebrated, alongside new forms, within the framework of traditional church ceremonies. Held under the open sky, they were meant especially to demonstrate a revolutionary unanimity, at the 'altar of the fatherland,'—as a sign of concord between nature and the Revolution. Now the soil of freedom was consecrated, and the spatial occupation of the Revolution displayed, with 'Liberty Trees'—a transformation of the traditional May tree. Even before the key Festival of Federation, celebrated on the occasion of the storming of the Bastille, local 'festivals of fraternity' generated a euphoric temper of national unity.

(b) The radicalization of the Revolution was reflected in the bewildering multiplicity of enthusiastic and provocative festivals of 1793–1794, which gradually yielded their spontaneous character. The old royal and monarchist symbols were solemnly burned, in an atmosphere of popular festival, and Christian elements, in pageants performed in the spirit of carnival, were reversed and ridiculed. At the same time, the ceremonies served to 'implant' and 'eternalize' revolutionary ideals in the populace. Thus, the 'garden projects' inspired by Rousseau symbolized the credence that the eternal laws of nature had been rediscovered and recovered. Along with the cult that centered on the 'patriotic saints,' and the 'martyrs of liberty'—above all the murdered revolutionary Marat was reverenced by great throngs—it

was the 'cult of reason' that emerged, 'reason' being embodied in a beautiful woman in white array and liberty cap. Other principles were presented as well, usually by living women. "The Goddess of Liberty, accompanied by female Apostles of Republican virtue, processed through the cities in a triumphal chariot. The Goddess of Reason then took her place on the 'sacred mountains,' erected before or within the churches, from there to proclaim the new truths."[2] Here one beheld the myth of the Revolution, the myth borrowed from → nature piety, of the feminine as the living incarnation of 'Mother Nature.' Often, however, enthusiasm for the cults—whose aesthetics were staged very much by rote, and as a religious ritual—was restricted to educated circles, while the majority of the population remained relatively untouched. The Festivals of the *Decades*, intended to replace the traditional Sunday, were frequently boycotted.

For the stabilization of internal relations, Robespierre—to whose mind neither atheism nor Catholic 'fanaticism' was reconcilable with a political and moral order—introduced a deistic Cult of the Supreme Being, solemnly initiated on Prairial II 2 (August 6, 1794). At the same time, this disputed 'substitute confession,' which already proclaimed the normalization of the third phase, marked the turning point of the Revolutionary festival.

(c) After Robespierre's overthrow (9 Thermidor; July 27, 1794), the whole system collapsed. Symptomatic of the general 'sobering' was the disappearance of 'the general happiness,' until now declared to be the purpose of the state, from the Directorial Constitution. Now, for the first time since the beginning of the Revolution, the will of the people was no longer held to be infallible. As an expression of the system that had always been there, citizens' festivals and public cults were themselves converted into a stable system, that in the end collapsed in favor of a return to the old style festival.

4. Despite its historical failure, the Revolutionary festivals did not remain without result. They brought a new 'era' to Europe, by 'sanctifying' the value of a secularized world whose motto was freedom. On the other hand, the absolutist claim of the 'Jacobine ideology,' its promise of an earthly beatitude, and requirement of cultic veneration of the Revolutionary state—although inspired by the idealized politico-religious unity of antiquity and Rousseau's 'middle-class religion'—founded the beginning of modern dictatorships, whose 'religious undertones' are frequently discussed under the heading of → political religion.

1. Köhler 1989, 191.
2. Harten/Harten 1988, 20.

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→ *Civil Religion, Criticism of Religion, Enlightenment, Paganism/Neopaganism, Political Religion, Secularization*

Manuela Sekler

Rhythm

Rhythm derives from the Greek *rhythmós*, 'time measure,' 'beat,' and can also mean, 'proportion' in general; *gestalt* or 'form' ('shape'); and, in Ionic, 'custom,' 'practice,' 'habit.' Originally, the word designates an invariable motion, such as that of the waves of an ocean (in Gk., *rhein*, 'to stream,' 'to flow'). Thus, rhythm is an 'arranging,' an 'ordering' (especially with respect to time) by way of cyclical, identical or varied, repetition of the same elements. A distinction must be made among (1) musical rhythm, (2) the rhythm of speech closely akin to it, (3) rhythms of nature (physiological, agrarian, and astronomical), and finally, (4) cultural rhythms. Rhythms have manifold physical, psychical, and social effects, so that, in varied stamps or impressions, they play a key role in many religious practices.

Musical Rhythms

1. Musical rhythm forms the neuro-acoustical basis of many religious trance-techniques, possession-cults, and ecstatic phenomena. Musical rhythm is frequently connected with → dance as cyclically arranged or ('membered') flows of movement. Thus, in Islamic Sufism for example, the dancing group adopts a gradually accelerating musical rhythm, from which individual dancers then break out in trance, a typical technique named *sama'*: "hearing music with the ear of the heart."

In the simplest case, musical rhythms are generated by hand-clapping, or vocal sounds. Even more frequently, drums, drumsticks (the clipsticks of the Australian Aborigenes), rattles, and other percussion instruments are employed. Shamanic traditions the world over apply percussive rhythms as ecstatic techniques: the shamanic drum is actually the identifying sign of the North Eurasian religions. The drumming techniques of African and → Afro-American religions find their continuation today in modern secular musical styles and dance cultures, such as jazz, rock, rhythm 'n' blues, drum and bass, reggae, and techno (→ Popular Culture). Today as yesterday, state ceremonies, mighty marches, and the propagandizing presentations of → political religions and authoritarian regimes alike, along with the → civil religion of modern democracies, swell with the heart-kindling reverberations of solemn or peppy military rhythms.

Rhythmic structures in the wider sense are essential for many ritual actions, as shown, for example, in Christianity's triple immersion of the baptismal candidate, or in the repetitive actions of a priest, such as gestures of blessing.

Speech Rhythms

2. A special rhythm of speech lifts the formulae of oaths, or the recitation of sacred texts, out of the everyday application of speech, as in Islam, with reciting the suras of the → Qur'an, or, in Buddhism, in pronouncing → mantras.

Recitation or prayer can be supported by rhythmical movements, as with the *Dikr* rites of Muslim brotherhoods, which set those at prayer into a trancelike condition, or as with 'schockeln,' the forward and backward movement of the upper body in Jewish prayer. When Brahmans perform sacred Vedic texts, their singing, and singing precisely by verse, has the purpose of sustaining and reinforcing the act of memory, and the correct repetition of voluminous hymnic collections (→ Oral Tradition).

The kinship of musical rhythms is a close one. When a language no longer in current use finds application, for instance in the Latin, in Church Slavonic, or in Indian Sanskrit, rhythm presides, as quasi-musical, over the meaning of the words, and operates directly. Mantras do not operate through their sense, but through their sound, and their rhythmical structure. In these instances, there is a broad overlap with the manner in which poetical language performs, and this not only in the area of religious poetry in the strict sense.

Rhythms of Nature: Biological, Agrarian, and Astronomical Rhythms

3. The observation of biological rhythms, especially of those of the heart and the breath, plays an essential role in many meditative and ecstatic practices. Thus, for example, in Hindu meditation techniques, observation of inhalation and exhalation, and concentration on the instant between, constitute a frequent practice (→ Breathing; Yoga). In many cultures, the physiological rhythm of the female monthly cycle is negatively accentuated by temporary exclusion from worship. Another level of biological rhythm is that of the natural cycles of growth and regeneration in the animal and plant worlds. These are paid special attention in agrarian societies (→ Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic). Natural rhythms, in turn, rest on astronomical and cosmic ones: the alternation of day and night finds its ritual configuration, when, during → Ramadan, a fast is maintained during the day, and eating and drinking is done at night. This ritual configuration, together with the climatic conditions of the seasons of the year, as in midsummer celebration or → Christmas (as well as in the lunar cycle), accompanies the festal → calendar of, for example, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.

Cultural Rhythms

4. Another important element in many religions is the rhythmic division and accentuation of → time: as individual time of life, or social time. The division of the day occurs in Christian cloisters and monasteries by way of the Prayer of the Hours, in Buddhism by way of established times for meditation. Mythically founded cycles divide a 'week' with a specified, and special, day of rest, in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam (→ Sunday/Sabbath). In many cultures, the festal calendar provides a rhythm for the year. → Rites of passage divide the individual's time of life into segments, give → birth and → death their shape and form, and bind to the religious community the events that are singular for the individual, by interpreting them in various ways as a repetition of something given. Very long rhythmic cycles, finally, are to be found in mythological and theological speculation on the eras of history, as, for instance, in the ancient Chinese religions, or in the Vedic religion, where entire world ages are conceptualized sequentially, as cosmological macro-rhythms.

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→ *Breathing, Calendar, Language, Life Cycle, Meditation, Music, Possession, Time, Trance*

Karl-Peter Gietz and Heino Schmull

Rites of Passage

Passage as an Arduous Task

1. Animal and human life is carried out in 'passages': between luminous sun and the dark of night; between working day and sleep; between the spatial boundaries of secure, familiar home and open space; between the path of peril and the place that is safe; between the seasonal periods of superfluity and want; in the biographical passages from childhood, to sparkling youth, to generative parenthood, to the debility of old age, to death. Two different, antagonistic, or frankly contrary, conditions, areas, developmental phases, or functional insertions must be connected together, inner dispositions dissolved, and the accustomed surrendered. The necessary transpositions flow successfully precisely when they render conquerable the fear before the unknown, supportable the uncertainty of the new, and essayable the erstwhile strange and foreign. Certain sensations, wishes, and intentions cross with the situations of transition and the life interests of others.

Solution by Rites of Passage

2. Even in the social life of animals, these problems are solved by phases of passage that are ritually produced and formed. These phases are elementary components of every religion. Instead of the obligation to accept narrow, immediate adaptation to the outer world, communicative spaces of activity appear. The builders of these spaces, which enable the subject to make a successful detachment from the 'old,' are the phases of passage. Now the communicative spaces themselves come to constitute an interim threshold in terms of time (*rite de marge*, 'border rite'; → Marginality/Liminality), and can effect a creative insertion into the 'new' (A. van Gennep, Victor Turner; → Ritual). Rites of passage have special features. They are:

- *Regulative, obligatory, and sequential:* They consist of pre-established series of 'when/then' signals, which mold a stable, neurologically encoded or encodable, bio-cultural program, with acceptance transcending that of the individual person, and required in social exchange (smiling and making a gesture of submission at greeting or taking one's leave, and at prayer);
- *Participatorial, repetitive, and generative:* They offer a consistently professed and recognized framework for all respective individuals or biographical roles (ritual singing; godparent; bridal parents, bride and groom, bridesmaid);

- *Self-referential, transformative, and irreversible:* They create, in and for the individual, certain corporeal and inner psychic alterations, that irrevocably introduce new social conditions (→ tattooing, → circumcision, mutilation, deflowering, and tonsure at rites of → initiation; necktie, tuxedo, wedding ring at career initiation and change of status; initiatory → death, second → birth, and new → name at passages of religious status). In this fashion, rites of initiation shape a paradoxical ritual equilibrium of flow, in which the regularly 'general' and enduring interpenetrates the individually 'special' and immediate. Again—reciprocally—the candidate's erstwhile condition is acknowledged, closed, and overcome through a valid (and precisely, ritually obligatory) procedure, and 'passed beyond' (R. E. Wiedeman).

Ritual Worlds Beyond

3. It is the feature of the transformative in particular that lends even animal rites of passage a proto-religious coloration. Specifically human is the elaboration of the ritual threshold space in terms of sacred drama and liturgy, into the extraordinary (because festive) counter-world and religious world of the beyond (→ Christmas; wild night between old and new year; novitiate; → Carnival). Rites of transition become explicitly religious at the point where that which is ritual is meant to be constituted and guaranteed by an uncontrollable ritual power of the beyond, represented by a ritual expert, as, for example, with the formula of oath, "So help me God."

Radical Time Changes

4. Moments of great social transformation, and radical changes in terms of cultural revolution, are accompanied by an intellectual criticism of rites (→ Freud), by anarchistic anti-ritualism, blasphemous reverse rituals ('black masses'; → Satanism), and ritual clowning in court. Postmodern rites of passage tend to push rites of passage to their paradoxical extremes, in extremely personal and binding ritual experiences (fasting, lying in the saddle at full gallop, tests of courage through walking in fire and the ingestion of drugs). For the broad population, on the contrary, the conservative need is increasing for familiar, elementary rituals of passage (wedding with bride in white and organ) and the secure transmittal of active property (Confirmation and marriage certificates).

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→ *Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic, Baptism, Birth, Carnival, Circumcision, Communication, Crisis, Death and Dying, Drama (Sacred), Initiation, Life Cycle, Liturgy, Marriage/Divorce, Ritual, Road/Path/Journey*

Hemma Boneberg

Ritual

Concept

1. 'Ritual' is a common word. In ordinary usage the term presents no problems. It is used for a category of individual or social behavior—such as religious or solemn ceremonies or, more generally, procedures regularly followed—that most people seem to recognize immediately. But the meaning of the term has been far from self-evident to its students. For over a century, ritual has been a 'standard' topic of study, especially within the social sciences and history of religion. Discussions have focused on the 'basic characteristics' of ritual behavior, on the question: What exactly is ritual?

In 1968 Leach observed that "even among those who have specialized in this field there is the widest possible disagreement as to how the word ritual should be used and how the performance of ritual should be understood."[1] A decade later the situation was unchanged, which prompted Grimes to advocate the development of 'ritual studies' as a distinct discipline. As he pointed out, students of ritual were isolated from one another in various fields and, although sharing a common interest in performative phenomena, they were separated by their methodologies and academic traditions.[2] Indeed, the heterogeneity of the studies on ritual is enormous, ranging from liturgics and religious studies to the social sciences and humanities, from drama and literature to psychology, ethology, and neurobiology.

What Is Ritual?

2. Some researchers have viewed ritual essentially as the means by which culture is passed on from one generation to the next, as the 'key' to → traditions. For others ritual behavior has been fundamental in establishing individual or social → identity. Others again have considered ritual basically a safety valve to release psychological or social pressures. The purposes or functions, moreover, which authors have ascribed to ritual behavior, link up with its perceived origin or cause. Ritual has been alternatively seen as biologically grounded, psychologically engendered, or socially generated. It has been seen as answering a universal human 'need' or, conversely, as a historically based socio-cultural phenomenon. For some, ritual is an essential feature of all human interaction; for others, ritual is confined to specific times and places.

Most authors have agreed that ritual is action: that it is *done*. This action of course implies bodily involvement. The exact nature of such bodily involvement, however, is subject to much debate. Moreover, the discussion on the nature of bodily performance in ritual is entangled with the issue of consciousness: there is no agreement that ritual action is (wholly) conscious or *un*conscious. The stand an author takes in these matters depends to a great extent on the author's views on → symbols and the nature of their meaning. In fact, the question of → *meaning* appears to lie at the core of the problem that ritual presents, and most researchers of ritual grapple with this issue.

Contemporary debates on ritual incorporate the postmodern preoccupation with hermeneutics, acknowledging the plurality and contextuality of individual perspectives. At the same time its most important lesson is ignored: that scholarly interpretative endeavors are largely constitutive of their subject. Mostly, the reality of ritual as an objective phenomenon is not doubted. The ever returning question 'what is ritual?' is crucial in this respect. It inspires the effort to formulate 'one coherent theory' of ritual and to

describe 'ritual' in a definition which, in turn, leads to further questions on its 'origin' and 'purpose', and to discussions on the adequacy of one theory as compared to another, in capturing the *essential* qualities of ritual.

A History of the Concept

3. Most of the literature on ritual theory focuses on what has been written about ritual in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, going no further back than Robertson Smith's *The Religion of the Semites* (1889), Durkheim's *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (1912) or Harrison's *Ancient Art and Ritual* (1913). Asad (1993) was the first to explore the etymological history of the word 'ritual' and its genesis as a concept, making use of old dictionaries and encyclopedias.

Whereas nowadays it goes without saying that ritual is *action*, Asad demonstrates that this has not always been the case. It was not until the seventeenth century that the word 'ritual' entered the English language as a substantive conveying either the prescribed order of performing religious services or the book containing such prescriptions. 'Ritual' was thus, at first, a word used to denote a → *book*. In the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1771), 'ritual' was "a book directing the order and manner to be observed in celebrating religious ceremonies, and performing divine service in a particular church, diocese, order, or the like."[3] There was no entry after that for 'rite' or 'ritual' until the eleventh edition (1910), when a completely new entry appeared under 'ritual.' It was no longer the short explanation of a word but had become a five columns long treatise on a phenomenon, linking ritual to psychological and sociological functions and also admitting that ritual is not confined to religion. These notions were absent from the 1771 entry. As such, the conception of ritual as symbolic behavior that is not necessarily religious is entirely modern.

But why was it that 'ritual' came to be conceived as a specific form of action? It is not easy to trace the actual genesis and development of the concept during the latter half of the nineteenth century. First, religious practice was viewed in part as symbolic before 'ritual' came into use as a term referring to religious action. Second, the term 'ritual' was used synonymously with 'rite,' 'religious practice,' 'religious ceremony,' or 'worship' before it became a concept of a specific *form* of action. Third, it developed in connection with other concepts such as → 'magic' and → 'taboo.' As Sharpe pointed out, the decade from 1859 to 1869 witnessed a rapid development of the evolutionary method in the study of religion, culminating in 'comparative religion.'[4] → 'Religion' was primarily conceived as a system of ideas, and religious practices were viewed as expressions of these ideas. Religious behavior was just a means to retrieve the belief systems of bygone or primitive cultures.

This outlook changed with *The Religion of the Semites* (1889), in which Robertson Smith emphasized the primacy of religious practice. Thus, religious practice became a subject worthy of study in itself. Furthermore, his argumentation in the matter was important to the conceptualization of 'ritual.' The meaning attached to ritual, Smith argued, is extremely vague: whereas ancient ritual was fixed and obligatory, → myth (i.e. meaning) was variable and 'at the discretion of the worshipper.' Smith used the term 'ritual' as synonymous with 'religious practice' and primarily took it to represent 'fixed' and 'obligatory' behavior. He did not view ritual as an instrument to recover belief: In his view, ritual was analytically separate from 'meaning': Ritual reveals nothing about individual mental states. By placing religious practice in the context of long-term social traditions and disconnecting it

from individual mental states, he connected it to the collectivity. As such, religious practice—ritual—became a *social* fact.

Although it is obvious that Robertson Smith put 'religious practice' on the agenda of scholarly research as a social phenomenon worthy of study, this does not yet explain how 'ritual' came to be seen as a certain type of behavior. Smith used the term 'ritual' as synonymous with 'religious practice' and as having a fixed and obligatory nature. It was part of the vocabulary he employed as a matter of course and had no conceptual status. But by this time *religious action* had become a separate category of behavior. As Steiner (1956) explained in his treatise on 'taboo,' Victorian scholars became interested in religious behavior—i.e. prescribed ceremonial behavior—because its rule-based nature could not be rationally explained. The interest in 'irrational' rules generated the discussions on 'magic' and 'taboo.' It is no coincidence, then, that the authors who first used the term 'ritual' were not addressing 'ritual' as such, but were focused on explaining the myths and magical rites of savages (Lang 1913), or the nature of taboos in sacrificial rites (Robertson Smith). In the context of these discussions, their use of the term 'ritual' seemed inspired by its original meaning of a script for behavior: Because it had the connotation of 'rules' and 'prescriptions.' In short, recognition of the aspect of 'rules' as characteristic of 'religious action' as a separate category of behavior, may have instigated adoption of the term 'ritual' to refer to 'ordered sequences of religious acts,' 'acts based on (a) ritual,' later to be called 'ritual acts,' which, with the passage of time, became 'ritual.'[5]

Ritual and Psychology

4. From the nineteenth century onwards, most theories have, implicitly or explicitly, awarded a certain role to the → psyche. Ritual was, for instance, said to answer a 'human need' or was traced back to the 'human capacity to symbolize.' As such, ritual was seen as somehow inherent to the human constitution. Today also, it is remarkable how easily ritual is described in psychological terms or how matter-of-course the origin and ultimate function of ritual action are explained in psychological terms.

Rituals are said to be instructive and formative; they are said to convey knowledge, moral values, solidarity, and tradition. Also, ritual is qualified as an instrument for the regulation of human relationships; it is said to further the integration and continuity of human relationships. In this respect, rituals are often characterized as mechanisms that suppress selfish, socially damaging impulses, or, alternatively, as mechanisms which enable the expression or channeling of → emotions. In addition, they are seen as instrumental for both the formation of the individual 'self' and the social identity of the → group.

It is important to note the influence of general psychoanalytic theory on social studies of ritual (→ Psychoanalysis). In this respect, the ritual studies of Victor Turner must be mentioned, because they have been very influential in the field of ritual studies as a whole. As Turner himself explained, psychoanalytic theory had a strong formative influence on his conceptualization of ritual symbolic processes. In his view, implicit social conflicts find a symbolized expression in ritual. The ritual symbolic representations refer to existing social and/or intrapsychic tensions, which are normally unconscious and repressed. Thus, the psychoanalytical interpretation of ritual amounts to the analysis of ritual symbolism.

Next to an interest in psychoanalytic theory, in the last decade of the twentieth century ritual studies profited from a new interest in cognitive

psychology within the social sciences and the academic study of religion. Lawson and McCauley (1990; 2002) are distinct proponents of a cognitive approach to ritual action. They present a model designed to chart 'ritual competence': Ritual participants possess cognitive representations of ritual forms, which enable them to competently re-enact specific ritual performances. Their focus is ultimately on mapping the structural features of religious ritual action. Psychological theory is used to identify the universally constant mental processes that are thought to underlie and structure these socio-cultural performances.

Most scholars of ritual tend to take the psychological aspects of ritual behavior as axiomatic. Over-simplifying, one could say that the psychological explanations on which many of the theories in ritual studies are based, often are little more than very general notions—such as 'the human need to symbolize'—functioning as a priori assumptions, which are not questioned or clarified. When, on the other hand, psychological theory serves as an explicit frame of reference—as with psychoanalytic theory or cognitive psychology—it is used to portray the universal psychological conditions that structure the variable social processes of which ritual is a part. Ritual is invariably seen as a *social* mechanism. The methodology developed to understand ritual—why it exists, how it works—is dependent on the particular psychological theory chosen. Once the psychological constants are established, they themselves are no further discussed but are used to lay bare the supposed universal principles of ritual structure.

The Problematic 'Essence' of Ritual

5. It is generally taken for granted that ritual phenomena present themselves to us to be studied objectively. This assumption is not surprising, since studying ritual initially means studying *observable behavior*—deeds done, bodily performances—which we strive to understand and explain. In this context many scholars state that it is pre-eminently the task of the researcher—as an outsider—to recover the 'true meaning' or 'underlying structure' of ritual, a meaning or structure of which the performers themselves are frequently said to be unaware. In the course of time, however, research has tended to become detached from the tangible events that gave the initial impetus to scholarly scrutiny, and focus has shifted to theoretical issues: the abstract concept of ritual itself then becoming the object of study.

Already in 1961, Goody addressed the problem of "what is involved in categorizing acts and beliefs as religious, or ritual, or magico-religious."[6] It was not his intention to determine the 'fundamental' meaning of these particular concepts, which he saw as part of the folk categories of Western society. As such, he emphasized, they cannot serve as analytic tools, but are nevertheless the inevitable starting point from which our analytic concepts develop.

In his analysis of the various definitions of religious and ritual phenomena, Goody refuted the Durkheimian assumption that the sacred-profane dichotomy (→ Holy) is a universal feature of how people view the world. Such a criterion for isolating religious or ritual phenomena is derived not from the actor's but from the observer's assessment of what is intrinsic. To take this criterion as universally valid is not only problematic because of definitional complications, but also because it takes as a general principle precisely what needs to be demonstrated in each particular case.

In 1977, Goody again addressed the definitional problem.[7] He discerned two general approaches to 'ritual.' On the one hand, 'ritual' is seen as an as-

pect of all social action. Consequently, the definition of ritual embraces almost all action that is standardized in some way. This concept includes such a broad range of activities, that it has no analytic utility and is certain to give rise to a proliferation of 'subcategories.' On the other hand, 'ritual' is looked upon as a category of action that requires a special kind of interpretation. In this case, the problem is to determine the criterion that distinguishes 'ritual' from 'non-ritual' behavior. Such a criterion cannot be found. Goody discussed a few of the criteria commonly postulated, such as the qualification of ritual behavior as 'formal' and 'repetitive.' As he pointed out, routinization, regularization, and repetition are at the basis of social life itself and thus cannot serve as distinctive criteria. In the same way, the analysis of ritual in terms of 'meaning' has been highly problematic. Meanings change in two different ways. First, meanings are often forgotten or elaborated. Second, in the course of time new social experiences engender new meanings and affect the entire fabric of meaning. What, then, is *the* meaning of a ritual event? Is it the 'original' meaning (and how does one recover that meaning?), or is it the meaning attributed by the actual performers? But the central meaning of a ritual event is not always evident to all the members of the social group enacting it. Interpretations of ritual differ, because it is inherent to ritual that meanings are communicated in a partial and superficial way, which induces performers, indigenous onlookers and outsiders, such as ritual researchers, to devise their own interpretations.

Final remark

6. Considering the vagueness of the term 'ritual' and the impossibility of adequately defining it, Goody rejected the use of the concept, except as a highly generalized pointer that needs to be translated every time it is used. His adequate assessment of the definitional problem, however, has not been able to put a stop to the debate.[8] It remains to be seen if discussions have really moved beyond Goody's identification of the theoretical deadlocks and impossibilities involved in the definition of ritual.

1. Leach 1968, 526.
2. Grimes 1982, xii.
3. Asad 1993, 56; see also Buc 2001.
4. Sharpe 1986, 27f.
5. Boudewijnse 1998.
6. Goody 1961, 142.
7. Goody 1977, 25-35.
8. See, for example, Bell 1992; Platvoet 1995; Kreinath et al. 2004 and 2005.

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→ *Communication, Drama (Sacred), Feasts and Celebrations, Initiation, Liturgy, Meaning/Signification, Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Rites of Passage*

Barbara Boudewijnse

Road / Path / Journey

Path—Journey—Life Journey

1. Sedentary states and stationary existence entail no situation of risk. Only the journey—in the broadest sense, the journey of life—rouses the need for an orientation such that, even in a strange environment, one may possess a firm reference to one's own identity, and to fundamental principles. Before a traveler, dangers lie, along with the experience of insecurity and extreme situations, but with progress, and the development of fresh impressions, as well. Any tourist has already had at least the beginnings of this experience. The knowledge and discovery that all of life consists of changes, and that persons seek a goal for their life journey, had the effect that, in many religions, the symbol 'way' was appropriated as a description of life. This life-journey aims for distinct goals in different religious cultures: heaven, nirvana, the realm of light, or God. This religious context includes even the journeys of the altogether everyday.

Cultic and Mythic Assurance of Roads and Paths

2. Paths and roads are ways for travel and traffic. From the path through the rain forest to the superhighway, they make it possible for persons to have mobility, and to engage in communication. The construction and ongoing maintenance of travel networks are among the great achievements of the ancient high cultures. Thus, the world of the Greek city-states consisted of small stretches of land, amidst impassable mountainous country that needed to be conquered by paths or roads for 'cars and carts.' Against the perils of the route, busts were erected, as cultic protection along the overland way. Originally—as in the Himalaya region, or on Alpine crossings—these were probably heaps of stones (in Gk., *hérma*) on which each traveler placed one stone. The rite was to mark the route in prevailing use, as well as to provide a magical appeasement of unfavorable powers, and thus to secure the success of the journey. Since the Peisistratide era (end of the sixth century BCE), the Athenian network of routes had a peculiar form of image, a pillar with an erect phallus and a bearded head—a milestone, a fertility symbol, the seat of the God Hermes (as embodiment of the *hérma*), and a sign of rule all in



Two guardian figures watch over a road on the Indonesian island of Bali. The elevated throne provides a good vantage, and, along with the honorific umbrellas, lends dignity and authority. Pairs of 'watchers' like these frequently protect the entrance of a temple: there they mark the place of crossing into sacred space. The figures here have been clothed in aprons of *poleng* material. Unlike other, finer and expensive materials, *poleng* is woven of only two kinds of thread, or, as shown here, is printed in a checkerboard pattern. The black-and-white pattern of the *poleng* stands for the opposites in the whole, the twofold principle, whose place in the Balinese world-image is decisive. Spatially, they provide the orientation of the Balinese system: north and south, sunrise and sunset, and especially, those topographical opposites of the island, mountain and sea. Furthermore, the colors are attributed divine and demonic qualities, respectively: white stands for the arts of healing and the ability to apply them, black stands for the injuries of the insalubrious. The guardians wear *poleng* as a sign that they are protectors, as well, and ready to offer defense, and therefore are at the right place when stationed on critical stretches of roads, and at crossings. (Kirsten Holzapfel)



Someone, about midnight on December 30, 1986, has built an altar, with sacrificial gifts for Pomba Gira, at the place where a road intersects with Avenida Atlántica, at the southern end of Copacabana Beach in Rio de Janeiro. The goddess is being offered candles, cachaca whiskey, cigarettes, and a red rose. This devotional practice shows a connection, not untypical for Brazil, to religious elements from West Africa and Congo. The West African deity who watches over intersections, known to the Yoruba as Eshu Elegba, and in Dahomey as Legba, is of the male sex, and is frequently represented with an erect phallus. The kind of apparition of Brazilian Exu (related to Yoruba "Eshu") specific for Rio is female, and her name Pomba Gira is derived from the Ki-Congo word *mpambu zila* ('crossroad'). The inflammable gifts (candles, whiskey, cigarettes), as well, point to the religious practice of Congo. The cigarettes offered here at the T-shaped intersection have been arranged in the shape of miniature crossroads. It may be that here, the protection of the goddess has been besought in order to find an escape from a particularly dangerous situation, perhaps in the life of business or love. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

one.[1] At forks and crossroads that were particularly dangerous for travelers—a badly beaten path could lead one astray—stood the three-faced image of Hecate (Trioditis; Lat. Trivia), before whom food was set and to whom dogs were sacrificed. Members of African diaspora religions in the Americas present sacrifices to their gods today, at crossroads in the metropolises (see plate).

Routes within one's own country were unsure, but journeys across the sea or to other countries were perilous. As the full dimensions of the earth were not yet grasped, one expected, on far journeys, to arrive directly at the limits of the world—a concept that prevailed in Europe until the discovery of America. In Brittany and Galicia, respectively, the extreme westerly point of land is still called Land's End or Finisterre (in Lat., *finis terrae*, 'end of the earth'). Adventure stories like those of the voyages of Odysseus, in which travel reports were interwoven, along with sailors' yarns and local sagas with stories of gods and monsters, into an imaginary geography, were recounted in early antiquity—rather as, today, science fiction offers speculation on the nature or condition of remote planets.

Invisible Companions on a Journey and Places of Security

Whether the land route or the sea route was used, in either case, and until well into the modern age, travelers turned for protection to invisible companions, with prayers and rites of sacrifice. Hermes, messenger of the gods, with his winged feet, was accounted at once a guardian on journeys and a companion for the passage to the realm of the dead. Egyptian god Thoth, likewise esteemed as companion for the dead, was identified with Hermes. In Jewish and Christian popular belief, it is the guardian → angels who, to this day, are deemed to offer travelers protection from assaults and accidents. Since the beginning of historical traditions, there have been locations of protection, and stretches of route, for which special, often locally limited, divinities were responsible (see plate). The 'dream paths' of the Australian → Aborigines consisted of a network of landmarks (formations of stone or hills, pools, water holes), regarded as dwellings of the totem ancestors, or places of their activity. Their wanderings provided the outlines for mythological maps that showed where primordial tales unfolded. Here were the inhabited regions, and the stories served for the orientation of the nomadic tribes. Even in Iceland, this kind of mythic awareness has endured to this day. There, based on received tradition, detours have even been built in the automobile routes, so that they not make any incursions into 'fairyland.'

Pilgrimage Routes

Along with 'sacred areas,' regions that ought not to be built up, and not opened with paths or roads, there are other places, as well, that are precisely places of pilgrimage, to which roads have now led for millennia. The Qur'an prescribes the pilgrimage (the Hajj) to → Mecca. In the High Middle Ages, the Christian 'ways,' as well, were heavily traveled. The high routes ran to Canterbury, in England, from Paris; to → Santiago de Compostela; from Paris and Central Europe to → Rome; and from Rome to → Jerusalem. The western way to Rome, called the Roman or "Frankish Way" (*Via Francigena*), ran through the Val d'Aosta (Graian Alps), Piedmont, Lombardy, Emilia Romagna, Liguria, Tuscany, and Latium. It was lined with chapels, churches, and pilgrim hospices. Pilgrims moved in bunches, in their special togs and gear that identified them as pilgrims in all countries and lands, over the Alps. Along the way, they made music and sang, playing bagpipes, lyres, and mandolins, and praying. All of this can still be observed in Southern Italy today.

Signposts

Sacred structures line medieval and modern pilgrimage routes, as they did in antiquity, but along with more modest religious 'signposts': at crossings, or at images on these posts, pilgrims can recite prayers; sacred cabins invite them in to rest, and offer protection from the inclemency of the weather. Stations of the Way of the Cross guide processions. Over the course of centuries, a religious → landscape has taken shape that is traversed still today, available to physical experience. Pilgrim paths are still used throughout the year. With the use of bus, rail, and automobile, of course, pilgrim routes have been radically abbreviated, and become invisible, so to speak. Walks of days and weeks ('foot pilgrimages') have become exotic exceptions. Signposts miss their targets, along the highways and railroads. Only a few, isolated highway churches are still reminiscent of pre-industrial religious practice.

Processional Roads and Ways

A special, very old type of sacred way is the processional road. It is always solidly connected with one or more sacred structures, and serves mobile cultic activities (→ Procession). It may possibly be found in the megalith cultures (Stonehenge), and is certainly at hand in the ancient high cultures, such as the (Ram) Sphinx Avenues among the temple areas in Egyptian Karnak, the cultic district of Delphi, or the "Holy Street" from Miletus to Didyma (Ionia), and the *Via Sacra* on the Forum Romanum in → Rome. In Catholic regions, one finds the Way of the Cross and 'Holy Mountains' (Piedmont, Varallo, Domodossola), or a Mount Calvary (Brittany). In this fashion, on Good Friday the faithful can symbolically accomplish the history of the suffering of Jesus Christ, his last walk, to the place of his execution, along the pathway of the 'Stations of the Cross.' The best-known example is the Via Dolorosa, in Jerusalem's Old City, the route that corresponds to the original scenic presentation of the New Testament event (→ Jerusalem). In cities, particularly in those of the Mediterranean region, the streets are symbolically divided into processional routes, so that urban space serves both for the presentation of a sacred act and for a communal devotion.

Religion in a Backpack

3. The religions have traveled the routes and ways of persons. Trade routes, such as the → Silk Route, document the history of the expansion of the great systems of belief. The very founders, such as the → Buddha, → Jesus of Nazareth, or Mani (→ Manichaeism) often trekked busy ways in their preaching. 'Missionizing' religions (→ Mission; Proselytes), such as Christianity, use the communication structures of the trade routes for their expansion, such as the primitive Christian mission of the Apostle Paul, and the Iro-Scottish preachers of the sixth to the eighth centuries. Wherever merchants set their courses, there, still today, they bring their religions. Thus, since 1990, it is not only merchandise that members of American faith communities have been exporting to Russia, but Calvinistic principles, too. The religion that has spread only by way of television broadcasts and books, without personal contacts with teachers, was unknown before the present day.

Spiritual Paths: Path of Life, Journey to the Beyond, and Arts of the Way

4. Pilgrim paths and processional routes are 'localities' that can be actually apprehended, part of human traffic systems, created for the activities of walking, riding, traveling. From them is derived the great, widespread picture of the spiritual way. In different cultures, the religious symbol of 'journey' is that of a journey to a remote (final) goal, or of a return to an earlier point. Accordingly, the life of the individual believer can be seen graphically

as a 'path of life,' which is to be brought under control, and which, in some instances, can be prolonged, with a 'trans-ition'—a 'going across'—to other worlds, or a journey to the beyond.

Moral Ways

A familiar motif in many religious traditions is that of a person's *decision between a morally good and morally evil way* or path. It occurs in conjunction not only with the passage into another realm after death, of course, but also with the life decisions of maturation ('Hercules at the fork in the road'; edifying and instructive images of pietism). In literature, often at the end of a lengthy road stands the transformation and elevation of the 'real' journey into a journey to spiritual worlds. Now the route itself becomes the dramatic stage of wisdom, and the seeker after truth is transformed and elevated as well. In one of the most ancient known epics, the Babylonian saga of Gilgamesh, demigod Gilgamesh investigates his fate by wandering from place to place. A 'human scorpion' asks him: "Wherefore hast thou traversed so long a road, indeed hast come out to me, hast crossed laboriously to encumbering streams? I would fain know with what thou art concerned!" Gilgamesh responds: "For the sake of Utnapishtum, my forebear! That one stepped into the divine chariot, went to life! Of life and death will I ask him!"[2] The 'nomadic alternative' (Bruce Chatwin) of the achievement of knowledge along routes and ways transforms everyday experience into 'spiritual.'

Passages to the Beyond

However, religions have their directions, and know road markers, over ways to unknown worlds as well: namely, for the assumption into heaven, and the passage to the Realm of the Dead. Detailed descriptions were given by the Indians of South America, by the shamans of Mongolia and Siberia, in ancient gnostic documents, and in the tokens of the 'valleys of the dead' that accompanied the members of ancient Greek Orphic unification cults into their graves, descriptions handed down and recorded—to prevent believers from taking the wrong path to the beyond.

Teachings and Arts of the Way

Small wonder, in the presence of this pregnant abundance of word and act, if in many religions, 'path' can stand metaphorically for religious practice across the board, indeed for the religious community itself. Thus, 'the way' (in Gk., *hê hodós*; as early as post-Exilic Judaism, Heb., *derekh*) is the self-designation of the primitive Christian community (e.g. Acts 9:2, 19:9). Buddhism's orientation is to the Eightfold Path (in Skt., *ashtangika-mārga*), and to the great and small 'vehicles' (in Skt., *Mahāyāna, hīnayāna*. Dao or *dao/dō*, the onomastic basic concept of → Daoism, also means 'way,' to which relate the Chinese-Japanese arts of the way—*kyū-dō*, 'way of the bow,' *ken-dō*, 'way of the sword,' etc. (→ Martial Arts) It is easy to follow a transfer of the conceptualization of the 'way' to the notion of a spiritual route in Islam, as well. There, the concept *sunna* originally meant the habitual way of the Bedouin tribes to drinking water. In the transferred sense, the Islamic concept is applied in religious linguistic usage for the 'wont' (especially that of the Prophet), as concerning the life or certain pronouncements of the Prophet. This is the derivation of today's (self-) designation of the Sunnites, the followers of one of the two large subgroups in Islam (along with the Shia; → Islam).

The Way as Goal

5. In Romanticism, wandering became an ideal, and a religious experience. Novalis wrote of the quest for the 'blue flower' (*Heinrich von Ofterdingen*,

1802), which became the model for the longings of the later *Wanderjugend*. With the construction of highways, driving and 'moving ahead' often itself became the ecstatic experience (with travelers 'drunk with velocity' and automotive 'freedom'), and not arrival at a sacred place. On the other hand, beginning in the 1950s, beatniks and hippies resumed the quest for meaning 'on the road'—the programmatic title of Jack Kerouac's novel (1958). Some found a new object for their spiritual quest in India. With nothing but a backpack, they demonstrated an alternative route, one that departed the material world and the 'establishment' (even the Christian religious one), and turned to quasi-monastic communes like the → Osho movement ashram in Poona, in India. Political movements, in the tradition of the worker movement, likewise use the street as their public place: the 1970s and 1980s were the great period of the demonstrations and Easter parades of the peace movement, and of the opponents of atomic power. Everyday life in modern times is of course becoming more and more independent of consecrated places. Persons are becoming ever freer from sacred time and holy place. Considered superficially, the churches, mosques, temples, and synagogues are enclaves in a 'rationalized' culture. Perhaps, however, this is not actually the way it is. In many countries, upon dismissing or taking one's leave of a person, it is still customary to commend her or him to God. The French say 'Adieu,' the Spanish 'Adios,' the Germans 'Ade,' and those whose language is English, 'Goodbye' ('God be with you').

1. Wrede, Henning, "Herme," in RAC 14 (1988), 701-722; Burkert, Walter, Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical, Oxford 1985.
2. Schott, Albert/von Soden, Wolfram (eds.), Das Gilgamesch-Epos, Stuttgart 1982 ([1]1958), plate IX.

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→ *Landscape, Pilgrimage, Place (Sacred), Tourism*

Esther Kraus

Romanticism

On the Concept

1. The roots of the word 'romantic' lie in the Old French folk substantive *romanz*. The adjective was first transferred, in 1680 at the latest, to England, with the ambivalent signification (still retained today) of a sublimation (of some reality) with an orientation to interiority. Further: 'Romanticism' in the stricter sense identifies the era, almost entirely German, in the history of culture, between classicism or the Enlightenment and early industrialization—an era dated c. 1786/98 to 1815/35. Here was a period in which

precisely the 'aestheticizing' contemplation of reality adapted itself to the program of the "art that incites the disposition of the heart" (Novalis) that transcended all types of culture. Instead of the old, chronological, interior differentiation of the era into early, high, and late Romanticism, an internal differentiation gradually got under way, listing specific forms of the various (literary, artistic, musical, political, religious, etc.) 'Romanticisms.' Each of the latter had its own developmental history—and of course, giving names to 'classic' Romantic products of art now became correspondingly more difficult. Somewhat less disputed is the notion that the programs of Romanticism can be found especially with the early Friedrich Schlegel, while, on the other hand, the theory of Romanticism will be that of August Wilhelm Schlegel's Berlin lectures, "Über schöne Kunst und Literatur" (Ger., "Fine Arts and Literature"; 1801–1804) or Viennese lectures, "Über dramatische Kunst und Literatur" (Ger., "Dramatic Art and Literature"; 1898).

On the Religious Structure of Experience of Nature

2. The extent to which this systematization of the Romantic, from the very beginning, possessed a religious 'inner lining' will best be grasped in the classic formulae of Romanticism's own self-exposition. Thus, Novalis (i.e., Friedrich von Hardenberg) designates the sense of Romanticism as that of giving "the common a high sense, the ordinary a mysterious aspect, the known the worth of the unknown, the finite a glow of the infinite."[1] Jean Paul explains: "The Romantic is the Beautiful without limit, or the beautiful Infinite";[2] and Bettina von Arnim can even describe the entire Romantic artistic endeavor as a "spelling out of the divine (creative) 'Let there be . . .' "[3] In the several governing Romantic means of expression, not only in literature, but in all of the arts, the experience of nature is sublimated in the lyrical, the symbolical, the allegorical, and the mythological (→ Nature). One and all, they serve to bring to expression the indicative character of the earthly (Eichendorff), and the infinite as interwoven with the finite: "The higher world is closer to us than we ordinarily think [. . .]. Most intimately, we glimpse it interwoven with nature."[4] Especially, it is to this 'aestheticizing' event itself—and not only to the finalized artistic product, for example, the presentation of a → landscape as a religious object (C. D. Friedrich)—that the specifically religious valence adapts itself. Its roots lie partly in the discovery of the pre- and subconscious (K. Ph. Moritz, C. G. Carus), and partly—in connection with the former—in a professionalizing of the direction of perception to the organic, in which the practice of the perception of a landscape advances to constitute the paradigm of religious perception. Consequently, the artistic and the religious practice of the 'productive aesthetic' also runs its course in its quality as bolster of the strivings of art and religion for 'autonomization.' Thus, these practices are comparable to each other in their tendency not only to liquefy all 'solid orders,' and set them flowing, but also to absolutize the areas of art and religion (→ Art Religion). Simultaneously, of course, one observes a progressive fusion of this religious dimension of Romanticism with the institutionalized forms of Christian, especially Roman Catholic, religion, church, and theology. It effects a waxing uniformity, and partly, as well, a clericalization of the Romantic Movement.

This movement accompanies a 'type switch' within its community of protagonists, and leads to its abandonment by its one-time vehicles—H. Heine, 1835, for example, with the remarkable self-characterization that he was a *romantique defroqué* (Fr., 'unfrocked Romantic'), a Romantic who has discarded the vesture of the order's 'habit.'

On Religious Practice

3. To be sure, these developments were favored by the fact that tendencies creative of religion emerged so early in the literary, philosophical, and artistic Romantics. Literary Romanticism had long since evinced a certain affinity for Christianity—especially, for example, for 'book piety.' This tendency registers in the manifold attempts—that furthered the self-presentation of the Romantic Movement—at a functional literary canon-formation:

- Ludwig Tieck's rediscovery of the Old German minnesinger literature (1803);
- The collection of old German *Lieder*, under the title *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (Ger., "The Boy's Miraculous Horn"), due to the friendship of Achim von Arnim and Clemens von Brentano;
- The 'discovery,' of fairytales and folk myths, by Joseph Görres (*Die teutschen Volksbücher* (Ger., "The Old-German Folk Books"; 1807; *Altdeutsche Volks- und Meisterlieder* (Ger., "Old-German Folk and Troubadour *Lieder*"; 1817), as well as of that of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Ger., "Children's and Home Fairytales"; 1812–1815) by the Brothers Grimm;
- Finally, the turn to the 'night side of religion,' to mysticism, ecstatic elevation, possession, magic (J. Görres, *Die christliche Mystik*, Ger., "Christian Mysticism," 4 vols.; 1836–1842), as well as to symbolism, mythology, and secret doctrine (Friedrich Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen*, Ger., "Symbolism and Mythology of the Ancient Peoples, Especially the Greek," 4 vols.; 1810–1812).

This affinity favored the constructions—intended to attach to and surpass Christianity—of a messianic 'new mythology,' with F. Schlegel, or a triadically structured panentheism, with Novalis. Formally, these dimensions of Romanticism that are akin to Christianity were fashioned in such a way as to be useful for institutionalized Christianity; but then, their utility would next be on the Evangelical side, namely, in Friedrich Schleiermacher's conception of autonomous Christian piety, and his Christological sketch of a convergence between God's self-revelation and the immediate self-awareness of the religious subject.

The Movement of Catholic Romanticism

On the Catholic side, on the other hand, one could actually speak of a formal movement of 'Catholic Romanticism,' that, between 1800 and about 1850, established various local and personal centers of gravity. Thus, in Münster, a group formed around Count Stolberg, in Landshut around J.-M. Sailer, and, in Vienna particularly around Friedrich Schlegel (who converted to Catholicism in 1808), C. M. Hofbauer, and preacher Zacharias Werner. In Munich, Franz von Baader seeks ties with theosophical traditions, Joseph Görres with the tradition of a primitive religion, and Clemens von Brentano with mysticism. Johann Adam Möhler (*Symbolik, oder Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten*, Ger., "Symbolism, or Presentation of the Dogmatic Oppositions of the Catholics and Protestants"; 1832), and Franz Anton Staudenmaier (*Der Geist des Christentums*, "The Spirit of Christianity," 2 vols.; 1835) were with the Catholic Tübingen school around Johann Sebastian Drey. Through these thinkers' program of a connection between historical and speculative thought, Catholic Romanticism also gained influence in the academic theological milieu.

On the Dimension of the Social, Political, and Sociological

4. Religion-impregnated Romanticism is characterized by a societal and future-related pathos of change, that, in multiple respects, evinces functional equivalents to the French Revolution, modeled on specifically German relations. These modelings bear especially on the fact that, from the beginning, the concept of Romanticism fostered individual and collective orientation that restricted religious and political elements. Correspondingly, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the context of Europe's political 'new order,' the religious and the national dimensions of the Romantic Movement turn out to be inseparable. This correlation is copied once again in the sociogram of those groups of Romantics who—as F. Schlegel put it, early in his writing—came forward with the aim, externally, of a new Church, but internally, with that of a republican community.

This limitation of the religious and the national is also shown, for example, by the fact that, in both areas, the Romantics' durable 'movements of quest' obey parallel dynamics. To the gradual reshaping of Romanticism's religious dimension—from the philosophical to the mystical mode—corresponds the gradual reshaping of the 'political national' dimension of Romanticism: from the form inspired by revolution, to the republican and conservative form, to apocalyptical forms. The history of the development of Romanticism, then, in the area of the religious, as in the area of the 'political national,' reveals a tendency—resting on reciprocal causality—to the gradual 'self-hermeticization' of the Romantic protagonists.

Reception

Part of the contemporary criticism of Romanticism was directed against the Romantic Movement's 'mustily Catholic' medieval yen (H. Heine); and part comported the attempt to validate basic liberal Protestant propositions mounted against the restoration of clerical Romanticism (J. H. Voss, with an appeal to the Hegelian criticism of T. Echtermeyer and A. Ruge). The striking thing is that the great nineteenth-century critics of Romanticism (Goethe, Heine, Haym, Kierkegaard, → Nietzsche, Wagner) actually, in the most varied ways, remain tied to its fundamental ideas, and thereby reflect the movement's inner ambivalence. Then, again, twentieth-century reception of Romanticism (C. Schmitt, W. Benjamin, G. Lukács, E. Troeltsch, J. Habermas, M. Frank) prefers to concentrate on these ambivalences, such as, for instance, the obvious simultaneity of Romanticism's progressive and the reactionary elements. Yet to be elucidated, in terms of the history of scholarship, would be, for instance, the emergence of the history of religion and myth from the spirit of Romanticism (G. F. Creuzer, J. Görres, J. J. Bachofen), the roots of the expansion of norm criticism and perspective, in the religious theories of the nineteenth century, to the 'existential' phenomena of piety from the spirit of Romantic aesthetics, and the genre-specific multiplicity of literary publicists' expressive forms of 'existential' piety.

1. Novalis, Schriften. Die Werke Friedrich von Hardenbergs, ed. Paul Kluckhohn et al., vol. 2, Stuttgart [2]1960, 545.
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→ *Art Religion, Emotions/Feelings, Landscape, Nature, Nature Piety, Revolution*

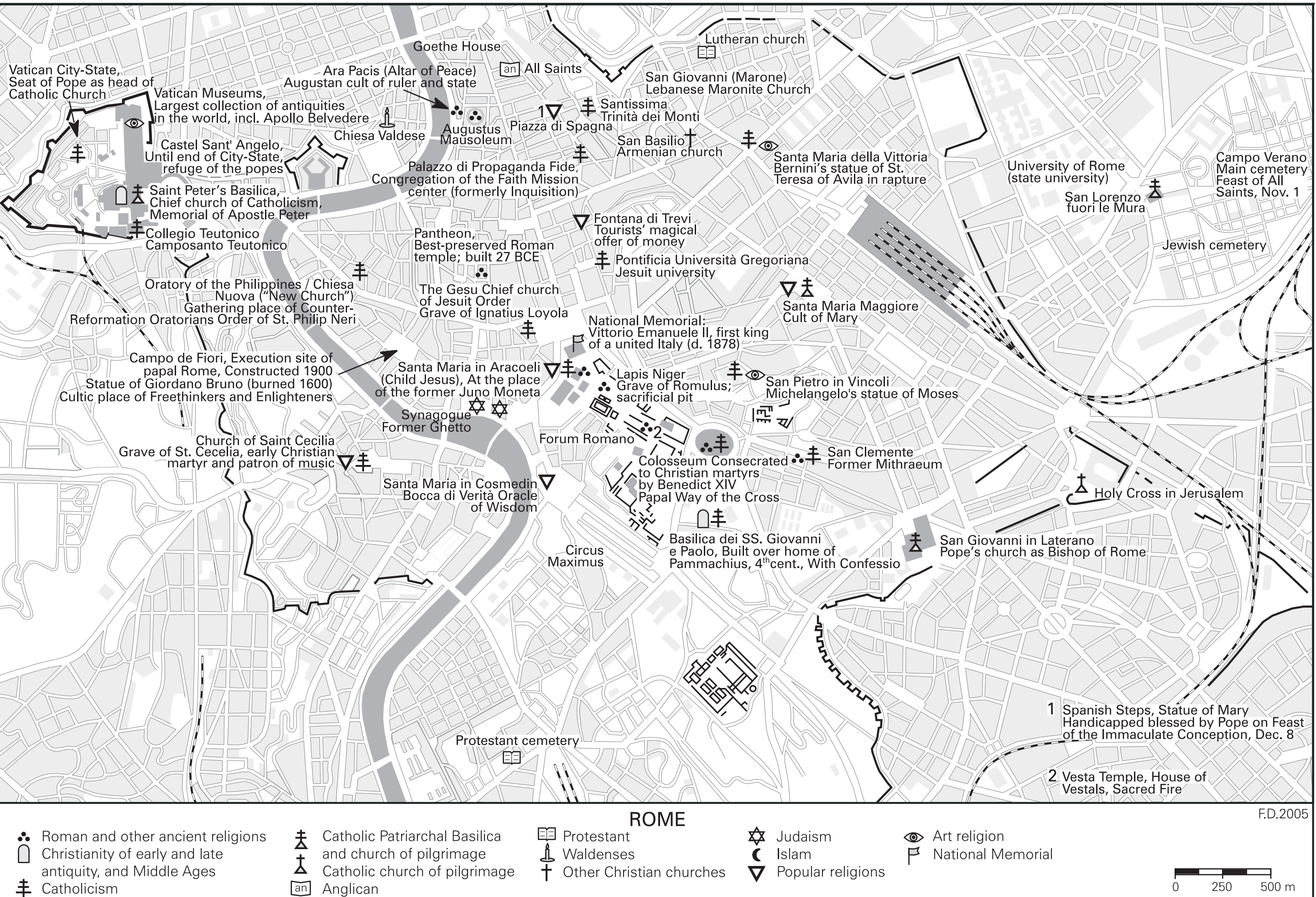
Christian Albrecht

Rome

1. The city of Rome is unlikely to be overlooked in a context of the political and religious history of Europe. A person speaking altogether generally of Rome does not usually have in mind the capital of Italy, with some three million inhabitants, but the former center of the Roman Empire, or the center of Catholic Christianity. Rome's function as a religious center is solidly fastened in the consciousness of Western culture.

Unlike → Jerusalem, however, Rome was never a 'holy' city in the strict sense. Rome did not receive its special role principally by way of a religious meaning, but first and foremost by way of the fact that it was the capital city of the *Imperium Romanum*. Even when it had lost this function in late antiquity, the political claim to be the 'head of the world' (*caput mundi*) was maintained under the popes until into the Middle Ages, and finally, was briefly revived under Mussolini and Italian Fascism.

Rome attained to the status of a supra-regional religious center only late, in its capacity as seat of the Catholic popes. Their claim on a leading role within Christianity was originally derived from the fact that, on the one hand, as bishops of Rome, they were the de facto successors of the Roman emperors as metropolitan rulers of the *caput mundi*, and on the other, they stood in the direct succession of the Apostle Peter, and therefore enjoyed a special role in religious questions. The popes' 'primacy of jurisdiction,' deduced from that special role by Catholic theology—that is, the claim on the right to ultimate decision-making in questions of religious law—has always been rejected by other Christian churches. In most Orthodox Churches, nevertheless, a 'primacy of honor' ascribed to the Roman bishops is regarded as altogether acceptable. In this sense, then, among the various episcopal sees, the City of Rome is still accorded the primacy.


Goethe House
Lutheran church
Vatican City-State, Seat of Pope as head of Catholic Church
Ara Pacis (Altar of Peace) Augustan cult of ruler and state
All Saints
San Giovanni (Marone) Lebanese Maronite Church
Vatican Museums, Largest collection of antiquities in the world, incl. Apollo Belvedere
Santissima Trinità dei Monti
Augustus Mausoleum
Piazza di Spagna
Chiesa Valdese
San Basilio Armenian church
Castel Sant' Angelo, Until end of City-State, refuge of the popes
Santa Maria della Vittoria Bernini's statue of St. Teresa of Avila in rapture
Palazzo di Propaganda Fide, Congregation of the Faith Mission center (formerly Inquisition)
University of Rome (state university)
Campo Verano Main cemetery Feast of All Saints, Nov. 1
San Lorenzo fuori le Mura
Saint Peter's Basilica, Chief church of Catholicism, Memorial of Apostle Peter
Collegio Teutonico Camposanto Teutonico
Fontana di Trevi Tourists' magical offer of money
Pantheon, Best-preserved Roman temple; built 27 BCE
Jewish cemetery
Pontificia Università Gregoriana Jesuit university
Oratory of the Philippines / Chiesa Nuova ("New Church") Gathering place of Counter-Reformation Oratorians Order of St. Philip Neri
The Gesu Chief church of Jesuit Order Grave of Ignatius Loyola
Santa Maria Maggiore Cult of Mary
National Memorial: Vittorio Emanuele II, first king of a united Italy (d. 1878)
Campo de Fiori, Execution site of papal Rome, Constructed 1900 Statue of Giordano Bruno (burned 1600) Cultic place of Freethinkers and Enlighteners
Santa Maria in Aracoeli (Child Jesus), At the place of the former Juno Moneta
Lapis Niger Grave of Romulus; sacrificial pit
San Pietro in Vincoli Michelangelo's statue of Moses
Synagogue Former Ghetto
Forum Romano
Church of Saint Cecilia Grave of St. Cecelia, early Christian martyr and patron of music
Colosseum Consecrated to Christian martyrs by Benedict XIV Papal Way of the Cross
San Clemente Former Mithraeum
Santa Maria in Cosmedin Bocca di Verità Oracle of Wisdom
Holy Cross in Jerusalem
Basilica dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Built over home of Pammachius, 4th cent., With Confessio
Circus Maximus
San Giovanni in Laterano Pope's church as Bishop of Rome
1 Spanish Steps, Statue of Mary Handicapped blessed by Pope on Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Dec. 8
Protestant cemetery
2 Vesta Temple, House of Vestals, Sacred Fire
ROME
F.D.2005
Roman and other ancient religions
Christianity of early and late antiquity, and Middle Ages
Catholicism
Catholic Patriarchal Basilica and church of pilgrimage
Catholic church of pilgrimage
Anglican
Protestant
Waldenses
Other Christian churches
Judaism
Islam
Popular religions
Art religion
National Memorial
0 250 500 m

The Rome of Ancient Times

2. According to tradition, Rome was founded by Romulus in 753 BCE. This tale is a legend, granted, but it is true that the earliest archaeological traces of a settlement on the Palatine Hill can be dated back as far as the eighth century BCE. The interesting thing here is that the founding of the city is connected with a religious action: Romulus plows a furrow around the future city area, and determines the so-called *Pomerium*, the sacred center of the city, from which everything military is banned. Thus, the *Comitia Centuriata*, the republican popular assemblies, which were organized according to the military census, might take place only outside of this district. The military power of the consuls also came into force only with the abandonment of the Pomerium. Regular troops were not permitted—at least originally—within this district. From the fourth century BCE, to be sure, the area of the Roman settlement was no longer identical with 'sacred' Rome, although the sacred boundary continued to stand.

First and foremost, Roman religion always was a city religion, and the Rome of antiquity never attained to the status of a supra-regional religious center. Nearly all priests and other religious officers were responsible for Roman city worship alone. The Emperor himself, as 'High Priest' (*Pontifex Maximus*)—contrary to common opinion—had no oversight over all other non-Roman religions and cults in the Empire. The office of *Pontifex Maximus* was always an office of the city of Rome, and not of the Empire. Only the popes, after adopting this title, connected it with a universal claim.

From the outset, to be sure, Rome was a kind of religious melting pot. All great cults and religious communities of the Imperium Romanum (for example, the devotion to Mithras, or the Jews) were also to be found in Rome. This presence, however, resulted from the fact that the city was the capital of the Empire, and not from any status of Rome as a 'holy' city. No one went on 'pilgrimage' to Rome on religious grounds. Immigrants often brought in new cults, such as that of Isis, or of Serapis. Surely there was the religio-political tendency, even in the early Republic, officially to introduce important devotions and deities from other regions: in 396 BCE, Juno of Veji; in 293 BC, Asclepius of Epidaurus; or 204 BCE, the Magna Mater, from Pessinus in Asia Minor.

Christian Rome

3. The beginnings of Christianity in Rome reach back to the first century. It was only in late antiquity, however, under Emperor Constantine I (reigned 306–337), that Christians began to mark the image of the city of Rome. While their assemblies had previously been held in private homes (not, as frequently imagined, in the catacombs, which were only burial places), now the Emperor financed great sacred edifices. True, he most often had them built outside the city center, and not on public property; and yet on imperial domain. Of particular importance are:

1. The *Basilica of Saint Peter (San Pietro)*, on the Vatican Hill, built over the supposed grave of the Apostle Peter, and today the center of the ecclesiastical papal state;

2. The *Lateran Basilica (San Giovanni in Laterano)*, on whose grounds, originally, a cavalry barracks of the Imperial bodyguard was to be found, and which still today is the authentic episcopal church of Rome;

3. The *Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls (S. Paolo fuori le mura)*, built outside the city wall, over the supposed grave of the Apostle Paul.

In the succeeding time, the building of Christian churches pressed on, and they were built partially over existing private sanctuaries. Thus, the Ba-

silica of Saint Clement lies atop a temple of Mithras. In the fifth and sixth centuries, medium-sized basilicas (S. Maria Maggiore, S. Sabina, S. Vitale) progressively replaced private home churches.

With the abolition of imperial power, the Roman bishops gradually attained to the role of city rulers of Rome, and, over the course of time, assumed all state duties, from care of the population to urban construction. Until well into the High Middle Ages, popes were usually recruited from the Roman city nobility, with whom—and against whom—they governed the city, and upon whom they were more or less dependent. The papacy was thereby a city office, with a universal claim to power beyond the city limits! One example: the circumstance that only the pope, as ruler of the city and superior of the Church, could crown the German king Emperor of Rome. As ruler of ancient Rome, the pope bestowed the dignity of Emperor; as Bishop of Rome and "Vicar of Christ," he conferred political power over Christianity.

The extent to which medieval Rome was dependent on the popes can be seen in the case of the deterioration and fall of the city in the fourteenth century, during the 'Babylonian Captivity' of the popes at Avignon. From 1309–1367, no pope resided in Rome, which therefore rapidly decayed, becoming meaningless as a city. True, pilgrims continued to journey to Rome, but, without the pope, the city lost its function as the center of Western Christianity. Finally, after the end of the Great Western Schism (1378–1417), and the new strengthening of the papacy, the Rome of the next centuries gained a high status once more. During the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation, not only was the city built up, it developed into a center for artists and scholars. Not even the plundering by Imperial troops in the year 1527 (*sacco di Roma*, Ital., 'sack of Rome') caused any really lasting damage.

The next genuinely deep caesura in the history of Rome was the unification of Italy at the close of the nineteenth century, and the elevation of Rome to the status of capital of Italy (1871). At this point in time, the rule of the popes over the city, and the bordering ecclesiastical state, ended, and only in 1929 was the position of the pope within Rome definitively normalized with the Treaty of the Lateran, as the Vatican was declared a sovereign state.

Rome as Center of Pilgrimage

4. Relatively early, pilgrims already sought out Christian Rome, as here were the graves of Peter and Paul, greatest among the Apostles. A veritable flood of pilgrims inundated the city on the occasion of Boniface VIII's proclamation of the 'Holy Year' 1300. Since then, this event has taken place at intervals of twenty-five years (originally one hundred, then thirty-three), with 'extraordinary' Holy Years, such as 1983 in celebration of the nineteen-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Christ's salvific death and resurrection. In connection with the pilgrimage in such a 'year of Jubilee' (see Lev 25) comes a plenary indulgence. In order to receive this latter, besides confession and Communion, a visit to the four major churches of Rome (Saint Peter's Basilica, the Cathedral of Saint John Lateran, Saint Mary Major, and Saint Paul Outside the Walls) is prescribed.

But with modern mass transportation, Rome is the goal of the world's Catholic pilgrims not only every twenty-fifth year, but almost constantly. At every public papal appearance, thousands of persons are regularly present, so that here the boundaries between tourism and pilgrimage are surely fleeting. At the beginning of the third millennium, then, Rome seems to be building up its religious function as center of the Catholic world. Much of

this is occurring thanks to the media. Every year, at Easter and Christmas, the papal blessing *Urbi et Orbi* (Lat., "To the City and to the World") is broadcast 'live' across the globe. The attached indulgence even reaches the 'pilgrims in spirit' who have remained at home. Thus, Rome regularly enters the consciousness of millions of persons as a religious center.

First and foremost, Rome is indeed the center of the Catholic world. It must not be overlooked, however, that, meanwhile, like all 'great cities of the world,' Rome is multi-religious. During the 1990s, for example, in the North of the city, the largest mosque in Italy was built for immigrant workers.

Rome as an Idea

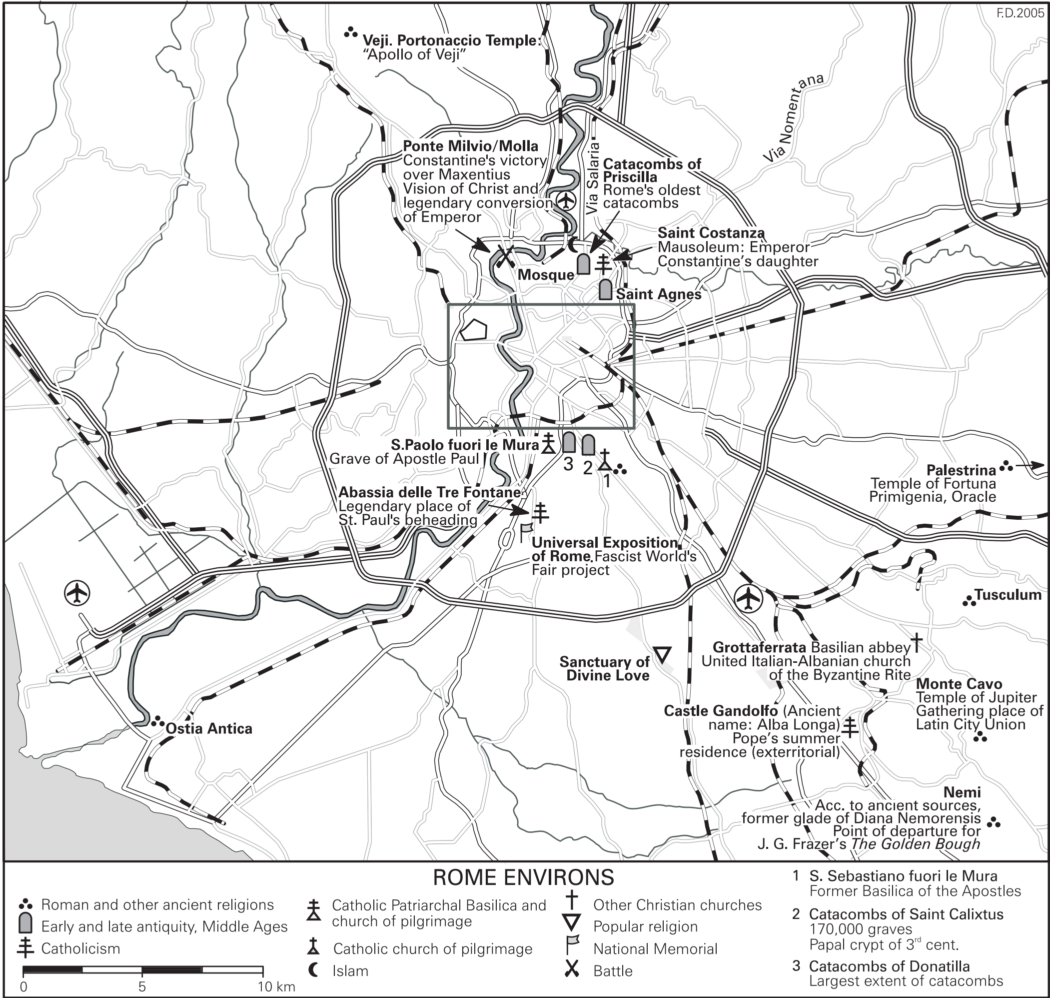
5. Far more powerful in its effect than the actually existing city of Rome, was Rome as an ideal quantity. This concept received its most prominent stamp in ancient times at the hands of Roman poet Virgil (70–19 BCE): Jupiter bestowed upon Rome an *imperium sine fine* (Lat., 'rule without end'). It was not only Rome's right, but also its duty, to govern the peoples of the world, and thus to bring them peace. For the early Church, Rome at first still represented the 'great whore of Babylon' (see, e.g., Acts 14:8), and 'Edom' for the Jews. Nevertheless, with the Christianization of the Roman Empire, the ancient 'ideology of Rome' was fairly quickly adopted, and re-interpreted in Christian concepts. Although ancient Rome gradually lost its significance as a political center—the Emperor no longer even resided in the city—its ideological function grew ever stronger. For early Christianity, Rome even became the symbol of salvation history: so long as Rome should stand, so long would the Last Judgment upon the world be delayed. The capture of Rome by the Visigoths, in the year 410, therefore produced its shock particularly in Christian circles; → Augustine sought to counter its terror with his doctrine of the Two Cities or empires, the earthly and the heavenly, then featured in his chef-d'oeuvre of political theology, *De Civitate Dei* (Lat., "The City of God"; 413–426 CE). Notwithstanding, Rome remained the ideologically lofty, ideal center of the world, until well into the Middle Ages. Constantinople, established in its role as new capital, was only styled 'Second Rome' (*Roma Secunda*) or 'New Rome' (*Roma Nova*). The extent to which the dignity of Emperor continued to attach no longer to the real city, but to the symbol, of Rome, is manifested in the fifteenth century: with the transfer of the East Roman imperial capital to that of the Russian Czars: now Moscow became—the Third—Rome. Finally, in the context of → civil religion, the idea of Rome as the center and redeemer of the world entered modern discourse as well.

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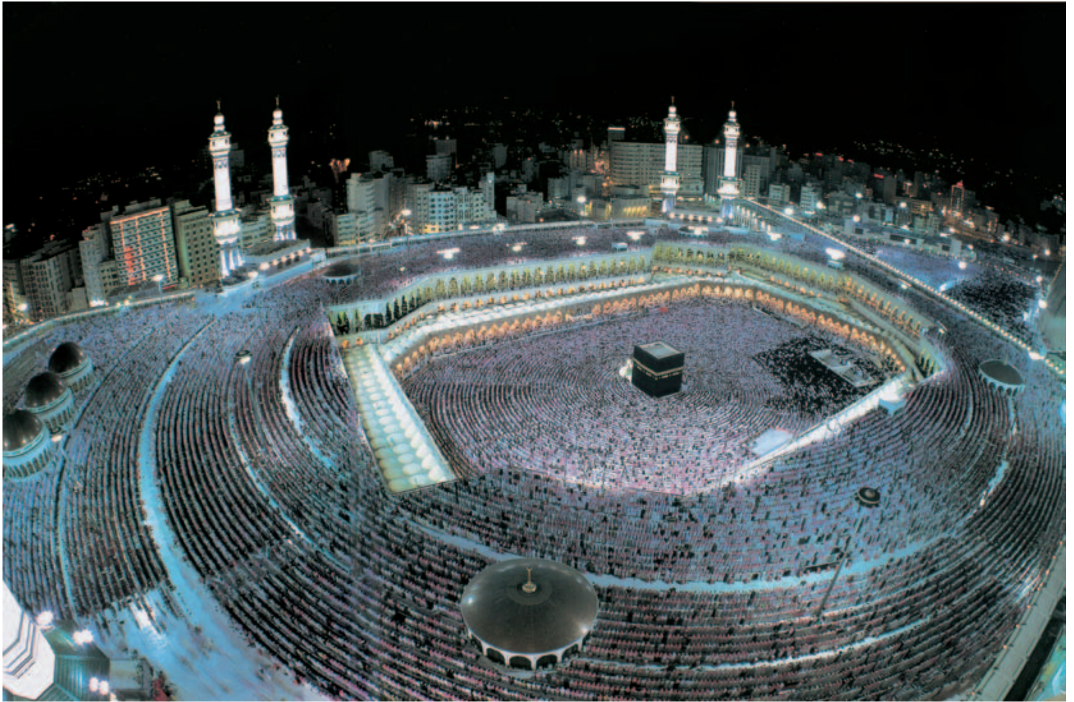
→ *Antiquity, Catholicism, Christianity, European History of Religion, Late Antiquity, Mediterranean Region*

Markus E. Fuchs


F.D.2005
Veji. Portonaccio Temple: "Apollo of Veji"
Via Nomentana
Ponte Milvio/Molla
Constantine's victory over Maxentius
Vision of Christ and legendary conversion of Emperor
Via Salaria
Catacombs of Priscilla
Rome's oldest catacombs
Saint Costanza
Mausoleum: Emperor Constantine's daughter
Mosque
Saint Agnes
S.Paolo fuori le Mura
Grave of Apostle Paul
3
2
1
Palestrina
Temple of Fortuna Primigenia, Oracle
Abassia delle Tre Fontane
Legendary place of St. Paul's beheading
Universal Exposition of Rome, Fascist World's Fair project
Tusculum
Sanctuary of Divine Love
Grottaferrata Basilian abbey
United Italian-Albanian church of the Byzantine Rite
Monte Cavo
Temple of Jupiter
Gathering place of Latin City Union
Castle Gandolfo (Ancient name: Alba Longa)
Pope's summer residence (exterritorial)
Ostia Antica
Nemi
Acc. to ancient sources, former glade of Diana Nemorensis
Point of departure for J. G. Frazer's The Golden Bough
ROME ENVIRONS
Roman and other ancient religions
Early and late antiquity, Middle Ages
Catholicism
Catholic Patriarchal Basilica and church of pilgrimage
Catholic church of pilgrimage
Islam
Other Christian churches
Popular religion
National Memorial
Battle
0
5
10 km
1 S. Sebastiano fuori le Mura
Former Basilica of the Apostles
2 Catacombs of Saint Calixtus
170,000 graves
Papal crypt of 3rd cent.
3 Catacombs of Donatilla
Largest extent of catacombs



In Momostenago, in Southern Guatemala, an endangered marriage is healed. The couple kneels before the three small crosses. After the husband, some months ago, had been unfaithful to her, the wife besought help of the shamans. A penance was imposed on the husband, his wife has left him, and now he is to be restored to the condition of purity, and the marriage is to be reestablished. For the celebration of the renewal of the marriage bond (*renovación*), the shaman has selected a favorable date in the Mayan calendar. In the ceremony, he stands next to the couple, dressed in blue, while an assistant (right) casts sacrificial gifts into the fire. Around the fire lie readily burnable pine branches. Shells to hold the *copal* (the indispensable sweet-scented smoking resin) stand ready. The shaman calls the gods to witness. In conclusion, the pair is once more blessed, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. The mutual presence of both indigenous and Christian elements, typical of the region, is evident here in the Mayan Quiché ritual. (Kirsten Holzapfel)



Doubtless the most stunning and aesthetically positive example of an ornamental mass is the massive, concentric prayer mass that comes into being when, during the month of pilgrimage, one to two million Muslims travel to → Mecca in fulfillment of their religious duty and assemble around the Ka'aba. The onlooker does not know which to find more astonishing: the organizational achievement—so many persons gathered in so narrow a space—or the discipline of the believers. The geometry of this mass arises by way of the fact that, on the ground, circular lines have been drawn, upon which respective prayer areas are marked. This mass ornament comports an impressive symbolism: it is constantly directed toward the center of belief, the Black Stone. (Hubert Mohr)



The picture shows a typical monastic religious service of the Orthodox Church, celebrated by a bishop, with several archimandrites, abbots, deacons, and monks. As spiritual superior, the bishop stands in the center of the podium, facing the altar. He wears the *sakkos* and the *omophorion* (corresponding to the Western *pallium*). To the right and left of the bishop stand two deacons, and one sub-deacon who holds the bishop's crosier. To the left of the altar stand four archimandrites (highest monastic title), wearing miters as a sign of their dignity. To the right of the altar stand several *igoumens* (abbots) and priest-monks, who wear the *klobuk* (a high hat with a veil in the back) as a sign of their priesthood and monasticism. The sub-deacons (left), who carry fans (*repids*) or candles, underscore the festal character of the divine service.

Even the divine services of a simple city parish or village are saturated with an atmosphere that 'brings heaven to earth': in the light of burning candles—reflected in their multiple images in the icons—with their splendid liturgical raiment and their solemn, beautifully harmonized singing. (F. Schnider)



Pallazolo Aereide, Sicily, June 29, 1 p.m. “Now! A roar, as if a storm were brewing. Canons sputter sparks, and shoot long, colorful paper strips high into the air over the statue of the Patron. Cherry bombs explode, the church bells resound, applause, tinny music. The Paolo! Paolo!—cries, again . . . Clouds of smoke hang in the air and darken the sun, little colored cards rain down, with the saint’s picture on them.” German journalist Barbara Baumgartner portrays the high point of the local festival year of a farming town west of Syracuse, as an event that bewitches and stuns the senses. All senses are engaged, the whole town is buzzing, when, on the feast of his patronage, Saint Paul is borne from the church to the piazza by the male village youth—at least downtown; uptown has its Saint Sebastian. The feast of the saint of a quarter gives occasion to reverse the country drab of the everyday in one grand explosion: instead of ocher and gray, now yellow and red prevail, instead of the quiet of the noonday heat the noise of the crowd and the playing of the *banda*, the music band, instead of the abandoned spaces of siesta time the seething, shouting → mass. For many, this is too much, as for Sicilian writer Leonardo Scascia: “But what is a religious festival in Sicily? The simplest answer would be, ‘anything but a religious feast.’ ” But is this not being a ‘spoilsport’?



A follower of Afro-Cuban Santería becomes a medium of the god Shango. Assisted by the cult leader, he has allowed the god take possession of him, clothing himself in the god's color (red), and assuming his attribute, the double axe. Shango is one of the Orisha, deities of Yoruba (Nigeria), who have come to the Caribbean region. The picture shows the moment at which the dancer is 'seized' by the being of the god. His eyes stare into the void: he is transported in trance. The ritual goes on for days, accompanied by singing and drums. Each Orisha has a personal musical rhythm, which accompanies the possession. (Kirsten Holzapfel)



Two guardian figures watch over a road on the Indonesian island of Bali. The elevated throne provides a good vantage, and, along with the honorific umbrellas, lends dignity and authority. Pairs of 'watchers' like these frequently protect the entrance of a temple: there they mark the place of crossing into sacred space. The figures here have been clothed in aprons of *poleng* material. Unlike other, finer and expensive materials, *poleng* is woven of only two kinds of thread, or, as shown here, is printed in a checkerboard pattern. The black-and-white pattern of the *poleng* stands for the opposites in the whole, the twofold principle, whose place in the Balinese world-image is decisive. Spatially, they provide the orientation of the Balinese system: north and south, sunrise and sunset, and especially, those topographical opposites of the island, mountain and sea. Furthermore, the colors are attributed divine and demonic qualities, respectively: white stands for the arts of healing and the ability to apply them, black stands for the injuries of the insalubrious. The guardians wear *poleng* as a sign that they are protectors, as well, and ready to offer defense, and therefore are at the right place when stationed on critical stretches of roads, and at crossings. (Kirsten Holzapfel)



Someone, about midnight on December 30, 1986, has built an altar, with sacrificial gifts for Pomba Gira, at the place where a road intersects with Avenida Atlántica, at the southern end of Copacabana Beach in Rio de Janeiro. The goddess is being offered candles, cachaca whiskey, cigarettes, and a red rose. This devotional practice shows a connection, not untypical for Brazil, to religious elements from West Africa and Congo. The West African deity who watches over intersections, known to the Yoruba as Eshu Elegba, and in Dahomey as Legba, is of the male sex, and is frequently represented with an erect phallus. The kind of apparition of Brazilian Exu (related to Yoruba "Eshu") specific for Rio is female, and her name Pomba Gira is derived from the Ki-Congo word *mpambu zila* ('crossroad'). The inflammable gifts (candles, whiskey, cigarettes), as well, point to the religious practice of Congo. The cigarettes offered here at the T-shaped intersection have been arranged in the shape of miniature crossroads. It may be that here, the protection of the goddess has been besought in order to find an escape from a particularly dangerous situation, perhaps in the life of business or love. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

Sabbath → Sunday/Sabbath

Sacrifice

1. On New Year's Eve, on the beaches of Rio de Janeiro, toilet articles for women, champagne, mineral water, white corn pudding, or flowers are placed in the water. It is the festival of the Sea Goddess Yamanjá (see picture), one of the most meaningful feasts in the life of the Afro-Brazilian population. The breakers carry the gifts out to sea, and then the people have assurance that their gifts have been acceptable to the goddess, and that their hope for the granting of their requests is justified.[1] Still more 'exciting,' however, to the Western observer and the media, are the rituals of slaughter in the Afro-American religions, that arouse such spectacle, shudder, fascination—and perplexity. In the course of a divine service that may last several days, sanctuaries are transformed into 'slaughterhouses' (G. Bataille). Many and varied rites of consecration impart a divine character to the sacrificial animals: the latter are washed, perfumed, and powdered. Bulls and goats are draped in splendid attire, of velvet or silk, in a color symbolizing the divinity to whom sacrifice is being made. The horns of bulls are decorated with lighted candles; fluids (water, rum) and foods are set on the backs of animals in the form of a cross. Now they are offered their consecrated nourishment, and by way of being consumed themselves, they become the irrevocable property of the deity. If they decline the meal, they must be replaced with other animals—the god would not accept the sacrifice ('topos of voluntareity'). Participants stroke, embrace, and kiss the animals, which stand symbolically facing the four directions of heaven. Detailed regulations determine the killing of the sacrificial animals. By way of a preternatural → possession of the slaughterer, the divinity itself slays the victim. In → voodoo, the participants drink the blood of the sacrifice, or preserve it for ritual actions, while in Afro-American religions the 'divine seats' are steeped in the 'emission of blood.' Blood contains 'sacred power' (*ashé*) in a high measure. The carcasses are distributed: the portions for the deity—blood, head, ears, tongue, feet, and tail—are set down on the altar. Bones are sometimes buried separately. The best of what remains goes to the community members present. Believers then consume the meat in the festal meal—sacrificial festivals are 'good for eating.'

2. Sacrificial actions play a key role in the religions of humanity. Sacrifices are often very complex ritual actions, in the course of which communication between human beings and spirits is thought to be produced or broken off, as participants part with an object (statue or figure, food item, liquid, inscribed paper) or living being. A definition of the concept is problematic, since such different kinds of religious phenomena are understood under 'sacrifice' as Jesus's sacrifice of atonement, votive gifts, and animal sacrifices, that are basically distinct, in the intentions of actors as well as in the principal theological world pictures and faith systems.

Clarification of Concepts

3. The concepts that denote 'sacrifice' (in English and French) are unclear and polyvalent. In other modern languages, the word for 'sacrifice' (German *Opfer*, Dutch *offer*, etc.; cf. the English 'offer') is not a scientific concept, but



Pilgrims from Iraq sacrifice a sheep before the journey to Mecca. At the right, in the picture, a man is already wearing the *ihram* garment (pilgrim's attire). Animal sacrifices, in Islam, can be offered at various occasions; the most frequent are the two great Islamic festivals, the breaking of the fast at the end of Ramadan, and the sacrificial festival during the month of pilgrimage. Classic sacrificial animals are camels and sheep. The ceremony consists of prayer, and the recitation of certain formulae, at which the animal is laid in the direction of Mecca, and sacrificed. Except in the case of a vow, the flesh is partly consumed by the participants and partly distributed to the

a loan word, formed from the church Latin *operari*, 'to serve God through works' (concretely, since Church Father Cyprian, 'to give alms'). The concept of *Opfer*, 'sacrifice,' in German, falls in both an active ('renounce') and a passive ('victim,' someone 'suffers an evil'; cf. the Dutch *slachtoffer*) region of meaning. Modern everyday speech, therefore, applies the word 'sacrifice,' on the one side, in keeping with Christian moral conceptualizations for the designation of non-ritualized, ethical activity, distinguished by 'renunciation,' by 'painful loss for a higher end': one 'sacrifices a day for one's family.' Theological ideologies of renunciation can be re-formed and harnessed for political ends. In the sacrificial ideology of the National Socialists the 'sense and meaning of cultic sacrifice' lay in the idea that soldiers of the German Wehrmacht offered themselves 'for the good of the community' ('sacrifice for the Fatherland,' 'victims of war').[2] On the other side, the meaning of the Latin word *victima* echoes in the passive region of meaning—the 'sacrificial animal' that is delivered up apart from its own will, that is led to the now metaphorical altar of slaughter—as 'road casualty,' or, indeed, that is produced as a sacrifice of the *Holocaust* (from the Greek, *holokaútoma*, 'whole burnt offering'). This double meaning was composed against a background of the Christian theology of sacrifice. These ambivalent uses and subtexts of the words used for 'sacrifice' have led to conceptual confusion. Hence, modern religious studies takes its orientation more precisely in the content of the Latin concept *sacrificium* ('sacred action'). However, no unitary scientific usage prevails.

How Can Sacrifice Be Classified?

4. Descriptive classifications of sacrificial rituals are differentiated according to the composition or the handling of the sacrificial material. Nevertheless, one can distinguish vegetable sacrifices, animal sacrifices, human sacrifices, bloody and unbloody sacrifices, or, again, burnt offerings, sacrifice in which the victim is slain, immersion sacrifices, drink offerings ('libations'), and sacrifices of annihilation. *Typologies* regard rather the actors' intentions that underlie the sacrificial rituals: the traditional categories of praise, thanksgiving, impetration, and satisfaction would correspond here. In theoretical and descriptive works, classifications and sacrificial types frequently overlap. If sacrifice is conceptualized as an action performed by human beings, one effectuating a symbolic exchange with gods or spirits—thus, in a communicative structure—then the 'connecting' type of sacrifice versus the 'dividing' will be conceived as follows: sacrifices are then rituals performed by the actors in order to produce or discontinue a communication with the sacred region, the divine powers. To the connecting type of sacrifice correspond the sacrifices of praise, thanksgiving, and impetration. It is especially the material of the sacrifice that produces connections between human and spirit beings, and, in the course of the communicative process, human intercourse is withdrawn, 'destroyed.'[3] Examples of a *connecting* aspect would be the 'food sacrifices' of Afro-American religions, or votive gifts modeled on the *Do ut des* concept—"I give in order that you give." In the *dividing* type of sacrifice, the ritual process is set in motion in order to break off contact with spiritual beings, by means of a communicative act. Thus, in the Afro-Brazilian rite of the 'exchange of heads,' the evil or the psychic or physical infirmity is transferred from the head of the patient to that of the sacrificial cock—it is interpreted as a 'quest for a homecoming' on the part of the malevolent spiritual being. The animal is then exposed or slain—that is, offered as a whole to the deity in question.[4] In the 'scapegoat rituals,' the meal to be eaten by human beings is absent (in Israel, a buck was slain, or driven into the wilderness, as a 'sin offering' for the community; cf. Lev 16).

needy. At the sacrificial festival in Mina, there is usually more meat left over than can be distributed, which, earlier, would have led to problematic hygienic circumstances. Today, therefore, sacrifice is no longer offered by individuals. Instead, a contribution, in a specified amount, is made with the Islamic Bank for Development, and then the slaughtering is done by butchers, while the meat is put in deep freeze and sent to needy persons in the Islamic world. (Agnes Imhof)

Occasions Arising in the Practical World

5. Practical occasions of sacrifice that arise in 'everyday' life are as manifold as are the situations in which human beings must live: here, sacrifice is offered in order to 'impetrate' the benefaction of the deity in existential need (the 'impetratory sacrifice'), to render thanks to it ('sacrifice of thanksgiving,' 'firstfruits,' thanksgiving festival after the harvest), to foster the fertility of the fields by means of sacrificial blood and other sacrificial matter (→ Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic), to placate the wrath of the deity or to purify the community ('scapegoat'), or to render the dead sympathetic by placing offerings of nourishment on graves (sacrifices to the dead). Sacrificial acts can also form components of complex rituals, for instance of → prophecy (the sacrificial 'reading' of the innards of the slain animal), → initiation (V. Turner 1977), or → feast.

Economy of Sacrifice

6. As for the handling of the sacrificial material, theories of sacrifice usually underscore the economic aspects of sacrificial rituals: hunting rituals, with hunting peoples, guarantee the continuity of the scarce, valuable, nourishment by meat, and the "symbolical surplus value of the meat" (G. Baudy) is reflected in the code of distribution. Originally, even the slaying of the animal may always have been accomplished only in the course of a religious ritual—in the course of a 'sacrifice,' then—and thereby publicly 'checked' and controlled (W. Burkert). In the Hebrew Bible, however, a distinction was drawn between



At the celebration of the New Year, the Afro-Brazilian population offer sacrifice to the goddess Yemanjá, on the banks of the Rio de Janeiro: flowers, dolls, and other gifts especially dear to the goddess are committed to the sea. In their sacrificial prayers, believers beg of Yemanjá the granting of their requests and wishes. (J. Drexler)



A special sacrifice, under the all-seeing eyes of the Buddha, at the ornamented stupa of Bodnath (Katmandu, in Nepal). At this Tibetan Buddhist sanctuary, it is seen as spiritually meritorious to have limewater poured from the edge of the one-meter-high hemisphere by temple workers, in exchange for a monetary contribution. The action is performed several times a day, so that, in the some five centuries of its existence, the monument has materially expanded. A second form of ritual libation is more expensive: from the base of the hemisphere, in high bows, saffron water is cast up upon the limestone to make dark stains, from which emerges the pattern of a lotus blossom—a sacred symbol in Buddhism. (E. Stapelfeldt)



In many religions, the burning of sweet-scented essences (incense, rosin, sandalwood, aloes, myrrh, camphor, cedar, etc.) constitutes an important component of worship or cult. In Catholicism, for example, the burning of incense (or 'incensation') has been practiced since the fourth century, and stands as an image and symbol of the prayer that ascends to God. The sacrifice of smoke and fragrances serves for the consecration or dedication of places, for ritual purification, to dispel demons, and to rejoice the gods by the ascending fragrance. Especially in → Daoism, the burning of incense sticks plays an important role in ritual, and in the everyday practice of believers: the vessels for sacrifices of smoke are key components of the temple. Here a young mother in Hong Kong offers a bundle of incense sticks in a Daoist temple, dedicated to the gods Man and Mo. Both deities go back to persons who, according to legend, lived some 1,500 years ago. Man, the God of Literature, is the patron of government officials, while Mo, the God of Martial Arts, is venerated by both police officers and the criminal milieu. (Benita von Behr)

cultic slaughter that was concentrated in Jerusalem after King Josiah (cf. Lev 17:3-4, from the post-Exilic law of holiness), and profane slaughter that was entirely permitted. Furthermore, there are types of sacrifice, such as the sacrifice of nourishment for the gods in the Sumerian-Babylonian, Egyptian, or Greco-Roman regions, which are compatible with a broader application of the sacrificial material. Indeed, it was the distribution of the nourishment—grain, or the meat of the animals that had been slaughtered—that belonged to the main tasks of ancient temple complexes. The Greeks used sacrificial implements, such as the sacrificial spear (in Gk., *obelós*), before the seventh century BCE, as a kind of 'tool money.' The 'sacrificial stock' developed from the sacred grain supply (in Gk., *thesaurós*). Again, the German/Dutch word *Geld* ('money') derives from the Old High German, a 'sacrifice to the gods.'[5]

Human and Divine Benefits of Sacrifice

But sacrificial gifts are distributed not only literally among participants, but also symbolically between believers and mythic powers. In Greek myth, the 'unjust' distribution of sacrifices between or among human beings and gods is, proverbially, the 'betrayal of → Prometheus': the gift that the Greek gods received was only the smoke of burnt thighbones, while human beings would take all of the flesh.[6] It has been observed that, among hunters of the Old Stone Age as well as of today, there are comparable hunting rituals: burnt thighbones, preservation of skulls (*boukrània*) and horns of sacrificial animals at the sacred place were said to have been undertaken as hunting rites of regeneration, in order that new life be restored to the animal. Again, the ritual topos of voluntary slaying ('comedy of innocence') probably has its origin in hunters' hesitation to kill. Homeric offerings of nourishment, then, would have been the "ritual slaughter" of an animal, "that the human beings might eat it."[7] Finally, economic considerations enter into the distribution practice. When the African Nuer have no bullocks to sacrifice, they sacrifice a cucumber, called a 'bullock' in the ritual context. 'Renunciation' from the side of those sacrificing is thereby reduced to a minimum. In the extreme case, in serious crises (drought, hunger, war), the distribution can take on the form of unilateral 'eradication sacrifice': Nuer slaughter bullocks in the bush, where the sacrificial meat is entirely surrendered to spirit beings who are hostilely disposed. Here, renunciation becomes painful loss. Gifts are then not only *for* the gods, but also *against* them, so that they are kept at a distance; dispelled, reconciled, accorded sacrifices. In such a ritual, with the assistance of this 'sacrifice of satisfaction,' or a 'sacrifice of firstfruits' offered in some other way, situations of fear are subjected to control: they are dampened, as the inimical spirits are demonstratively awarded the best or first portion (and therefore the 'alpha position'; B. Gladigow 1984).

Sacrificial Ideologies

7. A diversity of religious worldviews underlies sacrificial rituals. Thus, the word for sacrifice used by the African Dogon is *bulu*, 'to restore to life': the reference is to the idea of the bloody sacrifice as a ritual technique leading to a new distribution of the power of life, *nyama*. The different linguistic usages betray culture-specific conceptual worlds, and sacrificial ideologies, that cannot be brought over a common denominator. This diversity is what caused the older scientific theories of sacrifice to fail, to the extent that they sought to formulate a general 'theory of sacrifice' according to a unitary 'meaning and end of sacrifice.' The unitary nature of sacrifice emerged as an illusion; the theoretical constructions had been especially infiltrated by Christian conceptions.[8] Just so, ethnographic observation in no way justifies

the emphasis on bloody, or even 'bloodthirsty' rites of sacrifice that occurs in recent theories (R. Girard, W. Burkert): in this perspective, the latter must be interpreted as exoticising reception of the 'other.'

Sacrificial Interpretations

8. Scientific theories usually emphasize partial aspects of sacrificial rituals: the slaying, distribution, and eating of the material of the sacrifice. As a rule, these aspects form components of the 'bloody-sacrifice complex.'

Sacrifice as Gift Exchange and Renunciation

(a) Building upon his concept of → animism, evolutionist E. B. Tylor (1871) defined sacrifice as gift, formed on the exemplar of human social relations: 'originally,' sacrifice was not a selfless gift, but a 'bribe'; in higher evolutionary development, gifts were offered out of 'homage,' or, in the properly ethical form, out of 'renunciation.' In the animistic view of sacrifice, deities take their nourishment from the 'substance,' 'essence,' or 'soul' of the sacrificial material. Afro-American sacrificial rites confirm this view in that, here, the duty of the believer consists in 'giving the gods to eat.'[9] Blood, innards, extremities of slain animals, are set before the images of the gods, that the gods may consume their 'essence.' In ethnographic literature, the 'dynamistic' interpretational variant occurred as well, i.e. that this kind of sacrifice of foodstuffs is a matter of a reciprocal magical exchange of power (G. van der Leeuw; → Power) between gods and believers: thus, the sacrificial acts of Afro-Americans or Dogon are ritual techniques of the redistribution of life power, so that the theoretical model in the sense of dynamistic tendencies remains disputable.

The Sacramental Sacrificial Meal

(b) Scots theologian and oriental scholar William Robertson Smith recognized the importance of the sacrificial meal ('communion') for the founding of community. Here, holds Smith, by way of the consumption of the collectively slain animal, mystical unification is realized with the deity being honored. Smith's speculative theory of the origin of the sacrificial meal influenced Freud's psychoanalytical interpretations of sacrifice as the murder of one's father, and anthropophagous sacrificial meal. Smith's understanding also influenced the sociological approach of Émile Durkheim, who, like Smith, saw the animal totem as a symbol of society. Of course, the 'sacramental' eating of God at the → Lord's Supper, that doubtless acted as patron of Smith's theory, is to be distinguished from the eating *with* the god of the Afro-American festival of sacrificial food.

Sacrifice as Communicative Act

(c) In 1899, French sociologists Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, close collaborators of Émile Durkheim, created the interpretation of sacrifice that has been most important ever since. In their analysis of the structure of the ancient Indian, Vedic animal sacrifice, they defined sacrifice itself as a mediated *communication between the profane and the sacred world:* the sacrificial animal, which must first be sacralized, is a means of communication, and the sacrifice itself is a → rite of passage between the two worlds. Rites of entry and exit, or sanctification and de-sanctification, place a framework around the actual sacrificial act, whose climax, held Hubert and Mauss, was formed by the slaying of the animal. With the act of slaying, the sacred and dangerous 'energies' have been released, which now flow out both to the Holy and to the persons performing the sacrifice. The social function of sacrifice consists in the reconciliation of those making the sacrifice, and the society

represented by the gods for whom the sacrifice is intended: the person performing the sacrifice presents society with its concept as a 'gift.'

Sacrifice as Purifying Power

(d) If, for J. G. Frazer (around 1900) scapegoat rites rested on the 'magic' transfer/conveyance of the insalubrious to the matter or material of the offering (animal, human being), René Girard saw (in 1972), in the mechanism of the scapegoat procedure, *the* means used by society for controlling the threat of the violence that ever looms in its inmost being, by projecting it onto a surrogate sacrifice. In the dismal, gloomily archaic, vision of *homo necans* (Lat. 'human being who slaughters'), entertained by scholar of antiquity Walter Burkert in the same year, interhuman aggressions are liberatingly ('cathartically') called on to invest the sacrificial animal in the sacred act of slaying, in a fashion that is harmless for society. This manner of '→ catharsis theory' entertained by sociology of religion can be understood as a quest for a psychically hygienic escape from the societal violence being recognized as the "key problem of the present."[10]

9. *Crisis* of sacrifice:[11] In the Christian theology of sacrifice, Jesus's eschatological sacrifice of atonement ends the biblical practice of the bloody sacrifice, criticized by the prophets themselves as external ritualism. The concentration of the Israelitic sacrificial system in Jerusalem had the effect that, after the destruction of the Temple there (70 CE), the institutionalized cult of sacrifice by slaughter had ended. The 'divine services of the word,' celebrated in the synagogues, replaced the Temple of sacrifice; spiritualized and imagined modes of sacrifice replaced the bloody cult; humility and prayer replaced burning flesh. The metaphorization and spiritualization of the Hebrew biblical concept of sacrifice progressed in Christianity with even more force than it had before: human beings are to offer themselves as a "living, holy, sacrifice pleasing to God" (Rom 12:1). The 'spiritual sacrifices' of Christians include all acts of self-giving and surrender to God, all ascetical self-denial, all altruistic works of love of neighbor. In the Western Christian tradition, phenomenal modes of sacrifice that are material are ascribed to early, 'unenlightened' stages of humanity: societies bearing a Christian stamp know only profane slaughterhouses—unlike Judaism, in which any killing of an animal is still ritualized. Anti-cultic tendencies are also observable in other religions: pre-Socratic philosophers, or Pythagoras (→ Vegetarianism), criticized the practice of the bloody sacrifice; Buddhism sharply rejects the Vedic animal sacrifices.

Spiritualized Modes of Sacrifice

10. Modern observation, as practiced by cultural studies, ought to be concerned not with formulating a general theory of sacrifice, but with a consideration of the imbedding of sacrificial rituals in particular cultures. Instead of the essentialist, theological question of the meaning of sacrifice in itself, concrete sacrificial rites should be investigated and researched as components of religious practice and of a symbolical worldview.

Modernity

In the multi-religious common life of Western post-modernity, as in the undertow of current globalization, state religions with binding monopolies on norms and belief are cast adrift, at an obviously accelerating rate, from a basic plurality of worldviews and religious communities. However, precisely in the practice of bloody animal sacrifice, conflicts can germinate: thus, recently, in the "Orgies-Mysteries Theater" of action artist Hermann Nitsch (→ Blasphemy, ill.), whose 'Dionysan' private cult, despite correct professionally executed slaughters, called forth raging protests from animal

protectionists and Catholic officials—who, granted, are rarely willing to renounce their hot dogs!

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2. Cf. BERTHOLET, Alfred, Der Sinn des kultischen Opfers, Berlin 1942, 27.
3. HUBERT/MAUSS 1968, 11ff.
4. FIGGE (as in note 1) 1973, 131f.
5. Cf. BAUDY 1983, 150f.; GLADIGOW 1984.
6. Hesiod, Theogony V, 535ff.
7. MEULI 1946, 281f.
8. DETIENNE 1986; DREXLER 1993.
9. Cf. FIGGE 1973, 90; MÉTRAUX 1959, 168.
10. BURKERT, Walter, Homo necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen, Berlin 1972, 8 (Engl. version BURKERT 1983).
11. GIRARD 1977.

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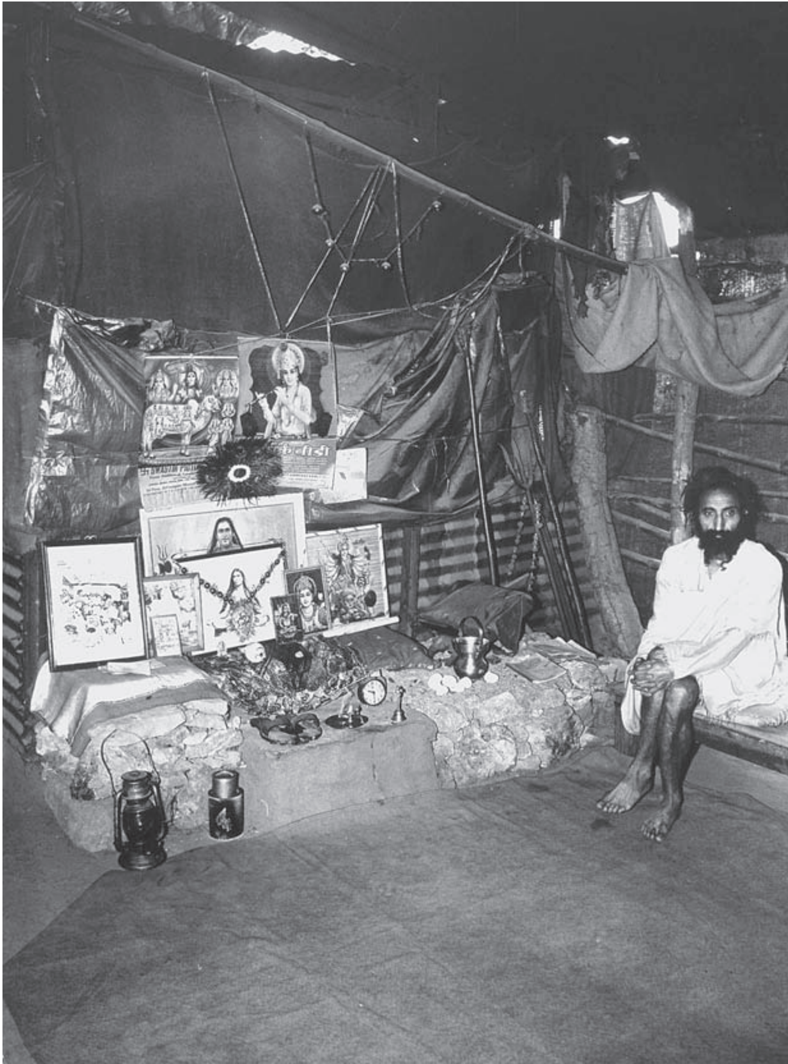
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→ *Afro-American Religions, Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic, Animal, Animism, Blood, Communication, Eating/Nourishment, Exchange/Gift, Human Sacrifice, Lord's Supper/Eucharist, Materiality, Ritual, Suicide, Vegetarianism, Voodoo*

Josef Drexler

Sadhu

1. Derived from the Sanskrit verb *sadh* ('to attain,' 'to perfect' or 'to improve'), *sadhu* is the designation for holy men (and/or, rarely, women) in India. Any religious ascetic or holy person can be called a sadhu. In the more proper sense, sadhus are initiates of various ascetical orders, who either live in settlements (*matha*) similar to monasteries, or wander about homeless. Although most of these orders, like Indian religions across the board (→



In India, a multiplicity of ascetical groups exist, all having different orientations, practices, and distinctive traits. This Hindu sadhu, in the vicinity of Rishikesh (Uttar Pradesh), is identifiable as a follower of Shiva, by the trident in the corner. However, the representations above his home shrine show that the veneration of other Hindu divinities (e.g., of flute-playing Krishna, or of ten-armed goddess Durga riding on the lion), with the bell, oil lamp, and mussel horn is entirely a part of his spiritual practice. Other photographs testify to the meaning for the group of the personalities of founders and teachers. Staff and wooden shoes indicate the tradition of the overland traveler; the water pot recalls the vow of mendicancy. His cabin is itself an expression of the ideal of poverty. (E. Stapelfeldt)

Hinduism), can be considered as Shivaites or Vishnuites, in their religious practices many traits of Tantrism (→ Tantra) are found, as well. In addition, ascetics of other Indian religions—such as Jainism and → Buddhism, along with even the followers of North Indian mystic Kabir (fifteenth century), who is reverenced by Hindus and Muslims alike—are called sadhus. Ascetics of Islamic currents, on the other hand, similar to the sadhus, are called fakirs (Ar. *faqir*, 'poor').

2. To the Vishnuite sadhus, also called vairagins (Skt. 'passionless'), belong the Shri-Vaishnavas, Ramanandins, and followers of philosopher Vallabha (1479–1531) or mystic Caitanya (1486–1533; → Hare Krishna Movement). Shivaitic sadhus descend from the famous philosopher Shankara (788–820), to a certain extent, who is supposed to have founded the four orders of the Samyasins, Dandins, Paramahamsas, and Brahmacarins; or else they belong to other, rather heterodox currents, such as the Lin-

gayats, the tantric Aghoris (→ Tantra), or Alakhnamis. Acceptance into these orders is joined to rituals of initiation, at which the sadhu receives a new name, one typical of the order. Sadhus are addressed with the term of respect *baba* ('Father'), often despite their age. Especially at great religious festivals, sadhus of the various denominations join larger groups, in which they then enjoy privileges. Thus, at the Kumbha Mela festival, celebrated every six years, the various groups of sadhus may bathe first in the sacred river (→ Feasts and Celebrations, with ill.). Often, the order of honor assumed by the respective religious orders is disputed, even to the point of martial violence. Even apart from this, sadhu groups often demonstrate pretentious, outright bellicose attitudes and deportment.

Nudity and Fasting

3. If indeed they do not go naked, as some do, sadhus are most often clad only in loincloths. Their possessions are often limited to a begging bowl, and a few objects typical of their order. Thus, Shivaite sadhus, as a rule, have an animal skin to sit on, a trident (*trishul*) or staff (*danda*), used as a hiking stick as well as a weapon, and a small, double drum called a *damaru*. Their respective denominations are indicated by signs painted on their foreheads and upper arms, (*tilak*: Shivaites mostly three diagonal lines, Vishnuites a *U*), as well as by adornments about the neck (Shivaites wear a chain, *mala*, of rudraksa kernels, Vishnaites one of Tulsi wood). Shivaitic sadhus are often seen performing the chillum ritual, at which cannabis products are smoked (→ Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens). Many sadhus hold themselves to strict prescriptions of fasting and diet, others observe no sort of dietary limitations, and eat even cat and rat meat. Most sadhus live in celibacy.

Vows

4. Sadhus sometimes keep incredibly strict vows (*trata*): on pilgrimages, they draw weights behind them, or lie down and roll for hundreds of miles; they lie on the celebrated bed of nails, or stand for years under a tree. 'Standers' are recognized by their typical rack construction, with the help of which they can even sleep standing. Frequently, observance of such vows has an extremely deleterious effect on the ascetic's body; on the other hand, the sadhus, who support all torments with such iron consistency, are credited with immense supra-sensory powers, so that people are afraid of them, besides revering them and supplying them with food. In rural areas, through virtuosic accomplishments, a sadhu can achieve considerable social prestige, and a position of local authority. Sadhus, who at times preach publicly, constitute an ever-present counterbalance to the conservative, ritualistic Brahmans and temple priests. It is obvious, of course, that only some sadhus are actual practitioners of the spiritual disciplines; others are simple beggars, who cause wonderment and 'earn' money with pocket tricks. Persons, who would be classified as mentally ill by Western criteria, are venerated in India as saints, indeed, as sadhus. The institution of the sadhu offers the opportunity of rising above the caste-oriented societal system in India, and acquiring great social prestige.

Adepts from the West

5. The sadhu movements have received adepts from the West, some of whom wander about with the Indian orders or brotherhoods, and are scarcely distinguishable from them. Others return to the West, to lead an ascetic life there in reclusion.

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→ *Asceticism, Guru, Hinduism, Indian Subcontinent, Tantra, Veneration of the Saints*

Karl-Peter Gietz

Salvation Army

William Booth

1. The Salvation Army goes back to the former Methodist preacher William Booth (1829–1912). In view of the enormous misery—including moral misery—and great alienation from religion, of the inhabitants of the poor quarters of East London, Booth saw the need for a radical spiritual conversion. Economic and social circumstances were depressing, especially in districts of industrial concentration, and were characterized by great material poverty. Large areas of the population were plunged in misery. Wages were ordinarily beneath subsistence level, and life expectancy was short. Diseases were numerous.

Booth's Christianity was that of the Methodist direction, with its emphasis on a tireless missionary toil. However, he soon recognized that the destitute classes would be little open to the Christian gospel without social welfare. Therefore, his work purely for the conversion of the people would have to be complemented by activity that was social in a religious way (→ Charitable Organizations).

2. As an organization, the Salvation Army emerged in 1865 from the "Christian Mission"—a work constituted by then of over one hundred missionary societies of East London, for which Booth worked as a preacher. The organization bore the name "Salvation Army" only from 1880 on. Gradually, Booth succeeded in winning ever more influence over the Christian Mission, and establishing his ideas. Although he was confronted with more and more hostility, he had great success with his missionary work. Of particular concern to him here were the collaboration of the laity, and the public profession of the newly converted. Booth also gained respect by his street sermons, and by the processions that he held to attract the curious and convert them. These marches were later to become characteristic of the Salvation Army.

By 1877, Booth had succeeded in bringing the Christian Mission entirely under his influence, and all instances of control and all groups that had hindered him in the implementation of his concepts had been dissolved. Now he had realized his goal of a powerful salvation movement. Hand in hand with this phenomenon went a strong hierarchization, with a quasi-military apparatus at whose summit stood 'General' William Booth. Booth was chosen for life, and might designate his successor himself. Not only did he dispose of the Salvation Army's entire fortune, but he also enjoyed extensive powers of decision. Again, the great financial success of his book, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890), in which Booth castigated the deplorable

state of social affairs and called for a remedy, gave him the financial means to lend his activities a greater force. The concept set up 'urban colonies' and 'land colonies,' whose personnel had been provided with training as farmers, against the flight from the land, as well as against organized emigration to the United States or to British colonies overseas. The social program was innovative. Among other things, it provided attorneys for the poor, 'poor man's banks,' clinics, search services for missing persons, and a social service of its own for sailors (Whitechapel-by-the-Sea).

Army of God

Conceptual and organizational elements from the area of the military became characteristic of the Salvation Army. It is organized as the 'Army of God.' At the side of the General, who has been elected every five years since 1929, and who is at the top, stands a staff of collaborators, the Staff. Under the General are the Superintendents—the district leaders—followed by the high-ranking collaborators of a mission station. Unlike the 'Officers,' whose main occupation is with the Salvation Army, are the lay assistants, the 'soldiers,' who practice a civil profession. The Officers are prepared for their later profession in a school for cadets. All of the offices, including that of General, are open to women. The countries in which the Salvation Army is active are divided into various 'corps.' The members wear a uniform, and carry a flag. Beginning in 1887, choruses were established: spiritual texts were set to the melodies of popular songs, and this greatly contributed to the popularity of the movement. A weekly organ *The War Cry* appeared, which is still distributed today.

Belief and Religious Practice

3. In 1878, the Profession of the Salvation Army was formulated as eleven binding articles of faith. Special importance attaches to repentance and conversion to God, which are regarded as prerequisite for personal salvation. The Salvation Army does not hold sacraments, such as Baptism or the Lord's Supper, to be necessary. There is no regulated formula of worship, not even for weddings or the dedication of children. Rather, the Holy Spirit should be permitted to work freely: rigid precepts would only be a hindrance here. What is important, instead, are public proclamation and the salvation assemblies, which serve to bring the unconverted to the table of repentance and thus to move them to conversion. Members of the Salvation Army oblige themselves to renunciation of the use of alcohol and tobacco. A double membership in the Salvation Army and in another church is possible.

Great worth was ascribed to the Salvation Army through its works of charity (→ Charitable Organizations). These shifted more and more into the foreground even during Booth's lifetime—altogether against his personal convictions, as the religious aspect was far more important to him. Members have always focused their work on the most urgent social problems of large cities' slums, city centers, and red light districts. Thus, for example, Booth's spouse and fellow combatant Catherine (1829–1890) worked for the establishment of houses for prostitutes. The Salvation Army managed, besides, to have the minimum age of emancipation for girls raised from thirteen to sixteen. Through the creation of soup kitchens and shelters for drinkers, women, the homeless, sailors, prisoners of war who had been released, and much more, the Salvation Army extended its charitable services.

Although the Salvation Army was first active in London, it spread throughout England and nearly the entire world, while its founder was still alive. In 1880 work began in the United States, Ireland, and Australia, a year

later in France, and in 1886 in Germany. Worldwide, the Salvation Army counts circa three million members and friends (including 17,000 active 'Officers'), and exists in ninety-three countries, divided into 14,428 'corps.'

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→ *Charitable Organizations, Charismatic Movement, Industrial Society, Mission*

Astrid Czerny

Salvation / Redemption

Salvation and Disaster

1. a) *Extra-worldly and intra-worldly salvation:* Any striving for salvation is a quest for an ideal condition, a 'better world.' It presupposes the experience of the contrary, of 'disaster,' as with war, imprisonment, sickness, or even simply the finitude, the limitedness, of life. One hopes to be freed, rescued, or redeemed, in a lasting or eternal condition delivered from such disaster. Over against a reality felt and experienced as imperfect, a perfect world is set, (1) which, in the future, will replace the negative state of the present and its misery—or which is already reality, but (2) which, either only in the community of believers, is realized formatively or as an exemplar, or (3) which is at hand only in another world—for instance in a → hereafter—as the ideal (because not experiential) counter-model. Thus, all divinities are 'perfect'; even future, or imaginary, persons can model the redeemed state, from the mythical, fabled peoples such as Homer's 'righteous Abians,' to → Nietzsche's Hyperboreans, to extraterrestrials. All of the sufferings of the 'here' or 'here below' receive a higher, ultimate sense and meaning, as believers interpret them as heralding signs of an approaching salvation. Here, the more helpless the situation of the moment, the greater seems the need for salvation. The less one has the powers and means to avert the cataclysm, the more one will hope for another, mightier power, such as a political leader, or a superhuman messiah or god, as a replacement for this purpose. Since the → Enlightenment, the idea of the improvement of human beings (through repentance and redemption) in the future has been connected with the development by which they gain their highest stage or perfection in the further course of evolution, and thus also perfect themselves: the new person, the new human being.

Drama of Salvation

b) But in so doing, the traditional pattern of redemption awaiting a *drama of salvation* is transformed. When redemption seems very improbable, one hopes for a 'miracle.' Before the advent of the new 'realm of salvation,' or new age—to come by way of a global reckoning, and the annihilation of the wicked—a final battle is usually expected between two opposed powers or

poles (along with a kind of world judgment, or divine judgment) such as between good and evil. Traditional as well as modern concepts of redemption build on a three-step model, which begins with a 'Golden Age,' followed by the 'fall' of the human being (as, in Christianity, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise after the 'original sin'), and then salvation: the reconstitution of the primordial mythical, 'paradisiacal,' condition.

Ways to Salvation

2. a) *Salvific life and rituals:* In religious concepts, a person can share in salvation by way of surrender and offering oneself to the deity or the highest being, the absolute; by following the respective foundations of faith, various ritual practices such as prayer, meditation, veneration of images of gods; as well as by asceticism and the renunciation of certain profane pleasures. Believers expect salvation as a 'reward,' often only in the life hereafter, for their efforts, but cannot attain it solely from and by themselves. By Jesus's vicarious death on the cross, Christians stand even now redeemed from their sins, if they confess them before him. The goal is the immortality of the soul and eternal community with God; in Hinduism, to become one with Brahman by escaping the cycle of → rebirths, and thereby ending earthly → sufferings. Buddhists strive for an 'extinction' of individuation or individuality, by becoming one with what is actually real as opposed to what seems real in the present in life. Buddhists can receive assistance from bodhisattvas, who have renounced entering nirvana even now, in favor of the beings living on the earth. The starting point for a *collective* expectation of salvation, such as is maintained by → Jehovah's witnesses, takes its point of departure in the concept that the totality of the members of the faith community will be redeemed, ordinarily as individuals. By a contract or covenant with God, Jews, too, are the chosen, the called, a people redeemed only in the 'heavenly' Jerusalem. *Individual* salvation places the redemption of the individuated person in the foreground, who need not be definitively bound to a community. Thus, many Christians strive for the 'redemption' of their own souls, rather than, mainly, for the salvation of the entire community of Christians. In modern esotericism (→ New Age), people might strive for an individual salvation through reuniting with a primordial life force, through meditation or ritual practice that fosters a process of individual and collective redemption.

b) *Intermediaries of salvation:* Here, mediators of salvation or gurus tend to play a significant role. They are ascribed a → charisma, superhuman capacities, and, especially, the power to guarantee salvation for their followers. After all, they share in the divine power themselves, often even as 'half God, half man.' Especially with leaders of a political religion (e.g., Hitler, Mussolini, Lenin), it is not infrequently they themselves who lead their faith community into misery, after which they are elevated to the status of the redeeming figure seen as precisely the one to show the way out of that misery. Modern mediators of salvation include extraterrestrials, who, on the strength of both their intellectual and their technological superiority, are seen as being capable of redeeming the earth, or of solving the problems that lie at the root of human failing.

Concepts of Redemption

3. The aim of *this-worldly concepts of redemption* is the future perfection of all humanity, and a happy life here on earth. The transformation of the human being into the superhuman being in Nietzsche, for instance, takes up the idea of a spiritual and intellectual rebirth. Human beings reach per-

fection 'on their own,' without the intervention of an other-worldly power, although often by means of a secular leader who manifests strong parallelisms with the type of the religious leader. 'Worldly believers' insist on actually experiencing their desired salvation themselves, and in the near future, precisely because, in their vision, it can take place only in this life, and this life is the 'only one there is.' In → National Socialism, Adolf Hitler came forward as eschatological intermediary of salvation, who was to rescue, i.e. redeem, the entire German nation from threatening collapse and ruin. From the Thousand-Year Reich a 'New Germany' was to emerge, like a 'New Earth' (cf. Rev 21). Parallels with Jewish → Zionism are manifested in → Marxism, with its ideal of the equality of all human beings. Its prophet is Marx: the historically elect people, called to world revolution, are at the same time the most powerfully oppressed proletariat, which now introduces global, perfected humanism. A counter-sketch is offered by the → Unification Church: it awaits an anti-Marxist final battle, in the form of a Third World War, 'necessary for salvation,' in which, under the leadership of the founder of the Church, Sun Myung Moon, the democratic world will exterminate the 'Communist world of Satan.'

Modern Paths of Salvation

4. Beginning in the 1970s, the goal of the currents outside established psychotherapy has been self-knowledge, or the 'finding of oneself,' which could be regarded as equivalent to a 'spiritual rebirth,' or redemption of those undergoing the 'therapy.' In many → New Age contexts, the goal is referred to as 'whole(ness),' 'being one,' and the attainment of a 'cosmic consciousness.' An attitude toward modern medicine, and to → genetic engineering can also bear a religious stamp. The medical 'Gods in White' lead a battle against the evil of the world, seen especially in the incurable illnesses that are the 'scourges of humanity.' An ultra-refined medical technology rescues ever more persons from the threshold of death—for example, out of a coma—and brings them back into life. Human beings replace God, create new living beings by way of genetic engineering, reproduce themselves as clones, and thus eternalize themselves. The quest for the gene that is responsible for aging, and finally for death, promises nothing less than the abolition of death, a beauty that remains, and everlasting life. Human beings produce a "brave new world" (Aldous Huxley) on earth itself, and ensure their own immortality.

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→ *Cross/Crucifixion, End/Eschaton, Hereafter, Jesus, Light/Enlightenment, Luck/Happiness, New Age, Socialism, Suffering, Utopia*

Gabi Brodbeck

Santiago de Compostela

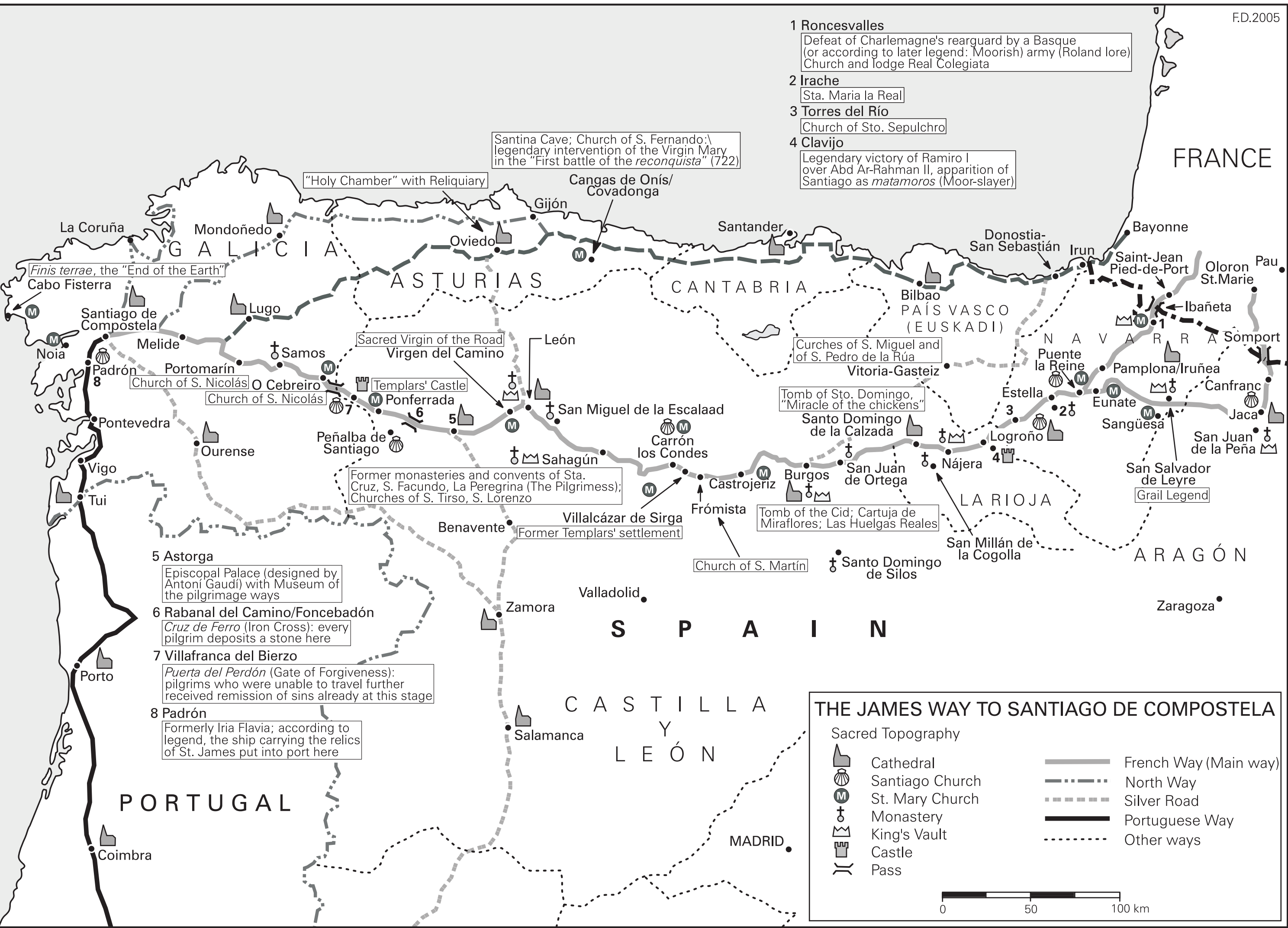
Center of Europe at the End of the World

1. As a place of pilgrimage, a city, a diocese, and later, an archdiocese, in Galicia in the Northwest of Spain, Santiago de Compostela, along with and in rivalry with the far older centers of Rome and Jerusalem, is to be numbered among the three most important centers of extended pilgrimage (*peregrinatio maior*) of Western Christianity. The pilgrims' goal is the supposed tomb of Apostle James the Greater, who as 'Sant'Yago' gives his name to the city of Santiago. The legendary discovery/creation of the Apostle's grave in the early ninth century was extraordinarily appropriate when it came to contemporary mentalities: as a response to the complex situation resulting from (1) the Crusades of extra-European expansive medieval Christianity (2), the conditions of the special Spanish situation of the intra-European reconquest of areas and regions occupied by the Arabs (*reconquista*), and (3) their Christian *repoblación* ('re-population'). In the highly ideologized battle against Islam, the imbedding and foundation of the new local grave-cult was so successful that, in a short time, Compostela and the pilgrimage to Sant'Yago became an outstanding instance of European migration.[1] From all over Europe, including England and Scandinavia, the Baltic region, Poland, and Hungary, the network of 'James's roads' and 'ways,' with their churches, monasteries, and hospices of Saint James, leads to both of the passes of the Pyrenees, behind which, in Puente la Reina, all routes flow into the one common, royal way (*Camino Real*) to Compostela. Fascination and semantic depth of the cult and cult center of the phenomenon 'Santiago' are all the more present, inasmuch as, with the tradition of Charlemagne and Roland, they are coupled with European foundational myths. Connection with the place is no longer necessary. As a sword-swinging 'Moorslayer' on his white horse in heaven (*matamoros*), James the Elder is patron of the troops of the Reconquista. Like the Cid in the Spanish national epic, they take the field with their battle cry "Santiago!" against the Arabs and their "Mohammed!" As the Apostle with the Scripture scroll, the saint, in unverified, but extremely popular, tradition, had his mission and martyr's death in Spain. He bears the responsibility and title of Spanish National Patron—*Patrón de España*. As *Santiago Peregrino* (Sp. "Santiago the Pilgrim") in pilgrim attire, and with the James shell, he represents not only himself, but all pilgrims and travelers. His name attaches to the phenomenon of the 'James pilgrim.' Thus, despite powerful swings and conversions of meaning over the course of the twelve-hundred-year-old cultic tradition, the enormous, and now so long effective, political, economic, juridical, artistic, religious, and spiritual dimension of the phenomenon provides the basis that the European Council today classifies Compostela as a European cultural capital, and the Camino Real as a European cultural memorial.[2]

The Three Great Places of Pilgrimage

2. a) The *history* of the Santiago pilgrimage, after its first beginnings at the start of the ninth century, is characterized by an extraordinarily speedy expansion. In its heyday, between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the Camino Real outdid both the pilgrimage to Rome, to the grave of Saint Peter and the seat of his successor the Pope, and the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the sacred sites of Jesus.

b) With the replacement of the original local West Gothic Reconquista in Spain by a pan-European one, Santiago de Compostela, instead of a mar-


THE JAMES WAY TO SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA
Sacred Topography
Cathedral
Santiago Church
St. Mary Church
Monastery
King's Vault
Castle
Pass
French Way (Main way)
North Way
Silver Road
Portuguese Way
Other ways
0
50
100 km
F.D.2005
1 Roncesvalles
Defeat of Charlemagne's rearguard by a Basque (or according to later legend: Moorish) army (Roland lore) Church and lodge Real Colegiata
2 Irache
Sta. Maria la Real
3 Torres del Río
Church of Sto. Sepulchro
4 Clavijo
Legendary victory of Ramiro I over Abd Ar-Rahman II, apparition of Santiago as *matamoros* (Moor-slayer)
5 Astorga
Episcopal Palace (designed by Antoní Gaudí) with Museum of the pilgrimage ways
6 Rabanal del Camino/Foncebadón
Cruz de Ferro (Iron Cross): every pilgrim deposits a stone here
7 Villafranca del Bierzo
Puerta del Perdón (Gate of Forgiveness): pilgrims who were unable to travel further received remission of sins already at this stage
8 Padrón
Formerly Iria Flavia; according to legend, the ship carrying the relics of St. James put into port here
Santina Cave; Church of S. Fernando:\ legendary intervention of the Virgin Mary in the "First battle of the *reconquista*" (722)
"Holy Chamber" with Reliquiary
Cangas de Onís/ Covadonga
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
GALICIA
ASTURIAS
CANTABRIA
PAÍS VASCO (EUSKADI)
NAVARRA
LA RIOJA
ARAGÓN
CASTILLA Y LEÓN
La Coruña
Mondoñedo
Gijón
Oviedo
Santander
Donostia-San Sebastián
Irun
Bayonne
Saint-Jean Pied-de-Port
Oloron St.Marie
Pau
Ibañeta
Somport
Finis terrae, the "End of the Earth"
Cabo Fisterra
Santiago de Compostela
Noia
Padrón
Melide
Lugo
Samos
Portomarín
Church of S. Nicolás
O Cebreiro
Church of S. Nicolás
Templars' Castle
Ponferrada
Sacred Virgin of the Road
Virgen del Camino
León
San Miguel de la Escalaad
Carrón los Condes
Sahagún
Pontevedra
Ourense
Peñalba de Santiago
Vigo
Tui
Former monasteries and convents of Sta. Cruz, S. Facundo, La Peregrina (The Pilgrimess); Churches of S. Tirso, S. Lorenzo
Villalcázar de Sirga
Former Templars' settlement
Benavente
Castrojeriz
Frómista
Church of S. Martín
Burgos
Tomb of the Cid; Cartuja de Miraflores; Las Huelgas Reales
San Juan de Ortega
Santo Domingo de la Calzada
Tomb of Sto. Domingo, "Miracle of the chickens"
Curches of S. Miguel and of S. Pedro de la Rúa
Vitoria-Gasteiz
Bilbao
Nájera
San Millán de la Cogolla
Santo Domingo de Silos
Logroño
Estella
Puente la Reine
Pamplona/Iruñea
Eunate
Sangüesa
Canfranc
Jaca
San Juan de la Peña
San Salvador de Leyre
Grail Legend
Zaragoza
Valladolid
Zamora
Salamanca
Porto
Coimbra
MADRID

ginal locale at the "end of the known world" (*Finis Terrae*), became a European center of the Western periphery. Thus, the twelfth century marks the fall of the West Gothic fractional tradition, against the pressure for generalization and 'internationalization': successfully initiated by the Spanish kings, completed by the Cluniacs brought into the country, attended by the imported French knights, and supported by the architectural cottages—that is, the Latinization of West Gothic script and the Mozarabic rite of the Mass; the Romanization of sacred architecture (a pilgrim basilica), sculpture and painting style, which now became obligatory throughout Europe.

Levels of Mediation

c) The *Camino de Santiago* became a space of communication as privileged as it was programmatic. A number of concrete cultural factors contributed to that status: (1) It was spiritually bolstered in/by pre-Christian backgrounds of Teutonic and Roman religions of light—semantically charged by Christian cosmology through the concept of the West as the Way to the End, and thereby to the future of the world; (2) it was juridically defined by the development of legislation for pilgrimage; (3) it was infrastructurally fixed by the construction of bridges, roads, hospices, and cathedrals, and by policies of settlement and privileges of city and trade; (4) it was overspread by a media-combination of oral, written, and iconic programs of the meaning of the James cult. The highly continuous and massive execution of the act of pilgrimage in this space of communication generated the James Way as a memorial space of Christian expansion westward and thereby as an "identity-conferring space of self-reassurance."[3] At the same time, in this function, it was an aggressively monocultural corridor—delimited by conflict with the zones of cultural contact surrounding it—in a Spain of the three cultures (Jewish, Arabic, Christian), with its defined manners of coexistence (*convivencia*), far beyond 1492. Despite their fascination for doggedly increasing quantities of pilgrims, the comprehensive literature of pilgrim reportage documents a qualitative 'decline' of the James Ways, i.e., a transformation of function. It was in a framework of the conversion to the 'new styles of piety' of the *devotio moderna*, that a 'credence in wonders,' and conceptualizations of self-sanctification through '(merely) bodily pilgrimage,' fell irredeemably under suspicion of an 'exteriorism' of ritual that could no longer endure in the face of the guarantee of justification of an interiority-orientated *devotio spiritualis*. Thus, with Luther's sermon on Saint James's Day, July 15, 1522, the Protestant polemic assaulted the James pilgrimage, as well: "Do not go there, then, for it is unknown whether what lies there is Saint James or a dead dog or a dead horse."

The secularized *curiositas* that marks modern times where geographical and ethnological otherness is concerned has long since permitted the religious pilgrimage to turn into an educational trip. Further, the 'receptacle' of the James Ways accommodates the most wide-ranging varieties of migration, due to poverty, mendicancy, and worker migration. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it lost quantitative attraction, as well. Without an independent dynamics as an area for trade, fairs, and finance, and with its secondary market-trade, tailored only to service to pilgrims, Compostela has sunken back into the marginality of the periphery.

New Meanings

d) With the appearance of the new Marian pilgrimages of the nineteenth century, and with the transition of the function of patronage of travelers to Saint Christopher, Saint James is disappearing from the extra-Spanish

'little tradition' of the popular practice of veneration of the saints, although, naturally, the 'great tradition' of a theology of history continues to 'archive' it. Only since the beginning of the 1980s is Santiago de Compostela coming to be included among the destinations of an organized tourism of pilgrimage and study, which is opening the *Camino* to experiences having dimensions of spiritual meditation, as well as making it available to historical formation in art and architecture.

1. Belonging to the type "temporary religious mass mobility"; see Jaritz/Müller 1988.
2. "A highly symbolic and significant European cultural route," "a representative symbol of our identity." See the documentation in Hassauer 1993, 80-93.
3. Hassauer 1993.

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→ *Pilgrimage, Procession, Road/Path/Journey, Tourism, Veneration of Saints*

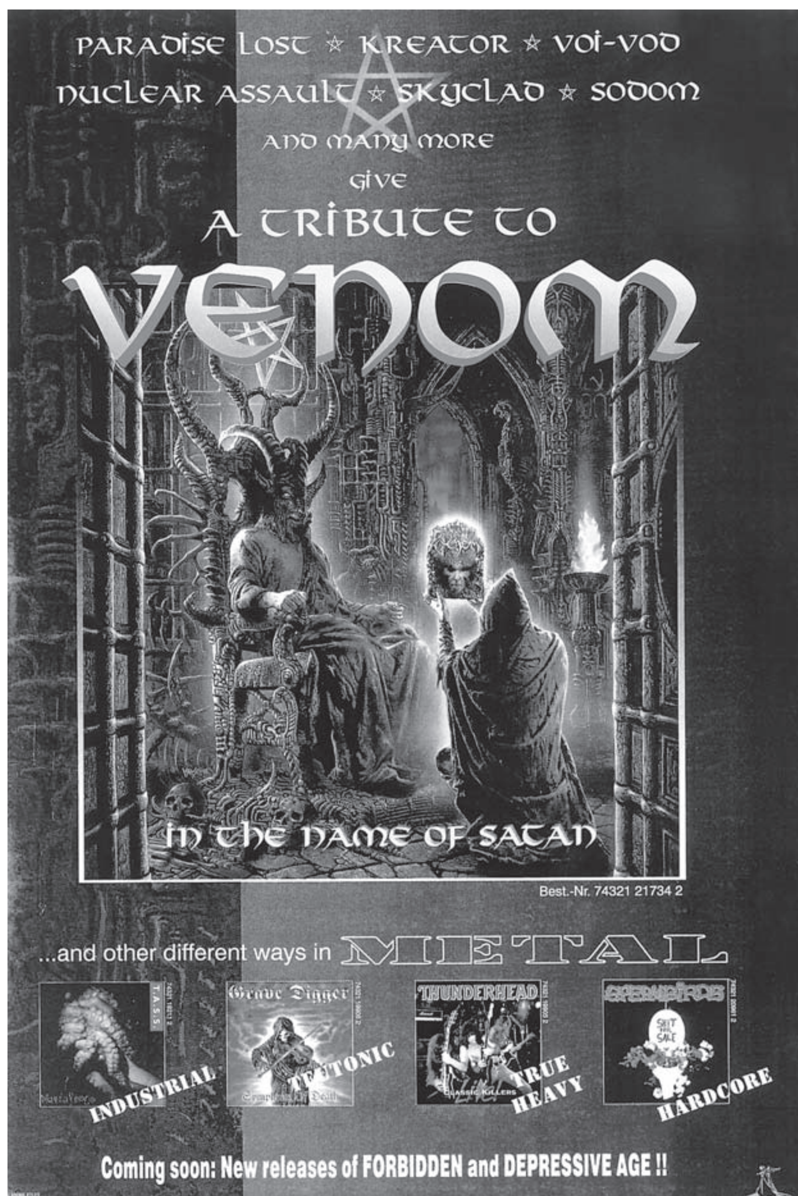
Friederike Hassauer

Satanism

Satan in Christian Theology

1. The notion of Satan was coined by Christian theology; in the course of the last two centuries, however, an independent Satanism has developed that can no longer adequately be described through only theological approaches. In terms of religious history, the forerunners of the Christian doctrine of Satan, as well as of explicit Satanism, can be considered to be Iranian → dualism, ancient Hebrew demonology (→ Demon/Demonology), and → gnosticism. The Christian image of Satan emerged in the first centuries of the calendar. Here, Satan, who, in the Hebrew Bible, was still a plaintiff in the heavenly court, became God's extra-celestial adversary. In the apologetics of that time, competing cults were at times regarded as inspired by Satan; but the reproach of an authentic veneration of Satan was leveled only in the eleventh century. The ecclesial conception of Satanism, which would be valid for centuries, was produced in a framework of the persecution of witches and of the confrontation with the Enlightenment.

2. The actual basis for the modern variations of Satanism was created by the demonization, and at times explicit 'Satanization,' of individual striving for freedom that emerged in the times of the Counter-Reformation. The verso of this process was the stylization of Satan as the prototype of the free individual, which found its climax in the works of Milton and Blake. Beginning in the seventeenth century, if not before, Satan was no longer merely an incarnate catalog of vices, but a rebel against the old order, that placed limits on the individual. The literary Satanism of the nineteenth century,



When British rock-group Venom brought out its second album, "Black Metal," the name of a new sub-genre of rock music was born. In 'black metal'—an especially extreme form of 'heavy metal'—demons, spirits, and witches come together. → Paganism, → atheism, or Satanism are personally professed, and polemics are raised against Christianity, which is looked upon as wishy-washy, and destructive of instinct and therefore of nature. Frequently, cover designs and texts, in the form of the corrupted cultural content of black Romanticism, bring Christian conceptualizations to life, as shown here. A black-robed figure in an apparently subterranean setting, offers buck-headed Satan a stone head—perhaps inspired by the Knights Templars' reputed *Caput LVIIIm*. This reactive, paradigmatically conformist Satanism finds application in areas of the 'heavy' scene, for the purpose of lending a particularly plastic shape to rebellion, machoism, and strivings for freedom. A separation from the values of a society or adult world, apostrophized as hypocritical, is just as intentional as the division from everything effeminate and powerless: things that the fan of such music may just as especially fear. Earnest confrontation with Satanist groups like the Church of Satan, or Temple of Set, takes place only rarely, or in phases. Musicians like Christofer Johnson, of Therion, one of the co-founders of the occult order, Dragon Rouge (Fr., "Red Dragon"), as well as the

which had its point of departure in poets like Lord Byron, and which influenced 'black Romanticism' especially, has its roots in the processes described above. Artistic Satanism is still at work in the present, for example in the performances of "Vienna Actionism," and in the 'black metal' style of heavy-metal rock music (see illustration).

3. An explicit (cultic) Satanism has finally grown larger only in the second half of the twentieth century and the first years of the twenty-first. A binding dogmatics of Satanism has never existed. Thus, not surprisingly, numerous, sometimes contradictory forms of the Satanistic phenomenon are to be distinguished.

- *Reactive Satanism* takes its point of departure in an unbroken theological Satanic image. Here, Satan is considered as the personification of evil, and venerated as such. Corresponding conceptualizations of Satan are found in, for example, 'youth Satanism.'
- In *'gnostically reassessed' Satanism*, Satan is seen as the calumniated God, well-disposed to human beings, while the Christian God is the deceiver and oppressor of human beings.
- *Integrative Satanism* seeks to transcend the boundaries between the Christian God and Satan, and to see the two as, for example, two collaborating poles of a single unity.
- *Syncretistically broken Satanism* embraces all of the occultist currents in which Satan does play a role (→ Occultism), but does not stand at the focus of the cult or of the doctrinal system. As a particularly salient example, we may cite the 'Thelemic' cults of Aleister Crowley (1875–1947). It may be questioned, of course, if this still belongs to "Satanism" at all.
- *Autarkic a-Christian Satanism* describes a Satanism that does derive from Christian teachings, but in its current phenomenal form developed into a 'positive' religion in the full sense of the word, and extensively abandoned Christian relationships.

events surrounding the Black Circle in Norway, are exceptions in a variegated scene. It should be noted that ideological warnings that youth are turning into brainwashed minions of Satan, betray the disposition of the respective authors or speakers more than they do that of heavy-metal fans. Furthermore, it is counter-productive to mix up the causes and effects of youthful behavior and to veil complex social and industrial problems by demonizing a subculture that is actually more harmless than it is pernicious. (Anselm Neft)

Organizations

4. All organized Satanistic groups important today haven an inclination to autarkic a-Christian Satanism. Here, first and foremost, we should cite Anton Szander La Vey's First Church of Satan, Michael Aquino's Temple of Set, as well as Paul Douglas Valentine's Church of Satanic Liberation. The worldwide membership of these associations ranges from perhaps 300 to 3,000 members each, most of these being members of the upper middle class, with an education above the average. In the United States, these associations are officially recognized as churches; European branches are, as a rule, organized as incorporated association. Politically, a tolerant libertarianism, bordering on social Darwinism, is preferred. Contraventions of the existing laws of society are, in general, rejected.

Youth Satanism?

3. Spectacular cultic practices (→ Cult), usually covered by the media in exaggerated form, are, of course, found less in organized groups than in marginal ones, or in what is often referred to as 'youth Satanism.' According to recent research, however, this usually represents a transitory phase of protest and self-discovery. Helsper sees, as the main characteristic of youth occultism, not the quest for a new system of meaning, but a new intercourse with everywhere available bits and pieces of various *Weltanschauungen.* Helsper describes this as "Bricolage of meaning" ("*Sinn-Bastelei*"). Finally, Helsper holds that all of this reflects a loss of meaning in the religious itself. Many of the concrete practices repeatedly reported, as, for example, the desecration of cemeteries, are essentially inspired by such media reports themselves, which at times are even dramatized for fictional media 'presentations.'[1] In the individual cases in which this 'youth Satanism' takes extreme forms, these forms cannot be reduced to the causality of one element. Rather, an investigation must be made into the interplay of a plurality of causes.

Media Sensationalism

6. Up until now, public perception of Satanism has been dominated, first and foremost, by traditional church conceptions of Satanism, as fructified by media sensationalism. In this sense, Satanism is a projection screen for all of those moral abysses that the shadow side of society supposes it to contain—or that are actually to be met on that shadow side itself. Explicit,

organized Satanism will probably continue to be an insignificant marginal phenomenon in the future, as well, although, in recent decades, an astonishing consolidation of the basic *Weltanschauung* of a Satanistic mainstream is to be observed. Finally, in these conceptions, the actual reality of modern neo-liberal societies, so marked by their individualism, is reflected in all but blinding clarity.

1. See Helsper, Werner, Okkultismus—Die neue Jugendreligion?, Opladen 1992; Müller, Ulrich, Das Leben und Wirken des Satanisten T., Regensburg 1989.

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→ *Anti-Cult Movements, Blasphemy, Cult, Devil, Demon/Demonology, Dualism, Evil/Evil One, Exorcism, Occultism*

Joachim Schmidt

Scholasticism

Faith/Reason

1. *Definition, eras, and main currents:* a) In the abstract, the principal theme of scholasticism (from Lat. *schola*, 'school') may be regarded to be the relationship between 'reason' and 'Christian faith,' or, better, the tension between the principles of faith and the requirements of rationality. A comprehensive material definition understands scholasticism as the totality of the sciences established in the European Middle Ages, which, with theology and philosophy, also included mathematics and the science of nature. Ultimately, then, only the counter-movement of mysticism (such as with Bernard of Clairvaux, → Hildegard of Bingen, or → Meister Eckhart) remains outside of scholasticism. But scholastic analyses—in terms of the ideal of their own understanding—are not ultimately premise-free knowledge. Rationality, or reason, the *lumen rationale* (Lat., the 'light of reason'), must restrict itself to legitimating and illustrating what a Bible-based faith in revelation complements by way of a comprehension of the patristic Church Fathers. After all, their doctrine is itself regarded as 'assured truth.' Creativity does not correspond to the spirit of the Middle Ages.

Nevertheless, with early scholasticism, there emerged, for the first time since antiquity, in the history of the Christian West, a scientific culture. The latter relies no longer only on the 'recitation' of Biblical revelation and patrology: it seeks, rather, by means of a 'new,' logical dialectical method, to further a discussion of the faith. The *fides quaerens intellectum* ("faith should

be insightful") of early representative Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) could be installed as the comprehensive motto.

Three Ages

b) In the scholarly literature, a tripartite division of the era has prevailed. Thus, in the early age of scholasticism (the tenth to the twelfth centuries), a development of the doctrine of method stands in the foreground. In Peter Lombard's *Sic et Non* (Lat., 'Yes and No'), voices of authorities pro and contra on basic questions, are understood as dialectical poles, weighed against one another in analysis, and—ideally—decided. The other standard work for basic scholastic training is Peter of Spain's (d. 1277) *Introduction to Logic for Beginners.*

The development of the great *Summa*s (Lat., 'Compendiums') of Albertus Magnus (1193–1280) and Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) marks the center of high scholasticism (thirteenth century). The goal of those self-conscious and ambitious projects was the systematic summary of all of the areas of knowledge, and research of the enthusiastic 'discovery' of the works of Aristotle—not least through the intermediary of Arab Islamic commentators (Averroes, Avicenna)—which flows into a far-reaching amalgamation of church doctrine and Aristotelianism.

Frequently, late scholasticism (the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries) is wrongly interpreted as a time of decline and fall, in and by virtue of the phase of nominalism, connected especially with William of Occam (1300–1350). Standing in focus here is the debate over the universals—already discussed in the strict sense since the twelfth century: nominalism versus realism in the question of the reality of universals, that is, of general concepts. Realism, whose ultimate source is Plato, attributes a comparatively higher reality to general ideas and concepts than attaches to individual things. For extreme nominalism—which names Aristotle as its authority—only the individual is real: universals are not actually real, but are available only in the intellect.

Society: "What is Christian?"

2. *Social and political aspects of scholasticism:* a) The tradition of the philosophico-theological interpretation of scholasticism is genuinely concentrated on the reconstruction of intellectual questions. But this emphasis on rationality, on argumentative discussion, must not be allowed to conceal the fact that the theologico-philosophical confrontations of the Middle Ages are not conducted exclusively in terms of reasoned disputation.

The establishment, in theological disputations defining which positions are orthodox in terms of church policy, always serves factually the discrimination, the exclusion, of heterodox, 'not right believing,' positions. The definition of what is Christian makes possible, correspondingly, the delineation of heresy, the regulation and elimination of heretical individuals and groups that transgress the determined framework of theological acceptability.

To be sure, the question of 'orthodoxy' versus 'heterodoxy,' asked again and again, was not raised against outsiders alone, such as the heretical groups, but also outstanding participants in scholastic discourse itself. Even Thomas Aquinas fell under posthumous suspicion of heresy. Only the determined opposition of his Dominican Order preserved his writings from the bonfire, and then made possible, on the contrary, his canonization (1332). Roger Bacon (1214–1294) spent the last fourteen years of his life in monastic imprisonment. William of Occam only managed through flight to escape his condemnation before a papal court at Avignon (1324). Examples such as these illustrate the power politics on/of the verso of the

learned, methodically rational discussion that marks our modern picture of scholasticism.

b) Thus, the background of the conflict over universals, which today is interpreted principally as an abstract philosophical discussion concerning the epistemological status of concepts, also calls attention to the question of the power politics of the Roman Church, which defines itself as 'catholic'—universal, all-comprehensive. Nominalism's position formulated a frontal attack on the theological monopoly of the papal Church. If the individual alone is real, then the universal Church can lodge no claim to the higher evidence of its dogmas and teachings. The Church is therefore only the voice of its individual believers, without claim to higher eminence. Medieval contemporaries—unlike today's researchers—saw very clearly that connection between the philosophical position and the politics of the real. Thus, a radical nominalist like William of Occam had to flee Cambridge, with its loyalty to the pope, to Munich: there, precisely by reason of the political volatility of his nominalism, he found asylum with papal enemy Louis the Bavarian. "Defend thou me with the sword, I shall defend thee with the word," William is said to have demanded of Louis.

Although on the basis of its effect on medieval thought and activity, scholasticism's influences on intellectual history, politics, and law must be regarded as dominant, one should not forget that, ultimately, the vehicle of scholasticism was but one, very small, elite circle—a literary and intellectual minority at the few universities then in existence (Bologna, Oxford, Paris), as well as at the urban cathedral schools (Chartres, Lyon, Cologne, Cambridge). Neither the secular princely courts, nor the traditional monasteries, played any decisive role in its development. In a time of restricted communication, the content of scholastic thought spread among the centers of scholastic research by way of the travels and international mobility of scholars, in the facilitating presence of Latin as the universal scholarly and scientific language.

Reformation

3. *Protestantism and Neo-Scholasticism:* a) Right in the face of "the whore that is reason," Martin → Luther's Protestant theology rejected a certain type of scholasticism—one which, with the help of logic, formulates propositions of faith from the premise of a basic principle. Nominalistically educated, Luther insisted on grounding faith on the Bible. By way of nominalism, the individual sciences, too, became independent of divine teaching. Luther's noisy fight with "the whore that is reason" was directed only against Thomists.

Neo-Scholasticism

b) The application of the designation 'scholasticism' was transformed beginning in the sixteenth century into a pejorative, upbraiding usage. The (often complicated) methodological stringency with which problems were analyzed was then disqualified as a 'how many angels on the head of a pin' or nit-picking type of 'argumentation.' Reduced to the exclusively theological area, scholasticism found its continuation in the works of Francisco Suarez (1548–1617), until it experienced a renaissance as neo-scholasticism in the second half of the nineteenth century, with, among others, Josef Geyser (1869–1948). Neo-scholasticism emphasizes the primacy of Christian theology vis-à-vis the currents of modern-age atheistic philosophies and sciences. It is also imbedded in an ecclesial attempt to ward off modernism,[1] against which a return to the theology of Thomas Aquinas (Neo-Thomism) was mounted. As recent representatives, we may cite Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), Joseph Bochenski (1902–1995), and Étienne Gilson.

1. Every Catholic priest, upon taking office, had to abjure modern theology. The requirement of the anti-modernist oath of 1910 was rescinded after the Second Council of the Vatican, in 1967 (see Denzinger, H., Enchiridion, Freiburg 1976, nos. 3537-3550; → Laicism).

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→ *Aristotelianism, European History of Religion, Middle Ages, Mysticism, Platonism, Science*

Stefan Hartmann

Science

Knowledge, Science, Research

1. 'Science' (from Lat., *scientia* 'knowledge'; cf. German *Wissenschaft*, Dutch *wetenschap*, etc.) is a form of → knowledge, distinguished from everyday knowledge, the knowledge of the 'ordinary man,' in two respects. For one, it is systematic: that is, it orders knowledge, creates connections, and promotes it to a completeness and integrity. For another, it reflects upon the conditions of its knowledge. In the history of cultures, including those of the European West, there are several forms of science (§ 3a). One of them, dating from the nineteenth century, is science as research. 'Research' or 'scholarship' is defined by the assumption that its object, the empirically cognoscible world, is 'endless,'—that the process of research into this world can never reach an end, because any conclusion generates new problems (§ 3d).

Truth, Scientism, Historicism

2. The notion of science held by scientists and among the public is often molded by historical conceptualizations. One instance of the latter is that science is the only rational, indeed even the only 'true' knowledge of the world, and therefore stands in competition to any kind of religion. Here, religion is 'irrational,' and, at best, a 'stopgap,' responsible for the (still) unexplained, and, for that matter, unexplainable. This manner of understanding represents *scientism*, as it elevates science to the status of touchstone of all knowledge. It stems from the (self-) interpretations of nineteenth-century scientists, or at least appeals to them. Other varieties of the relativization of religion rest on *historicism*, which hails from the end of the eighteenth century, and which proclaims that all that exists is a product of → history and conveyed by history. This implies the problem of the relativization of norms and values in any 'present age.' As early as the first half of the nineteenth century, the question arose of the validity of the Christian proclamation in its historical foundations (research into the 'life of Jesus,' history of dogma, issues of religious studies). But not even science could escape the effects of historicism. The claim of the science of history, of the early nineteenth century, to be able to show 'how it actually was' (Leopold von Ranke) had to

face the recognition that even the content of our 'I' is a 'historical result,' as historian Johann Gustav Droysen formulated it as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. The question of whether scientific knowledge is supratemporally true, or whether it is also culturally and therefore historically conditioned, recently ignited a 'science war' in the United States between physicists and historians of science.

Stages

3. For the sake of a relativization of reductionistic concepts of science, it will be useful to look back at certain stages of the history of science in the European West.

Scholasticism

a) High medieval science presents an independent form of science that rests on the basic premise of a recognizable order in the world as an order created by God (→ Scholasticism). The world is a cosmos, a beautiful and inwardly ordered shape and arrangement, created by God, in the super- and subordination of the things pre-thought by the intellect of the divine creator and created in perfection. After all, God is spirit—intellect and knowledge—and thus the order of the world is recognizable in its truth: the human intellect shares in the divine intellect as an intellect created to be similar. Recognition, knowledge, attains being, it is an "agreement between things and the recognizing spirit" or intellect (*adaequatio rei et intellectus*), as Thomas Aquinas's famous formula runs. A problem of knowledge in the modern sense is absent here. It is the task of science to collect all available knowledge of the world and all available book learning (including pre-Christian science and philosophy) and to present it in grand *summa*s.

Nominalism

b) The problem of knowledge in the modern sense, and hence a new form of science, enters the scene with the nominalism of the fourteenth-century (William of Occam, d. 1348), with the dawn of to the modern age and the constitution of the key problems of modern science. The primary problem is of a theological kind. If the world in its order can be known, then it follows that God must have created this world in such a way that he would be the 'servitor' of the world. This arrangement is irreconcilable with the notion of God's omnipotence. The only possible consequence to be drawn for the solution of the problem (while saving the concept of God's omnipotence) is the sacrifice of a cognoscibility of the world as a cosmos, and in its truth. All that is, can no longer be known as a whole, but now occurs only as an individual thing. Nothing any longer provides testimony concerning the order of the world as a whole through the means of science. Scientifically, the world is now to be grasped only as a 'mixtum-gatherum' of occurring things. Its form and style are unknown. And this includes its frontiers, so that the world itself is 'endless'—of course, in an immanent sense. The individual *res* ('thing') is not absolute, but is henceforward to be known only in its allusion to something else. The concept of 'substance' (the existent conceptualized as existing for itself, and at the same time at its specific place in an ordered whole) is replaced by the idea of function and relation. The consequences of this epistemological revolution are visible in all areas. The whole, and the sense of the world, can now only be spoken of in faith. Science must surrender its notion of a knowledge of the whole. The position of the person in the world becomes a matter of question. The question of the human being, and what she and he ought to do, becomes a problem. Theology can no longer be a sci-

ence. Science is now merely knowledge of the individual. The question of the 'essence' of things is replaced by the question of the 'empirical' propositions, to be conveyed by experience and in experiment, upon the individual, and upon its functional connections with other individual things. Henceforward, knowledge needs foundation: epistemology. The question arises of the 'objectivity' of knowledge, and of its subjective conditions and limits.

Knowledge without a Claim to Truth?

c) During succeeding centuries, the basic premise of nominalism continued to prevail. For theologian Nicolas of Cusa (d. 1464), 'negative theology' and physics stand over against each other as modes of knowledge. Human knowledge is *docta ignorantia*—a 'knowing non-knowing,' or 'knowing of not knowing.' It knows something—indeed, a great deal, and knows ever more, but knows nothing in truth. It even knows why it ultimately knows nothing. Here are its capacities, as well as its boundaries. With similar intent, mathematician and physicist Blaise Pascal (d. 1662) offers a foundation for human science as an *ignorance savante*, and formulates his thesis of the plurality of 'knowledges': there are everyday knowledge (*esprit de finesse*), which understands decision and action, scientific knowledge (*esprit de géométrie*), and faith (*l'ordre du coeur*). As scientist, says Pascal, the human being must understand how to live at one and the same time in all three forms of knowledge, without being able to refer them to one another.

Critique of Knowledge

d) At the end of the eighteenth century, Immanuel Kant (d. 1804; *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, "Critique of Pure Reason"; 1781) defined the capacities and boundaries of knowledge by positing the determination of the objects of knowledge by the condition of the knowing mind. It is not knowledge that conforms to objects, but objects that conform to knowledge: "The understanding grasps only that which it itself produces according to its composition."[1] Human knowledge is therefore empirical—directed upon experience, but at the same time determined by conditions that themselves do not have the character of experience. Absolute knowledge is impossible for human beings: they will never know 'things in themselves,' but only what is accessible in the light of their questions and sketches ('appearances,' 'phenomena'). The phenomenon gained through empirical work *is* the reality graspable by knowledge. Scientists find themselves in the position of judges of investigation, who listen to witnesses in order to experience something about an event at which they themselves were not even present. They come to know something, but not in the mode of 'truth,' although 'truth' must be the 'regulative idea' of their activity. Since the field of experience stretches to an indeterminable breadth, and the number of possible questions is unlimited, science is a process that runs *ad infinitum*: any outcome leads to new questions. This is science as investigation. No judgment as to the sense and meaning of this science-process is available through the means of science itself. The range of knowledge is therefore limited. However, this constraint is offset by the certitude that lies in the knowledge of precisely this limitation, and by the insight that knowledge is now a creative act. The reflection of 'subjectivity' belongs to the essential conditions of any 'objectivity.'

Positivism

4. In spite of the extraordinary effects of Kant's critical theory of knowledge, the 'naïve' concept of science, the concept shaped by everyday knowledge, as a true reflection (at least as nearly as possible) of outer reality, becomes

determinative again and again, and has led to a claim mounted in the most varied forms in the nineteenth century and until today. This objectivistic idealism is represented by historian Ranke (history as a narrative presentation of 'how it really was'), or in the form of materialistic 'image theories' in historical materialism since Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (→ Marxism), or in the form of a positivistic scientism.

Historicism

5. Beginning in the 1830s and 1840s, science has been more and more determined by the purpose of the acquisition of 'facts,' now historical or scientific. As to what a 'fact' is, however, and what epistemological status it enjoys, no agreement prevails.

The scientific development of the nineteenth century took place under the sign of the notion that everything that is, is historically generated and conditioned. The same development basically determines the specific way in which the modern age constructs history. This *historicism* constitutes the rise of historical science as one of the principal sciences of the century, as well as involving a historicization of other, systematic areas such as theology, juridical science, and national economics. At the same time, around 1840, with the discovery of the cell, and of the functions of the nucleus as the basic unity of vegetable, animal, and human life, the modern, empirically based natural or physical sciences emerged.

Natural Science

a) From this point onward, the epistemic method of the empirical sciences—observation as the exclusive method of scientific knowledge in the area of natural or physical science (represented by outstanding scientists such as Rudolf Virchow, Hermann von Helmholtz, and Emil Du Bois-Reymond)—was represented as enjoying unlimited validity. Here it was a matter of the knowledge of unassailable ('hard') facts, and of the ('eternal') 'laws' demonstrated by the same. All progress, it was assumed (R. Virchow), rested only and solely on these eternal laws of nature having been established more precisely through a constantly advancing empirical observation. Natural or physical science, accordingly, was seen more and more as the "absolute organ of culture," and the history of natural science as the "authentic history of humanity" (E. Du Bois-Reymond). The triumph of the 'authority of the facts,' and the 'sovereignty' of the laws of science, must therefore extend, as well, beyond natural science, and form the totality of society and politics. Science must become the "method of the entire nation," and constitute the "authentic maxim of thought, of the moral act" (R. Virchow). At the close of the century, in his *Welträthsel* (1899; Eng. as "The Riddle of the Universe"), zoologist Ernst Haeckel explained that all open questions had been solved, or at least were soluble in principle, that 'culture' was reducible to 'nature,' and that it was the laws of nature that must create the basis of a new 'moral teaching.'

Experience and Understanding

b) What responses are appropriate from those sciences that are concerned with culture? One response was in their subjection to the arguments of the physical sciences, so that historical science was to be defined as a natural science. On the model of Newton's physics, likewise in history the erection of the historical totality must be presented as a recognition of law, developed from a gradual recognition of individual facts. Over against this scientific positivism, historian Johann Gustav Droysen called for an independent theory of historical knowledge (*Historik*, 'historics') that did not yet exist by

any means. In this *Wissenschaftslehre der Geschichte* (Ger., "Scientific Doctrine of History"), developed from 1857 onward, it was on the foundation of the Kantian transcendental philosophy that Droysen defined the historical science as an empirical science, and therefore precisely as scholarship and investigation. But the given by which this empirical investigation was directed was not the 'past that was,' which after all is past, but the historical material at hand, the remnants and testimonials of that which has been. What is called 'history,' then, is not a model or reflection of 'the past event' (which, for that matter, is impossible), but a mental construct—not an arbitrary one, of course, but one gained by empirical investigation on historical material. The character of that material, according to Droysen, determines the difference, here, from natural or physical science, as the "other major method of empirical investigation." After all, the research of the investigating historian (and this distinguishes the latter from the investigating natural scientist) finds, within, the same ethical and intellectual categories as confront him and her in the actual objects of their episteme: thus their research is an 'understanding.' Furthermore, insists Droysen, even this 'understanding' is historically conditioned, since historical investigation "presupposes the insight that even the content of our ego is a historical result, an outcome, conveyed in many ways" (Droysen).

In contraposition to Droysen, philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey, in his *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* (1883; Eng. as "Introduction to the Human Sciences"), while defining all science as science of experience, nevertheless derives all experience essentially from the 'inner experience' of the individual, and there grounds the independence of the *Geisteswissenschaften* ('human sciences,' 'humanities'). It is the inner experience of the latter that means actual 'reality as it is,' and not only, as in the case of physical science, as the shadow of an outer, and ultimately concealed, reality. The 'understanding' (*Verstehen*) of the humanities has therefore a higher dignity than that of the mere 'explanation' (*Erklären*) produced by the natural or physical sciences. Natural sciences are only "sensual experiences about nature," while human sciences are the "comprehensive experience of the mental and spiritual world." There are two classes of sciences, then, and they are of very different kinds.

'Paralysis of Life'

c) Meanwhile, an embittered adversary of both historical science and natural science had arisen: Friedrich → Nietzsche (d. 1900), who called into essential and crucial question any science, and any claim to scientific objectivity, on both sides. As early as 1874 (*Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben* (Ger., "Usefulness and Disadvantage of History for Life"),[2] Nietzsche delivered a fulminating indictment of historicism, and of a history that had 'spread out' and become science. History was destructive, an 'illness,' that destroyed 'life,' because of its indefatigable construction of historical facts that could no longer be brought into any connection; because the scientific objectivity to which it appealed was a fiction; and, above all, because this historical knowledge showed all things and each in their emergence, and thereby also in their expiration, and thus historically relativized them. This knowledge had a paralytic effect on life powers, on decision, and action. Accordingly Nietzsche argued for a new validation of the 'unhistorical'—namely, of the forgotten—and of the 'supra-historical'—namely, of art and religion, and would now only validate a history that sought to serve 'life,' and had therefore left off being a science. 'Scientific objectivity'

was something altogether different from what it held itself out to be: it was nothing but an expression of the 'will to power.' This is also the reproach that Nietzsche leveled against the natural science of his time: it was something 'fearful and menacing,' a 'problem with horns' (as Nietzsche formulated it in 1886), since, here again, was the claim to universal validity and acceptance of this knowledge with all of its consequences, the "unbridled, fanciful optimism" of modern science, "faith in everyone's beatitude on earth itself," a seed of annihilation, an insane conceptualization, which, abetted by claim to reach objective causality, arrogates unto itself the capacity to "base and establish the innermost essence of things." But: there *are* simply no 'facts,' only interpretations, and, of course, the 'will to power,' that 'interprets.' Thus, on the occasion of the pretenses of the historical sciences, as of physical science, and of the motto that knowledge is power, Nietzsche rips the mask from science as a fiction, as an appearance, behind which lurks a will to power of an altogether different kind, a will to power for its own sake.

Kulturwissenschaft, *Cultural Studies*

6. At the close of the nineteenth century, then, the grounding of science must be achieved anew. For historical science, this was done by the representatives of a historical *Kulturwissenschaft* (Georg Simmel, Max Weber), who once more sought to return to Kant's criticism and thereby at the same time to answer Nietzsche's question of the relationship between science and 'life.'

a) Max → Weber, especially, defines historical science as a 'reality science,' and 'experience-science,' which, of course, does not simply go around copying historical reality, but which presses forward in concepts and judgments "that are not empirical reality, nor copies of historical reality, but occasions of the ordering of reality in valid fashion." There is no such thing, says Weber, as to copy historical reality without premises. Science is empirically based science with hypotheses. Weber determines it (once again) as research and investigation, namely, as a process that cannot be closed or sealed, a process that proceeds *ad infinitum*, as Kant had explicated, because every result or conclusion at once raises new questions, and because, at least in the historical disciplines, the "eternally proceeding flow of culture ever introduces new problems to be solved." In this "proceeding into the indefinite," in this infinitude and endlessness of possible problems, as well as of possible objects, the range of science is grounded, as are at the same time, its limits. A science that always receives its questions from the contemporary 'culture' (which is why it also has something to say to its respective present) replaces a science with an absolute claim to knowledge, as well as the contrary, a science that ceases to be science 'in order to serve life,' as Nietzsche had demanded. That kind of historical science also has a different relation to physical science, than it had been defined in the nineteenth century. It understands itself in the sense of a complementarity of both areas of science. If, as Weber established, *Begriff* ('concept') and 'experiment' are in the same way the "great means of all scientific knowledge," then this also means an indication of the 'conceptual' in the 'experiment' of natural science, and the 'experimental' in the 'concept' of the cultural sciences.

Natural Knowledge as Conditioned by the Question Posed

b) It striking that, since about 1900, similar events in the natural sciences correspond to the new definition of historical knowledge in a framework of 'historical cultural science,' inasmuch as an analogous break occurred with the objectivism, scientism, and positivism of the nineteenth century. In

physics, this 'revolution of the way of thinking' was significantly expressed in Werner Heisenberg's 'principle of indeterminacy,' as well as in Niels Bohr's concept of 'complementarity.' Heisenberg's famous formulation (1927) of the 'track' or 'path' of a particle, that comes into existence "only by virtue of our observing it," expresses the fact that the objectivistic subject-object model is inaccessible, because, in the world of the smallest particles, observed phenomena are constituted through, and only through, the observer and the event of the observation. Not even physical cognition, therefore, has an absolute character, but only a relational one. This physical science describes nature not as it is 'in itself'; rather it describes "the nature that is exposed to our question(ings) and our methods," and therefore understands itself as "a part of the oscillation between nature and ourselves." Atoms, therefore, are no longer 'things' or 'objects,' but are "components of situations of observation," which, for a physical analysis of phenomena, possess a "high explanatory value." This new physics, then, has taken hold of hitherto fully unknown worlds, and has, at the same time, reflected upon what it does, in the sense of a self-limitation. It is a "theory of possible knowledge of reality, not a theory of reality as such" (A. Gierer).

Science Today

7. This manner of historical recapitulation of science in history may contribute to an assessment of the dimensions of science in today's society. A modern grasp of science can afford an unrestricted indication of the range of scientific cognition, although it should also be aware of its limits. Historians of today at times still claim of true knowledge of facts, and of the past 'as it actually was.' On the side of the natural or physical sciences, this position corresponds to a 'naturalistic' claim, with the thesis that any event is an authentically physical event, which can be completely described and explained with the means of physical science, and that it is possible to physical science to take an absolute observational perspective, and give causally complete explanations of total reality. Contrariwise, the question must be asked whether and to what extent even natural science, for its part, is conditioned by cultural history, which limits, not the range of its conclusions, but doubtless a possible universal claim to validity in all areas of life. Of natural scientists themselves, the question is being asked to what extent even physical science moves within very strict boundaries, set, on the one hand, by nature, and, on the other, by the structure of human thought (F. Jacob)—as well as whether there even is a precise theory of science, and a complete guarantee of science through its own means—thus, whether natural science can itself actually demonstrate its own completeness and freedom from contradiction (A. Gierer).

The relationship between science and religion, so antagonistically conceptualized, especially in the nineteenth century, can be otherwise defined on such a basis. Competition in a bestowal of meaning with a monopolistic claim to truth is a thing of the past. One might even ask whether it is a matter of persons' having to learn to live once more in one world (J. Mittelstrass), or whether the philosophical excitement of modernity does not consist precisely in the fact that the human being has learned to live in many worlds at once (H. Blumenberg). Religion and science are then no longer antagonists, but dimensions of reality that can enter into a multiplex relationship to one another.

1. Preface to the 2nd ed., 1787.
2. "Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen," 2nd piece (KSA 1:243-334).

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→ *Criticism of Religion, Enlightenment, History, Knowledge, Natural Science, Rationalism/Irrationalism, Reason, Theology*

Otto Gerhard Oexle

Science Fiction

Mythic Reports

1. Mythic reports of gods and heroes, such as Gilgamesh, Odysseus, or Thoth, who had come to the boundaries of the world and of their own existence, have, over millennia, formed the narrative style that connects a mythic geography with reflections on 'other gods and other persons.' The fundamental enclosure of the traditional world thus remains preserved, even if, in journeys to the beyond, and heaven, or to 'new realms,' frontiers are overcome in narrative, and new spaces of existence are unlocked. Only with the 'open universe' of the Copernican world did the discussion on the 'plurality of worlds' gain currency—for which Bernard de Fontenelles's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (Fr., "Conversations on the Plurality of the Worlds") provided the heading—and become a problem for philosophy and Christian theology. With the threat of the loss of the geocentric system, even original → sin and redemption become precarious in a new way. Furthermore, the discovery of a 'new world,' America, altogether concretized the problem. Since original sin was visualized as being 'transmitted by sexual generation,' were the Indians then without any sin, and therefore not needful of redemption?[1]

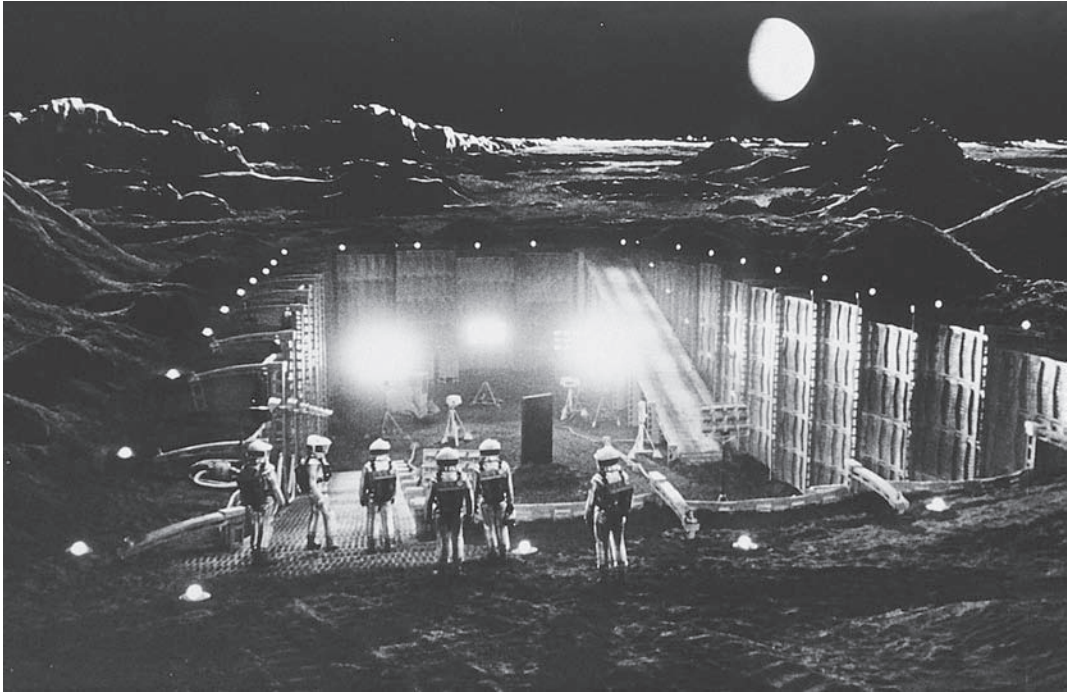
Mythic Geographies

2. The close connection between a mythic geography and a quest for salvation in the distance, or the idea of an alien god who comes from afar, entailed the concept that science-fiction literature, arising with the dawn of the twentieth century, has brought along religious lines of questions from

the beginning. → Utopias and *voyages imaginaires* are the literary (and critical of its respective 'present times') common background of science-fiction literature and its forerunners, while the 'entertaining' → fantasy literature connected, instead, to sagas, folktales, and romances of chivalry. After the technological problems of space travel and time journeys had been 'solved,' relatively quickly, by the leading authors, in 'fantastic' recourses to science, the questions arising in the point of departure were very promptly transformed, after a presentation of the conquest of time and space, into anthropological discourse. (The modern science-fiction literature of magazines, which spread during the 1920s in the "Bible Belt" of the United States, emerged at first as technological and moral instruction.[2]) The 'tremendous moment,' in another world, of encounter with an 'other' (an alien), summoned up in science-fiction literature practically all basic religious patterns. In terms of the latter, contacts with the 'other' could be dramatized: superiority and 'cosmic brotherhood,' dependency and need for redemption. The science-fiction genre acquired a special power after the Second World War, through the partial switch of media from literature to film. In films like Stanley Kubrick's "2001—A Space Odyssey" (1968; see photograph), or Steven Spielberg's "Close Encounters of the Third Kind" (1977), the contrary motifs of galactic colonization and of an invasion from Outer Space were transposed with graphic effect. The mobilizing fantasies of a 'flight from the world,' and those of a menace or rescue from the All, for decades determined the psychodynamics of science-fiction reading. After real space travel began to be routine in the 1980s, new frontiers and limit regions were thematized. In William Gibson's novel, *Neuromancer* (1984), the interface of computer systems with the human brain (and vice versa) led to a new 'beyond,' in which, and behind which, tremendous opportunities emerge. *Neuromantics* and *Cyberpunks* are the Argonauts of a new mythology.

3. In the general reception of science-fiction literature, three fundamental motifs overlap, and at the same time support one another.

- One motif takes its point of departure in the present stance of the world, and has foreign, strange worlds and 'gods' *entering into contact* with it, or having already done so. Thus, the schemata of epiphany and redemption, of appearance and rescue, are taken up into an intergalactic communication, and included in, transferred to, the sequence of an earlier presence ('parousia'), and possible return of the gods—the *delay of a parousia.* Working from this view, C. G. Jung and E. Benz have designated 'UFOlogy' (→ UFO) a modern religion of redemption ('soteriology'; → Salvation/Redemption).
- Another motif, like the first, begins with the existence of foreign worlds, but postpones contact with them to a distant future. Earth then frequently exists no more. The key soteriological pattern is then no longer a rescue from the All, but is a *new manner of human existence*, in the spaceship or in new frameworks. After the loss of the 'old world,' the question of meaning accompanies the spaceship, even under the new conditions of an 'astro-escapism,' in undiminished brutality. Dramaturgically, what unfolds is tantamount a series of pastoral conversations with the 'ship's chaplain.'
- A third motif, finally, develops something like a *religious anthropology of space*. In the foreign worlds (or even on the spaceship, as its own 'new world') are found the most diverse types and 'variants' of religion: ascetical (H. Harrison) or Hindu (R. Zelazny) 'gods,' for example, who



Stanley Kubrick's film epic, "2001—A Space Odyssey" (1968), can be regarded as one of the most important science-fiction films of the twentieth century. Its importance rests not only on its innovations in film and technological tricks, and in the visual power of its scenarios, but also, and especially, on its mythic and metaphysical quality. Arthur C. Clarke's and Kubrick's plot covers the whole history of humanity—from the prehistoric generation by way of a 'primordial murder,' in the prologue, to the era of the space travel of the near future, with a stop on the moon and space flight. It contains a parallel history of technology—or better, of the human confrontation with the tools and instruments gradually conducting their self-emancipation, from the deadly tool of the 'bone,' to an intelligent, sensate machine, the computer HAL

have determinate functions for that world, or who lead a euhemerism further through to 'god programs' that can be played by human beings. Besides, monotheism, as the traditional religion 'on board' the spaceship, often collides with an opaque cult of persons; or else super-systems, in dramatic interpretation 'ships' (as in Frank Herbert's "Dune Chronicles," 1965ff.), are transformed into gods. In this case, the latter produce 'absolute dependency' (Schleiermacher) and tolerate no other 'subjects' beside themselves.

4. As a mythology of the 'age of space travel' (→ New Myths/New Mythologies), science fiction posits the traditional questions of meaning under the pressure of a new demand: What remains, if the salvation history of the demolished earth has been abandoned? What founds → 'values' and → 'meaning,' if the 'priests' are only functionaries of a pragmatic system of government? Despite all of the passages of religious criticism in this genre, there remains an element of religious reflection that comes forward all the more clearly, the more consistently the traditional religious convictions, in their spatial and temporal removal from *Terra*, are abandoned. Reading groups focusing on certain science-fiction authors and cult films ("Star Trek—Spaceship Enterprise") proclaim modern interfaces between reflected fiction and imagined reality.

1. On the motif of 'sin' in 'other worlds,' see Gladigow 1988, 255ff.
2. For the development of the genre, and thematic areas: Alpers et al. 1988, 26ff.

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→ *Cosmology/Cosmogony, Fantasy (Genre), Machine, Natural Science, New Myths/New Mythologies, UFO, Utopia*

Burkhard Gladigow

9000. And finally, there is a fragmentary heroic history here, as well—the expedition to Jupiter, with departure, danger, battle, tragedy, death, and rebirth: with Kubrik, science fiction crosses over into anthropo-fiction. The unifying element is the → epiphany of a supra-dimensional, flawless metal monolith at the turning point of human and individual development—the materialization of a world soul, divine principle, or collective will to progress. In a decisive scene, a team of scientists inspects the monolith (center of the photograph), after it has been found on the moon by excavation. Kubrick stages the investigation of the artifact as a ritual circling 'approach to the Holy,' to the *fascinosum*, the *tremendum* (Rudolf Otto). The beams of light that emerge from the monolith point to Jupiter—and beyond. The final image shows an embryo wafting in the universe—symbol of the reincarnation or transformation of the human being into the Nietzschean 'superman'? (Hubert Mohr)

Scientology

1. Lafayette Ron Hubbard (1911–1984), active in the 1940s as a → science-fiction writer, in 1950 published a bestselling book *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health*, in which he set forth a model for the analysis and healing of psychic sufferings. It has remained a component of Scientology to this day.

According to the (etymologically erroneous) asseverations of Scientology, dianetics derives from the Greek *dia*-, 'through,' and *nous*, 'soul,' 'mind.' The aim of dianetics is to detect and remove 'engrams'—mental/spiritual images impressed into the soul/mind. Engrams arise through negative experiences stored in the 'reactive mind.' In situations that can be brought into connection with the sensations or feelings of an engram, the original pattern of defense or repulsion is once more activated. This mechanism, according to Hubbard, is responsible for bodily malfunctions and the impairment of the human psyche. Once all engrams are extinguished, persons find themselves in the condition of the 'clear.' The reactive mind then no longer exists. Guided by the analytical mind, which is in a position to deal with the consequences of the engrams, persons, in their actions, can follow the basic 'command' at the basis of all life: "Survive!" They are healthy and successful because they can use their abilities in optimal fashion.

Auditing

Extinguishing the engrams becomes possible through 'auditing' (from Lat., *audire*, 'listen to'). By purposeful questions, an 'auditor' hunts out the engrams, which are thereupon extinguished through the conscious recall of the occurrences that underlie them. An important tool in this process is the 'electropsychometer,' developed by Hubbard, which indicates to the auditor the existence of engrams.



Members of the Church of Scientology demonstrate in Berlin, on October 27, 1997, before a very historic background: the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church. They make an appeal for public acknowledgment with an American flag, as well as German and Swiss flags, and a 'living image' of the Statue of Liberty. In her hand, the white-clad woman holds not only the obligatory torch, but also the original American edition of *What Is Scientology?*, which is an official presentation of the Church of Scientology. If we were to combine the signs used associatively, the intended message would be formulated somewhat as follows. The European states, too, are summoned to exalt religious freedom, after the example of the United States, and accord Scientology formal legal status as a religious community. Simultaneously, the appropriation, here, of the national symbols of the United States conveys a missionary thought: only with Scientology will one really be a participant in the liberty and freedom promised by the dream of the 'land of the free.' For those with whom this message has no success, Scientology is a spark that, at present, is igniting vigorous discussions on the definition of the concept of religion, and on the relative importance of state-guaranteed religious freedom as weighed against other goods. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

'Scientology,' derived from the Latin *scire/scientia* ('know/knowledge') and the Greek *logos*, is understood internally as 'knowledge, how one knows.' It broadens the dianetic model to include a mental component. The human being is no longer only body and mind, but a spiritual being ('thetan,' from the Greek letter *theta*). A thetan uses body and mind as a connective member to the physical universe, with the purpose of creating and controlling her own universe, consisting of matter, energy, space, and time (MEST). A thetan is immortal. When someone dies, the thetan leaves that body, and enters one of a new person being born. Having available a human body and understanding that work ever more optimally, without engrams, the thetan develops his spiritual and mental liberty and freedom in the MEST universe, and becomes an 'operating thetan' (OT).

Ethics and Practice

2. In the framework of Scientology, the partial aspects (dynamics) constitutive of the "command: Survive!" were broadened. To the four dynamics in the concept of dianetics (self, procreation, group, humanity) were added four more (whole of life, material universe, spiritual being, infinity). The thrust to survival in the eighth dynamic (infinity) marks the point of intersection with the Divine, which is not enlarged upon in the Scientology literature: the eighth dynamic is also designated as the Supreme Being. In a framework of her spiritual development, the person or thetan must aim at progress in all dynamics.

The path to spiritual freedom is called a 'bridge,' and is to be walked through numerous courses that build upon and complement one another. In terms of its structure, the bridge resembles occult systems of initiation. The path on the bridge can be traversed by way of either the pure use of the corresponding course, or the attendant training to the status of auditor. While the first courses exact a high price, the training generates a stronger integration into Scientology. Then comes a further conclusion: that the teachings of Scientology are imbedded in a rigid ethics, in which all those activities are labeled good that are serviceable as "constructive survival activities" of the development of the individual Scientologist or of his or her own group. Evil, accordingly, is everything harmful for Scientology. Critics, within its own ranks or from without, are seen as 'repressive persons' or 'anti-social personalities,' against whom a battle is to be waged.

The Scientologist's everyday is determined by the pursuit of the course, and by working in the organizations. Higher stages of the 'bridge' can only be traversed in seeking out churches. The outlay of time is great, so that social relations with non-Scientologists are scarcely possible. Hubbard established procedures for the celebration of naming, marriage, and death. The extent to which such celebrations are held is unclear. The weekly Sunday service is not held in all churches. For other feast days, as for Hubbard's birthday, or the anniversary of the publication of *Dianetics*, there is no established ceremonial: by and large, they have the character of a secular event.

Organization

3. a) The development of Scientology came in large part as a reaction to external influences. Originally, Hubbard wished to reform the psychology of his time. As the professional community rejected his Dianetics, and the stream of the Dianetics self-help groups dwindled, the foundation established by Hubbard in 1952 was met with competition, and he lost his copyright to *Dianetics*. It was at this point that he expanded his Dianetics into Scientology. In 1953, the first church was founded. The 1960s marked the appearance of Narconon, an organization to combat drug-addiction and offer rehabilitation, along with the Citizens' Commission for Human Rights (CCHR), for the discovery of abuses of received psychiatry. Both organizations cultivate a negative image of pharmaco-psychiatry. With the close of the 1970s, Scientology was reconstructed as a universal service organization. The existing Scientological principles of the perception of reality and communication, as well as the chief structures of the organizations themselves, were extended to the areas of economics, training, and education. With special organizations for persons in public life (Celebrity Centers), the credibility of popular members is utilized in order to correct the negative image arisen since the 1960s. Since 1982, the headquarters of Scientology are maintained at the

Religious Technology Center in Los Angeles, which administers the materials of Scientology, and licenses the respective organizations and clients.

Self-Image

In Scientology's self-image, on the other hand, history since 1950 has been the experience of a progressive knowledge and understanding concerning the universal validity of its own principles. With the purpose of building "a world without war and violence," and to "be able to have the rights pertaining to its competency, and to ascend to spiritual heights," it sees itself as standing in the tradition of the great religions of redemption. The knowledge contained in these religions is viewed as subsumed in Scientology, and complemented there with new elements of knowledge. Hubbard is honored as the founder of Scientology, and as a great scientist and philosopher.

Is Scientology a Religion?

c) Conflicts still prevail over the character of Scientology as a religion. While, for some, auditing is a religious act comparable to confession, critics regard it as psycho-manipulation ('brain-washing'; → Anti-Cult Movements). The perspective of a need for financing on the part of religions is opposed by the picture of an organization existing solely for profit. Scientology's legal recognition as a religious community is not uniform worldwide, and has repeatedly been the object of legal proceedings. In the United States, in 1993, it was recognized as a religious community by the tax offices with de facto responsibility for this determination. The decision was preceded by years of quarrel, and political influence is suspected. In Germany, on the other hand, in 1955, the Federal Labor Court decided that—at least where labor laws are concerned—Scientology is to be treated as a commercial business. But a definitive clarification is still pending. Appraisals of the character of Scientology as a religion are also always connected with the traditions of the respective countries, not least of all with public debate over alternative religion.

Pending further research, religious or spiritual references in the core area described in the beginning can be established. Independently of this, Scientology is the object of criticism on grounds of its particular hierarchical structures of leadership, the close control of its members, and acts of individual Scientologists in the gray areas of lawful permissibility. But there has been no proof of the allegation that Scientology is a Mafia-type organization that strives for world rule, and that systematically infiltrates politics and the economy.

For several decades now, Scientology has counted its own world membership at 8,000,000. Although as yet no independent reliable data is available on a global scale, it can be assumed that the actual membership is considerably smaller.

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→ *Anti-Cult Movements, Church, Esotericism, New Religions, Occultism, Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming*

Steffen Rink

Secrecy

Secrecy as an Evolutionary Strategy

1. Secrecy is a *strategy developed by evolution*, in the case of beast and human alike within the biological food chain, that attains an elevated degree of individual opportunities and possibilities for survival and reproduction by way of the accumulation of various informational prospects. The person or animal with a successful disguise does not become prey, the one that hides his/her/its food survives times of want, the creature of restrained impulses and hidden intents can secretly dodge competitors for nourishment, sexual partners, and territory, and the one that protects progeny to the third generation ensures the safe transport of her/his/its genes. The greater the concealment and silence vis-à-vis the competing side ('information reduction'), or the more that that side is deceived and 'tricked' ('disinformation'), the greater the chances of reproduction on one's own side. A shortcoming with regard to secrecy can mean death. Fear and triumph, therefore, are the constant companions of secrecy. The invisibility of one is the insecurity of the other.

Human Secrecy Intelligence

2. Explicit pleasure in the generation of secrecy that can become a craving or addiction appears only with the human being. Discovery in a game of hide-and-seek arouses squeals of delight in a child, even a very young one, the dissolution of the state of tension between hiding and showing oneself is enjoyed in all merriment, stubborn silence out of spite signs a new stage of development, and re-interpreting reality with words is the lovely ruse of others, not only for Huckleberry Finn.

Double-Coded Secret Signs

a) The basis of all of these phenomena is that, through cultural evolution, the human brain has become specialized in the practice of signs, and in intelligent, secretive ways of dealing with reality. Signs stand for something that, in itself, is invisible, insensible, and inaudible. Olfactory, optical, and acoustical behavior, in the sense of positing markers, here forms the evolutionary basis, but is the prisoner of the materiality of things. Only the achievement of a transformation from the openly communicative marking to the exclusive *secret sign* sparks the evolutionary breakthrough. In order to introduce the sign durably and reliably, a practice of secrecy, by means of a positing of signs, must represent the absent, secret thing in the present sign in such wise that it is *double-coded*—coded as an 'open secret sign.' All see or hear the sign; however, only some recognize, know, and take charge of that which the sign indicates (wild game depicted on rocks, the early Christian fish symbol, the Zen garden).

Co-Evolution of Secrecy and Revelation

b) Simultaneous *esoteric and exoteric* secrecy arouses not only the curiosity and craving of the excluded, but also the temptation of a profitable betrayal. The dynamic co-evolution of secrecy and revelation, thus launched, has today produced several tamper-resistant *strategies of secrecy*:

- *Semantic double-coding*, in word and image, divides reality into a visible-and-real world and an invisible-and-virtual one (→ masks, whizzing-sticks, bread and wine in cults of life-renewal; allegories and the narration of parables in speech and writing).
- *Performative initiation and introduction* that make the individual a member of a closed chain (years-long rites of initiation in men's associations and brotherhoods; exclusive teacher-pupil and master-disciple relations; trials of courage).
- *Unexaminable vehicles of information*, such as ancestors, dreams, visions, divination, omens, oracles, miracles, and charms (→ Esotericism; Occultism).
- *Unverifiable histories* (narratives of → origin, ascensions to heaven, after-death reports and near-death experiences, eschatological histories and → apocalypses).
- *Magical secret rituals* that can be successful only when held without witnesses (→ Voodoo cults, spiritual alchemy, black → magic).
- *Secret cults* that render secrecy an immediate, ecstatic, and extraordinary experience of wholeness (ancient → mystery cults, Australian → Aborigines' corroborees).
- *Hierarchical structures*, in which the organization's secret can be known and used only by the invisible master-superior (certain Rosicrucian groups, the "Esoteric Section" of the → Theosophical Society, Opus Dei, → Scientology).
- *Transformation* of the—as yet—unknown or unknowable *to the status of the 'secret'* (mysteries of faith; promises of revelation; speculations on cosmology or on the theory of evolution; TV cult-series "The X-Files").
- *Self-reliance and independence*, which keep nothing secret except this fact (traffic in secrets; esoteric mania for betraying secrets; many secret societies after the abandonment of their original purpose of their organization, e.g., German Masonic Lodges in the nineteenth century).

These forms of secrecy are characteristic of all religions. They function on the principle that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Only those in control of the whole are in charge of the secret. Individual participants in the secret, integrated but subordinate, cannot destroy the operational force of the secrecy. In the extreme case, the secret becomes a mystery of faith, and of self-bewitching imagination, impenetrable to all.

Secret Knowledge by Reflection

c) On the other hand, *self-reflexive secrecy* knows and understands what it does. It successfully shifts the dynamics of concealment and revelation to the level of reflexive knowledge in the area of individual cognition. A self-aware, self-controlled, attentive ability to remain silent is characteristic here. In creative play, and secret, confidential experiment with the possibilities of representing sign and signal, limits and boundaries fall from around the respective axiomatic conceptions of world and self (→ shamanism, scholarly → Daoism, → mysticism, alchemy).

3. Of such elements, religious acts build up a world invisible and out of reach, a world of the spiritual and believed, an 'otherwise world,' a 'world behind,' behind the world of outward facts and conditions. Secrecy protects and immunizes this second world, which determines life here and hereafter,

together with the well-being of those who deal with the world of secrecy. The unequal chances for life and well-being, presented this way in gerontocracies, caste societies, patriarchates, or other forms of government has, as a rule, very stable credibility. It makes religions the connective tissue of human socialization. A self-reflexive piety of silence, and falling silent, can, on the contrary, become the catalyst and motor of cultural evolution, or make survival possible in an environment of deadly enemies (Jewish and Christian → gnosticism; Taquia and Sufi brotherhoods [→ Sufism]; 'Marranos').

4. The world's retransformation into an enchanted garden of occultism and esotericism, parliamentarily uncontrollable bank secrets, and new enchantment at the hands of the media, is at full speed. In this situation, secrecy still deserves the self-reflexive elucidation of who it is who produces which secrets, in what situation and against whom, for what reason and to what end, and how and by means of what procedure or operation.

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→ *Apocalypse, Epiphany, Esotericism, Hermetism/Hermeticism, Kabbalah, Mysticism, Occultism, Perception, Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Trickster*

Hemma Boneberg

Sect

Concept

1. In antiquity, the concept 'sect' (from Lat., *sequi*, 'to follow'; free translation of Gk. *haíresis*, 'choice,' → Heresy) served to denote the followers of a philosopher; in republican Rome, it was also used for political followings. In Acts 24:5 (cf. 24:14), the concept appears in connection with the High Priest's indictment of Paul before the Roman governor as "a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes." Christianity adopted the concept 'sect' quite early. The term denoted the members of a community adhering to a faith orientation and teaching that had been declared deviant, but it could also be applied to an independent religion, such as Islam, which, in the Acts of the sixteenth-century Inquisition, was referred to the *secta de Mahoma* (Sp., 'sect of Muhammad').

The ecclesiastical application of the concept 'sect' to other groups is to be understood only from the relation between the → Church, regarded as rightly believing, and its self-concept (indeed as the one, universal, and

common Church), and 'deviation' from this orthodoxy. In religions in which a central instance and a hierarchical church do not exist, such as in Sunni Islam, the concept is not applicable. Both the conceptual application and the distinction between 'Church' and 'sects,' were subject to change.

Criteria in Christian Theology

2. Even in the primitive Christian Church, those who deviated from nascent orthodoxy in their views were excluded as heretics (→ Heresy) or schismatics. This judgment held as well for many dissenting and deviant groups of the Middle Ages, as, for example, the Cathars. In some cases, such groupings could be integrated into the Church by way of the founding of new orders. In the wake of the → Reformation, other definitions of 'sect' emerged: groups that were not included in the religious Peace of Augsburg and in the Peace of Westphalia, qualified as such; later, communities, as well, that introduced other scripture than the canonized texts of the Bible and held to them as vehicles of divine revelation. Finally, those who failed to acknowledge the apostolic succession and adopted other professions of faith were given the same label. In Protestantism today, Christian groups that have not joined the World Council of Churches, or ecumenical Christianity, or have not been received into them, are understood as sects. The same applies to those that, besides Christian traditions, use extra-biblical sources of revelation. Other criteria often cited are: (a) a split from a larger religious community, (b) cultic components in comparison with *Weltanschauung*, and (c) an unambiguous division from all other organizations in teaching and practice. Here it is often imputed to sects that, in disparate measure, they render their members psychically disturbed; make them dependent; destroy social connections; sketch an unhistorical image of history; see things in black and white; use all available means to prevent members from leaving the group; and not least of all, exploit their members financially. As representative of groups against whom these reproaches are made, we may here cite the Church of → Scientology (→ Anti-Cult Movements).

Sociological Criteria

3. Along with these theological distinctions, sociological criteria are also set up. Max → Weber and Ernst Troeltsch have established distinctions such as: One is born into a church; one joins a sect. Churches are institutions in which all can be members on an equal footing; in the sects only the true believers are promoted to such equality. In the sects, only one → *charisma* is acknowledged, while, in the churches, charisma is managed by professional → priests. In their relationship with the world, churches are said to be more available to compromise than are sects. Weber's classification had in view the effects of Calvinist and Pietistic religious motivation on economic activity; the extent to which his intent was sociological categorization is questionable. Furthermore, some characteristics of the sects do not apply to those of today; many of these evince a claim to universality, or readiness for compromise with the world.

R. Stark and W. S. Bainbridge offer another definition. They designate those groups as 'sects' that have split off from existing religious communities: groups that 'import' concepts, or that adhere to new images, are → 'cults.' According to this definition, Christianity would be a Jewish sect. B. Wilson and B. Johnson, on the other hand, have suggested that groups standing in social tension with their environment, and excluded on this account, or excluding themselves, be designated sects. But meanwhile, this criterion applies to many churches as well: in questions of sexuality and

family planning, the Catholic Church, for example, might contradict the prevalent views of modern society. Another trait was seen in the number of members. On the other hand, many churches (as the Coptic Church or the Orthodox churches in Poland, Finland, and America), in spite of rather small membership numerically, are certainly not regarded as sects.

Generation of Problems

4. The colloquial use of the term, according to H. Hemminger, designates groups that "instead of freedom of development produce dependency, demean persons, and generate intolerance."[1] It is questionable whether new religious movements (→ New Religions) can be appropriately characterized with this usage, and whether religious studies ought to adopt this concept. Thus, H. Zinser points out that, with the application of this concept, "a difference and an inequality [is] still held that [has] become essentially inappropriate, through the dismantling of the state church, and the dissolution and transformation of the popular church into a community church."[2] Applying the concept consequently neglects the altered position of religion and churches in modern Western societies.

The question arises whether the concept of sect is not invalidated by the privatization of religion issuing from religious freedom.[3] The concept of sect stems from religious traditions that it served for the purpose of self-definition, and division from without. Although many (even Christian) scholars repeatedly indicate that the concept of sect is marked by undue bias, it is still used. But ultimately, it is nothing but a polemical concept and altogether unsuited for the formation of theory in religious studies.

1. Hemminger 1995, 65.
2. Zinser 1997, 132.
3. Ibid.

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→ *Anti-Cult Movements, Church, Cult, Denomination, Group, Heresy, Minorities, New Religions, Polemics*

Babett Remus

Secularization

Concept

1. The term 'secularization' can represent either of two distinct concepts, as it denotes either of two distinct events. One of the latter is any process either of 'making worldly' or 'becoming worldly,' while the other refers to the state appropriation of church property. 'Secularization' has a somewhat different

meaning in the legal terminology of the Catholic Church, where it has its place in the distinction between 'order' priests and 'secular' priests or deacons, and denotes the juridical process of (at least a partial) dispensation of order priests from observance of the rules of their respective religious orders. Etymologically, it derives from the Latin *saeculum*, the meaning of which as '(world) age' was broadened in the Middle Ages to include 'world.'

'Secularization' as State Appropriation of Church Property

2. In the meaning of 'secularization' as the process of appropriating church property, the word itself can occur only in Christian religious history. But the process of an appropriation of religious property by state instances is by no means limited to that religion. Naturally, it is a prerequisite for secularizations in this sense that the special quality of property (as a rule, of property acquired by the Church in the bestowal of a foundation, or in the founding of a church institution) be previously formed as religious property that enjoys a different legal status than does the property of a private person. For the ancient pre-Christian religions, the temple comes especially to mind, reckoned, as it was, as the property of a deity conceived as present in it by virtue of the cultic image. In principle, all things belonging to the temple—including money deposited there—were regarded as sacrosanct. Nevertheless, in time of war temple treasuries were robbed again and again, and this act was frequently counted as sacrilege, even apart from cases in which an attempt was made to legitimize the destruction and plundering of a temple as 'punishment.' At bottom, the Christian Church adopted the ancient model of the formation and designation of religious property. Through gifts and other mechanisms, episcopal churches and monasteries inherited property that was extensively withdrawn from the disposition of their functionaries, and that, on account of the prohibition of alienation, had the tendency to grow. Similar procedures can be observed in Asia, in the societies that stood under Buddhist influence. Endowments fulfill the same function in Islamic lands, and in India. No extrinsic cause was needed for the property thus amassed to stir the greed of political institutions finding themselves in notorious financial need. Here it did not make much difference whether the political systems in question were friendly or hostile toward religion. In the Christian West, a number of secularizations can be observed: in the eighth century in Franconia through Charles Martel, in the sixteenth century in many countries of Europe with the introduction of the Reformation, in France in the wake of the Great Revolution of 1789, in the German Empire in 1803 by decree of the Imperial Deputation, in Russia after the October Revolution of 1917. Despite the different justifications attempted for these occurrences, the result was, in principle, always similar: the loss of treasure of the religious establishment was compensated only in rare instances. The secularizations of the Modern Age, especially, issued in the sale and privatization of the property of foundations that, at first, fell to the state, and thus joined the overall process of capitalist utilization. As one might expect, this privatization occurred also in Russia, and in still greater scope.

Secularization as Making or Becoming Worldly

3. Scarcely any other concept in history or sociology of religion is the object of such dispute as is secularization understood as making or becoming worldly. There are positions that adopt the concept of secularization as an irreversible development—of course with extremely diverse designations of the beginning of this process or event. For others, the point of departure is that there is no such thing as secularization at all, but only an alteration

of the social gestalt of religion. A third—and most recent—position argues that secularization has taken place in (Western) Europe only, thus making Europe the 'exceptional case,' while earlier on scholars saw Europe as the 'normal case' and the United States (→ North America) as the—religiously committed—exception.

This astonishing discrepancy is due first and foremost to the employment of different definitions of → religion. If the starting point is a functional definition of religion, then there can be no 'irreligion' in the strict sense. The indisputable deterioration of *ecclesial* influence on society and culture in the last two centuries is explained as the *religious* transformation of monopolistic religious organization into a → 'spirituality' whose orientation is to the individual. It is denied that rejection of church can be understood as secularization. On the other hand, if one's point of departure is a substantial definition of religion, that ultimately has a particular religious content (belief in God, conceptualizations of the hereafter, etc.,) as its subject, then a deterioration can indeed be verified, in traditional conceptualizations of faith and in religious acts (church attendance, baptism, etc.), that can be designated as secularization. Common to both positions is that their starting point is a transformation in the area of religion. But the very adoption of this point of departure entails problems, since it is only to a very limited extent that indisputable propositions can be made regarding the relation of religion to culture and society when it comes to a discourse upon the past. Even relatively simple phenomena, such as past participation in the operation of religious institutions, are known at all reliably for only approximately 150 years. The influence of religious notions on persons' activity is altogether beyond the range of our knowledge. The construct of secularization owes its survival to the assumption of a pre-modern condition in which religion—of whatever form and contour—is considered to be a major influence on daily life. That this influence was great on a certain circle of persons cannot be disputed. Of course, the same is applicable in the Modern Age, as well, including the present. To render the extremely imprecise concept of secularization operational, it might be helpful to define it in such a way that secularization will be an object when the participation of religious products in the overall quantity of goods and services deteriorates. This definition raises plenty of technical problems; but, under reference to a substantial concept of religion, it affords the opportunity of making empirically more fully charged propositions concerning religious changes. Here, in terms of an increase in production in society as well, it can be verified that, in certain circumstances, even with an increased production of religious goods in absolute quantities, a relative diminution is to be noted in the production of those goods. This very development is indicated in, say, the second half of the nineteenth century. An enormous expansion in productivity therefore favors primarily the proportionate balance of nonreligious goods and services. Whether this process should be called 'secularization' in an exacting sense depends once more on the observer's understanding of religion.

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→ *Criticism of Religion, Disenchantment/Reenchantment, Economy, Endowment/Foundation, Enlightenment, Modernity/Modern Age, New Religions, Spirituality*

Günter Kehrer

Security

Needs for Security

1. From prehistoric times, security and shelter from the hardships of nature, from threats by hostile animals and human enemies, and from the risks of illness and death, have been among the key concerns of cultural practice. As civilizing and cultural achievements have multiplied, certain elements of security and expectations of safety, in various areas of that civilization and culture, have multiplied as well, and determinable risks have been reduced. Attire and housing, nutritional substances and stocks, social organization and cultural tradition, all set boundaries to times and zones of insecurity. Famine, drought, and cold, for example, are limited as far as possible, and danger zones are limited and bounded by building and fencing, by roads and bridges. Religious practices (rites, rituals) are involved, and expand, with collective resistance to possible enemies, with reaping, safe storage for harvest and fruits, and with the hope of success in certain undertakings. These religious practices legitimate, for one, the culture's achievement as such (e.g., sowing, foundation of a wall, gates and fences, walls and ditches, the defensive throw of a lance against the enemy); for another, they have the task of reducing the remaining uncertainties (contingency) connected with these activities, or of making them at least bearable. When prey are distant, when seed fails to grow, or a surprise drought supervenes, then hunting rituals or weather 'magic' have doubtless failed. They must be repeated, reinforced, and broadened. The emergence of complex → rituals is likewise the outcome of growing needs for security, and a consequence of reflection on possible uncertainties.

Explaining Failures

To the extent that cultural demands and needs for security grow and become a constitutive part of social organization, the religious patterns of interpretation shift as well—from a technical control of the rituals to the interpretation of possible failures (contingency control). Specific amplifications are bound up with the absorption of uncertainties and insecurities in

religious and cultic systems, and with their forestallment thereby. Failures are no longer only failures of rituals, but consequences of an inimical, or even merely indeterminable, divine will. Discovering the will of the gods by way of divination and → oracle (→ Prophecy/Divination) means, at the same time, the fashioning of security for oneself concerning a future determined by the gods—or, in any case, the assurance of the agreement and consent of the highest god (as in Roman divination). Against the horizon of time that governed the outlook of the early city-states, the polytheistic pantheons, with their clashing, hating or loving, protecting or destroying gods, shifted security and insecurity onto a 'meta-level.' Under these conditions, it could ultimately offer more security to be 'loved by the gods' than rightly to fulfill all ritual obligations. With the transfer of security—and of reflection on insecurity—to the status of a privileged relationship with 'my' god (premised in the special case of the monotheistic religions), the structures or conceptualizations of security basically alter. Now, in given cases, security is guaranteed by a third person—becomes an element of a relationship of dependency. In circumstances of the 'professionalization' of religion (→ Experts [Religious]), it can be determined that a person has reverenced a 'false' god with 'false' rites. Security then becomes equivalent to professionalization, while insecurity must be a feature of 'dilettantism.' The problem of insecurity is then transferred, to an extent, to a meta-level. The security of a naively awaited connection between action and outcome is transformed, under certain conditions, to a paradoxical relationship of utter insecurity and utter certainty of → salvation. Election, redemption, and certitude then stand as key concepts of a Christian theology, at the end of the lengthy process here cited.

Warranty of Security

2. In parallel with a religious history of personal need for security, a religious history of the warranty or 'guarantee' of security was finally sketched out. Especially the great gods, the city and state gods, such as Babylonian Marduk, the Semitic forms of Baal, or the Artemis of Asia Minor, bestowed protection and security upon the city. Accordingly, their human representatives, the Hellenistic kings, were addressed as divine 'Redeemers' and 'Saviors' (*theoí sotêres*): in this position as guarantors, they are at once human beings *and* gods ('dyophysitism'). *Securitas*—being, along with 'peace' and 'freedom' (*pax* and *libertas*), an element of the idea of empire of the Imperium Romanum—finally overflowed into the protection of 'freedom and security' on the part of the Christian Emperors. Behind the latter then stood the Christian God, as "Defending Lord" (*protector*). With the Renaissance, *securitas publica* became an aim of political thinking, and, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, issued in a definition of the goal of the state in terms of 'common well-being and security.' Absolutist rule saw its climax once more in the program of making the goal of state intervention an 'interior public security'—the 'general happiness,' the 'commonwealth.'

From Sacrifice to Insurance

In parallel with this these processes of a state engineering of security, there develop, with the beginning of the modern age in Europe, concepts and institutions of an *individual* insurance. Both the state processes and those relating to the individual now occur in detachment from religious models or patterns. → Sacrifice to the gods of the sea, at the departure of a ship, in pre-Christian and Christian antiquity and beyond, has become life insurance or damage policy. The size and earnestness of the sacrifices corresponds to the dangers of the ocean voyage, just as, in modern insurance structures,

premiums are balanced against risks. Similarly, entreaties and votives to Saint Florian disappear, to the extent that public fire protection and a system of fire insurance have reduced the dangers that threaten in case of a blaze. On the basis of a general securing of the public area, finally, reflections and considerations are entertained that have codetermined the conditions of modern rationality, joining theories of probability to risk management. "The revolutionary that divides the modern age from the historical past is the conception and the reflection that the future does not arise simply out of the caprices of the gods […] The risk control that this produced has replaced a person's passion for game and hazard with economic growth, improved quality of life, and technological progress."[1]

God and Coincidence

3. In a tangled way, the emergence of the modern theory of probability is connected with a determination of the relationship between luck and God, and a wager on the existence of God. In the seventeenth century, Puritan clergyman Thomas Gataker noted that the outcome of a game of chance was determined not by divine law, but by the law of nature. Finally, Blaise Pascal employs the question, and the concepts, of hazard in the question of the existence of God: "God is, or God is not. For which alternative shall we decide? Reason can determine nothing here."[2] The central European question of the existence of God is clad in the schema of a wager (*le pari de Pascal*), and the risk of the two possible decisions is determined by the differing consequences of the outcome. Only the person who 'bets that God exists' is on the sure side, after the course of the ages, at the last judgment. If the other alternative—God does not exist—should turn out to be the correct one, then at least no insupportable disadvantages emerge. "Pascal's wager" has been dubbed the installation of the modern association between theory of probability and risk management: the inauguration of a life decision that leads to the passage of the inexorable incertitude of the future to a certitude actually resulting from calculation.

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→ *Fear/Dread, Meaning/Signification, Prophecy/Divination*

Burkhard Gladigow

Sermon

1. The word 'sermon' denotes that form of religious → communication fitted to the condition of public discourse. Sermon forms in this sense are found especially in the book religions Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In the Christian tradition, the sermon is usually incorporated into the liturgical connection of a divine service, for the purpose of strengthening the certitude of faith entertained by the audience, as well as to provide an orientation in various life situations.

History of the Christian Sermon

2. In its historical origin, one of the orientations of the Christian sermon has been taken in the expounding of a citation from Scripture (in Heb., *d*ᵉ*rasha*) as presented in the synagogues of rabbinical Judaism. Another orientation is taken in the lecture on or presentation of philosophical teaching (in Gk., *diatríbe*), as practiced in the Hellenistic world for the purpose of offering counsel for persons' lives. Not a few texts of the New Testament are accounted oral proclamation in written form, and these have preserved certain testimonials of the earliest Christian preaching (Acts 2:14ff.; 17:16ff.). In the ancient Church, there followed a textual paraphrase (homily), extensively patterned on Origen's doctrine of the four-level sense of Scripture (literal, allegorical, moral, and that of salvation history). With → Augustine, the sermon underwent a modification, with an orientation to ancient rhetoric. In the mostly illiterate society of the Middle Ages, frescos, altar pictures, and sculptures were the preferred media of communication. The sermon, which it was long permitted to omit at Mass, then lost its importance, not to be reinstated as an 'essential part of the Mass' until Vatican Council II. In the monasteries, meanwhile, it has always retained its place, as also, since the thirteenth century, in universities, and now the lay movements have cultivated it. Wide propagation by agitators developed on the occasion of the Crusades (Bernard of Clairvaux), or in the struggle to oppose the 'heretics.' But the sermon was also at work in the heretical circles of the Cathars and the Waldenses, and with John Wyclif and Jan Hus; and it served in the mystical introduction to spiritual and ascetical 'composure' (→ Meister Eckhart, John Tauler). The penitential sermon of itinerant preachers and monks (Savonarola in Florence), denounced sinful behavior with its social criticism, and found strong echoes. In the cities of the up-and-coming middle class, a renewed culture of the sermon grew out of an increased need for education and formation.

Ancient Church and Middle Ages

Reformation, Confessional Age, Modernity

With the Reformation, it was the word of the Gospel, in its literal and paraphrased communication (Augsburg Confession, Art. V), that won key importance for piety in Protestant Christianity. It was in terms of this communication that worship and the sacraments were understood. Religious assurance was expected then neither from conventionalized tradition, nor from the mere citation of Scripture, nor from inner impulse and inspiration alone. Instead, with Martin Luther, such assurance needed conveyance through example and experience, in a competent and responsible sharing of faith. → Conscience itself, as the confidant of the human heart before God, becomes the relevant instance for the sermon, both in its preparation and in its reception.



A Muslim preacher (in Ar., *ḫaṭib*) at the Friday sermon. At noon prayer, in the mosque, a sermon (*ḫuṭba*) precedes the prayer. Supported by a staff, the preacher stands on the pulpit (*minbar*), usually to be found to the right of the *mihrab*, the prayer niche that faces Mecca. Minbars have been used only from the time of the Omayyad Dynasty, and exclusively in the mosque. Originally movable, today they are more often a stable component of the mosque. The sermon consists of two parts, between which the Hatib sits. The first part is rigidly formulaic, and includes praise of God and of the Prophet, as well as, traditionally, prayers for the faithful and their ruler. Together with the right of coinage, the mention of the ruler in the sermon was a traditional sign of the claim to sovereignty. The second part of the sermon gives the preacher room for his own thoughts. Although not originally of a didactic character, the genre of the sermon today is used in many places as an instrument for religious politics, for example by television preachers, who take a position on current problems. Traditionally, the sermon is preached in High Arabic rhyming prose, although, especially in Turkey, and at times in the diaspora, it is delivered in the national language. (Agnes Imhof)

It was to the lecture presentation that orthodox Lutheranism gave preference. That presentation was made repeatedly on Sundays, and it lasted, as a rule, up to an hour. With the Pietist sermon, on the other hand, it was a matter of awakening a practice of reverence that would embrace the hearer's entire life. But the pulpit was also a 'cathedra of the Enlightenment' (L. von Mosheim, J. J. Spalding, J. G. Herder). Court preachers worked under the regime of the determination of religious adherence according to the will of the respective regional sovereign. Abraham a Sancta Clara, in Vienna, stands at the highpoint of Catholic Baroque preaching. L. Bourdaloue, Court Preacher, along with J.-B. Bossuet, for Louis XIV, is said by Voltaire to have been celebrated as the "first to have permitted an ever eloquent (sense of) reason to speak," and Goethe has sung the praises of the "good and pure style of religion, and the moral doctrine so nearly akin to it," of H.-G. Zöllikofer, at work in Leipzig, as well as that of others. As pioneer of a sermon in the spiritual key of the modern age, we may cite its theoretical establishment by Friedrich Schleiermacher. This concept, foundational for the liberal → Protestantism of the nineteenth century, was contradicted, at the



In abrupt and provocative fashion, the Reformed Christians shape their identity through a distinction from the 'old believers' in their rituals and symbols. While Catholic divine service speaks to the eyes with the colors of the priestly vestments and the sweetness of grace-bestowing images, to the palate with the carefully prepared host and, occasionally, the taste of the wine, to the nose with incense, to the ears with a liturgy in song—the extremely jejune Reformed houses of prayer concentrate on 'the word' of God, in the intellectual language of the well-studied Pastor. Only Bible and lamp are on the smooth table, amidst bare walls. The baldachin over the pulpit functions as a sounding board, directing the minister's words to the congregation. The gold decoration actually looks a little Catholic, the empty cross has been added later. The laity are to listen from hard pews, and enter into themselves. In common song, however, the unison of their Confession of Faith, their articulation of the Our Father, and their enunciation of the words of the Bible, their means of community are evident. (Christoph Auffarth)

dawn of the twentieth, by dialectical theology, with its call to the 'essential sermon.' The latter style, with its pure exposition of Scripture, was regarded as adequately avoiding such 'figurative' subjects as 'people and fatherland,' which prevailed, for example, in the 'war sermon.'

3. In the culture of the mass media, today's sermon has met with many competitors. Replaceable functions, required in earlier times, include especially information, education and formation, and a ritualized interruption in everyday life. As shown by the television sermons of the TV church (→ Televangelism), the awakening sermon in → charismatic movements, or other forms of religious communication in the mass media, the pulpit is no longer the sermon's only place. As religious locution based on an ecclesial duty, the sermon today, even the laudatory one on special biographical occasions, must meet the requisites of a complex goal. An indispensable premise for doing justice to those requirements, a premise that is on an equal footing with that of a solid theological formation, is the perception of a differentiated society, and of the thrusts to modernization that alter that society.

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→ *Charismatic Movement, Communication, Language, Mission, Oral Tradition, Televangelism, Theology*

Hans Martin Dober

Sexuality

An Approximation: Sexuality in Myth

1. The relationships between sexuality and religion appear on many levels, and are reciprocal. On the one side, religions have a powerful effect on the meaning of sexuality and gender roles in a society (→ Gender Stereotypes), and on the other, sexuality is a key theme in religious systems of interpretation. Especially, the myths of the various religions illustrate the complex meaning of sexuality as a frontier between 'nature' and 'culture,' and their close connection with border regions of human experience, such as the appearance of life and creativity, the transient, and death, but also areas such as power and governance, dependency and love. A creation myth from Japan can illustrate these complex associations.

The mythological first couple, Izanagi and his sister and bride Izanami, carry out a commission attached to their duty to mold the earth by inventing a wedding ritual and the first sexual act. A 'leech child' results from this act however, who is consigned to death in the sea. According to an oracle of the gods, Izanami is responsible for this failure, since it is she who first spoke at the ritual. A second attempt—now the husband is the first to speak—results in the birth of the shimmering world of the Japanese isles, and the emergence of other gods. At the birth of the God of Fire, Izanami dies, and from the excrement, vomit, and tears of her husband, new deities emerge. An encounter with the underworld follows, with death and corruption, and a series of sexual encounters, which, in their true identity as struggles for power over divine and human governance, actually lead to the emergence of culture, and to the first race of Emperors.

Levels of the Relation between Sexuality and Religion

Sexuality as Concept and as Pattern of Explanation

2. a) Sexuality is not a 'phenomenon on its own,' or 'object in itself.' Rather, its meaning and importance emerge only in the co-efficiency of physiological 'conditioning,' individual experience and practice, societal institutions, and cultural and religious conceptualizations. Even the concept of *sexuality*, and its current meaning, first appeared only in the Western culture of the nineteenth century. Religions are concerned in this process somewhat as models of interpretation and bestowal of meaning, as they apply sexuality as a pattern of explanation. At the same time, of course, they integrate the meaning of sexuality into these models. Thus, many myths describe the emergence of the world in sexual metaphors, or as sexual relations among

gods (→ Cosmology/Cosmogony). 'Duality,' and the destruction of a 'paradisiacal oneness,' is often explained by a sexual transgression on the part of the human being (→ Dualism).

The Category 'Gender' between Myth and Science

b) By way of exemplars ('idealization'), or dreadful presentations ('demonization'), religion possesses a great deal of influence on imaginary images of gender and role-orderings. Insofar, for example, as abstract dualisms such as → 'body' and 'spirit' are transferred to real men and women, or certain behaviors are attributed to them as essential features, pictures of gender roles, gender relations, and gender differences firmly inscribe themselves, and become elements of stereotyped world-images. Often it is mythical female images, such as Pandora (→ Prometheus) or Eve, who bring death and unhappiness into the world. Such images—such as that of Izanami, in the case above cited—often become bases for attempted religious justifications of woman's subordinate position in society, and thereby deeply affect the construction of rule, government, and social differences.

In European culture, one of the agents of the undermining of the concept of a 'God-willed' or 'natural' polarity of the sexes was the new sexual science arising about 1900 (Richard Kraff-Ebing, *Psychopathia sexualis*, 1886; Magnus Hirschfeld's battle against the criminalization of homosexual practice). It began to distinguish biological gender from individual gender-identity. Then came the feminism of the 1970s, and today many research disciplines include the category of gender in their thinking. Since the 1980s, a distinction has been invoked between (biological) sex and (social) gender. As the relation between sex and gender becomes defined, it is becoming the object of discussion, and is variously adjudged (Butler 1990; Irigaray 1993).

c) Sexuality can be an element of the molding of → cults, and key for the distinction between the 'sacred' and the 'profane.' Through a ritualization of the sexual, norms are observed in society, and rendered subject to control, whether sexual acts are 'sanctified' ('Holy Matrimony,' Gk. *hieros gamos*, ritual sexual intercourse, sacred → prostitution), and sex symbols are venerated (e.g., *yoni/linga* cult in Hinduism, veneration of symbolical sexual parts), or, just the other way around, sexuality is excluded from cultic acts (e.g. prescription of virginity or celibacy for religious specialists such as priestesses and priests). In the orgiastic experience of 'enjoying life to the full' at Carnival, and in a religious festival culture, sexuality, and other drives potentially dangerous for society (aggression, lust; → Emotions/Feelings), receive, as it were, a legitimate place.

Cultic rules, sanctions, and taboos are closely connected with the idea of → body and sexuality, conveyed as the former are by conceptualizations of → purity. Who may take part in a given function, and who may not, as well as who is invested with capacity and competency for cult, is often dependent on bodily condition or gender. Taboos are often related to body fluids (blood, semen), and to bodily indications of sexuality such as pregnancy, → birth, menstruation, or defilement by semen; in certain cases they may occasion (temporary) exclusion from cult or from gender-specific rituals.

The extent to which competency for cult becomes dependent on gender, depends on the gender roles that have validity at a given moment. Cult can be the place for crossing the boundaries of the gender role (shamanic transvestitism; → Gender Stereotypes). Men and women alike may be the principal characters in cultic celebration (e.g. priestesses, prophetesses, healers), take on certain tasks, or can be regarded as the only person capable



Founded in 1991, the large Christian organization 'Promise Keepers' has won hundreds of thousands of members in the United States. With their motto, "I can do all things in Him who strengthens me" (Phil 4:13), the 'task to change the world' challenges men to take over the leadership role in family and society, and as "followers of hero Jesus Christ" to battle against the collapse of modern society. Among their basic premises are: "spiritual, moral, and sexual integrity," "dedication to marriage and family," "obedience to the commandment of love, and the missionary commandment." In their emotion-laden ideal of friendship, and their display of maleness in the style of Hell's Angels (which helps to differentiate them from homoerotic elements) the historical tradition of the Crusades and the 'Holy Warriors' marches on.

of taking the leading role in a cult. Gender-specific presidencies in religious cult—one thinks of the office of bishop or pope in the Catholic Church—by way of esteem, public authority, and monopoly of interpretation, have a powerful effect on the hierarchization of genders.

d) Religions exert direct influence on the social role of sexuality by way of concrete directives, injunctions, and prohibitions. Especially religions that have developed a religious juridical system, as has → Islam, offer clear guidelines regarding permitted and forbidden relations, marriage, divorce, and family law, legitimate and illegitimate offspring, hygiene, the relation between the sexes, initiation and frequency of sexual intercourse, pregnancy and birth, and sexual behavior in various respective stages of the life-cycle. Initiation and puberty rites, such as the Jewish Bar Mitsva, mark sexual and religious maturity alike (→ Initiation; Puberty). Such determinations are far-reaching in the political and economic molding of a society, if, for example, property rights are connected with matrimonial law, or if women may not move in the public arena. Religions, too, that possess no express regulatory structure for daily life (e.g., many forms of Christianity), avail themselves of ethical and moral conceptions in order to exercise direct influence on the practice or sexuality, for example, by their position on birth-control (→ Abortion/Contraception), or their denunciation of homosexual practice (→ Homosexuality/Homoeroticism). Seeing that religion scarcely seems to exert an influence on sexual norms today, the 'secular' meaning of the sexual often takes its orientation (confirming or rejecting such norms) in religious traditions.

The religious interpretation of sexuality, however, is not limited to the production of social order. Its border-crossing and anarchic potential as well, the eradication of civilizing controls over the drives of the human be-

ing, plays a great role. Sexuality forms, as it were, a boundary line between 'consciousness' and 'the unconscious,' between 'sensuality' and 'supra-sensuality,' closely connected with the 'mystery of life,' with birth and creativity, death and aggression. It is not without basis that sexuality and 'potency' form a projection screen for (fantasized) power and violence—as well as for yearnings for salvation, happiness, and redemption—directed toward a state that stands beyond rational visualization. Hence its meaning in religion is closely connected with border-crossing conceptualizations of an existence after death, of a → hereafter and → transcendence, but also with the transitory and → nature. Thus, for example, Western religious culture, which has referred to the corporeal as 'devil' (Ger., the *Leibhaftige*) can be interpreted as a defense mechanism against the uncontrollable, destructive aspects of nature—in a revolt against human mortality (Paglia 1990).

In particular, the sex act and orgasm, as human boundary-experiences ('little deaths'), have been variously regarded in the religions. As a component of fertility cults, coitus represents, in many ways, veneration of nature in its cyclical return (→ Regeneration/Fertility). In some religions, the sexual act is regarded as an opportunity for spiritual experience, that can climax in the dissolution of the individual consciousness and an 'experience of cosmic oneness' (→ Tantra). Sexual unification as a metaphor for the conquest of duality, as *coincidentia oppositorum* (Lat., 'falling together' or 'coinciding of opposites'), is a very widespread religious motif. Even the Christian mystics of the Middle Ages applied the sexual language of 'union,' of 'fusion' and 'merging,' in order to describe the ecstatic deletion of the boundaries between the human being and God in the *unio mystica*.

On the other hand, the defeat or 'transcending' of sexuality is said to offer assistance on a salvific journey. It occurs in many religions as a notion of → asceticism. In Hinduism, for instance, no moral boundary is drawn between sexuality and spirituality. Instead, both areas are connected, in terms of an 'energy model': sexual self-denial represents an opportunity to amass *tapas* (Hindi, 'fire')—to transform sexual energy into spiritual. It would be interesting to know to what extent these religious interpretations of sexuality as an idealization affect the concrete practice of believers.

Sexuality in Terms of Questions Posed in Religious Studies

3. For religious studies, from the perspectives just sketched—the developing gender-interpretation of the discipline—emerges a cluster of new lines of questioning. What role does religion play in the formation of female and male identity, which stereotypes and expectations does it propose, and how does it legitimate them? How is the relation between the genders determined by religion? What opportunities are afforded men and women to participate in religion? What are the consequences of the conception of gender differences and sexuality for the human image, and for the social function of a religion? A critical consideration of the following material would be in order.

- Pronouncements by the religions *on* sexuality are not identical with the everyday practice of believers. Indeed, laws and prohibitions can even reinforce, or bring about, contradictory forms of sexual life. Thus, pornography flourishes precisely in the presence of a repressive morality. The object of investigation, therefore, ought to be, for one thing, the everyday religious consideration of theological norms and religious laws. For example, the object should include the interiorization and mythologization of a religious interpretation of sexuality in the early Modern Age, as persons were accused of sexual contact with the devil, or as impotence was

ascribed to witchcraft (→ Witch/Persecution of Witches). On the other hand, and the other way around, the religious discourse on sexuality can be understood as a copy and thematization of human conceptualizations, and become useful for research into gender.

- The authors of religious sources have usually been males, of determinate functions and determinate interests, so that religious sources have neglected the reality of broad parts of society. Although the meager religious history of relations between the sexes, and of women, contains shocking data, the pattern of 'repression' as a one-sided perspective displaces a view of the active role of women in the emergence of the religious interpretation of sexuality. Furthermore, a theory of sexual repression must always submit to an investigation of the counter-concept of 'sexual freedom,' which is just as culturally determined, and does not occur 'naturally.'
- It is precisely pronouncements on sexuality that are so frequently a part of the positive presentation of one's own religion, and the disparagement of that of others (→ Polemics). Thus, these pronouncements are not to be appraised as a description of reality. Neither theological nor scientific literature can be separated from a respective contemporary production of fantasies. This production will be specific to each society, and easily lets its own ideas of value and wish in the area of sexuality become the criterion not only of a perception of other religions, but also of their appraisal or condemnation. Answers to the question, how 'modern' or 'backward' Islam is, often refer, expressly or implicitly, to sexuality, not to mention being determined by the gender of the persons providing the answers to the questions. It was once the same with the outlook of Christian missionaries, or European literati, regarding the cults of a 'nature people.' Observers were shocked by → nudity, and by seemingly indecent fertility rites. Their sexual standards were why they so frequently adjudged these peoples' attitudes as either 'unholy' or 'paradisiacal.'

Feminist Criticism

4. a) The relationship between religion and sexuality in Western culture has become an object of self-criticism. Especially in recent, and feminist, theology, the 'Judeo-Christian tradition' is frequently made responsible for the expulsion of the feminine from religion, and for the hostility of Western culture to the body and the senses. This way of seeing things is problematic. First, it relates to conceptualizations of a feminine presence in the religions that are difficult to demonstrate and interpret (→ Matriarchy/Patriarchy), and that are not infrequently connected with the religious idea of a 'Golden Age.' What is certain is that there have been powerful female figures, and differently structured relations between the genders, in mythical notions and religious functions. Their operation on social relationships, however, is difficult to appraise. Second, the thesis in question ignores the fact that it has been from non-Jewish traditions of thought that biblical authors have adopted feminine/masculine polarizations between body and soul (Plato), matter and form (Aristotle), and (in a Manichean and 'gnostic' dualism) 'sinful flesh' and 'divine spirit.' Third, it is precisely with reference to sensuality, corporality, and sexuality, that the differences between Jewish and Christian doctrine are passed over. Conceptualizations of salvation in Judaism are in no way connected with a disparagement of the sexual; nor has the distinction of body and soul there the same motif as it has in Christianity. Indeed an enjoyable sexuality in marriage is of particularly high value, as it guarantees the preservation of the people of Israel (→ Kabbalah). What

connects Judaism and Christianity—and Islam as well—is, of course, the conception of one God (→ Monotheism), without a 'sexual biography,' such as have, for instance, the Indian or Greek gods. In both Judaism and in Islam there stands an androcentric morality, rigidly ordered by religious laws, along with a positive appraisal of the sexual, all of which is evident from the Jewish rejection of celibacy, or the glorification of male sexual fantasies in Islamic notions of Paradise. Ancient Christianity, especially through Paul and → Augustine, developed, in its doctrine, an essential devaluation of the sexual. The Fall is first and foremost a sexual transgression, that has been transferred to the whole of humanity. The original sexual lapse (→ Sin), and the idea of a defeat of the body (resurrection), bind 'the material,' along with its representatives, 'sexuality,' and 'woman,' to prevailing and conquering 'evil.' Thus, sexuality receives a theologically justifying place in soteriology, as an obstacle, and the sexual transgression becomes heresy. Just the contrary, in Greek and Roman antiquity, sexual morality had taken its orientation in the consequences of sexuality for a society apportioned by masculinity and militarism. It was not so much religious restrictions on enjoyable sexual relations, but a social 'code of honor,' that prevailed. Thus, it was the free middle-class male who had the active role to play where the act of sexuality was concerned, whether with free women, slaves, or men, and the gender of his partner was—at least for the moment—of secondary consideration. Asceticism and celibacy, in Christian contexts, are to be traced to the radical division of sexuality from the godly, and, comparably with gnostic groups and today's 'eschatological sects,' to be seen in connection with an imminent expectation of the End. Apart from the ascetical ideal, the exercise of sexuality was permitted, but only for purposes of procreation without sensation of pleasure, or of a necessary satisfaction of the sex drive, in marriage alone. Under this premise, special religio-sexual phenomena developed: a hostility to the body that stamped the mentality, the highly erotic presentation of an experience of God in medieval mysticism, with its spiritualization of a craving for → love, and a superabundance of sadistic sexual violence motivated by religion in the early modern persecution of witches.

Modernity: The Project of the Enlightenment

b) In the Modern Age, the relation between religion and sexuality—along with inter-religious battles—was determined by the project of the → Enlightenment. The human being's self-concept as an individual was to be grounded, and—partially with a reference to Greco-Roman antiquity—a humanistic ethics was to be sketched out. First, Luther's concession of clerical marriage and sexuality was an element of the confessional rift. The Enlightenment requirement of personal responsibility and autonomy, two of whose preludes were the interiorization of piety and the ethic of Protestantism, was more fundamental, however: it changed existing morality. The development that led to the modern age was a movement of innovations and their countermovements (Counter-Reformation, Counter-Enlightenment), even in the area of sexual morality and practice. One of the last attested witch-murders (1782) was practically contemporaneous with the high point of the Enlightenment—the declaration on human rights during the French → Revolution (1789). Sexuality and sexual morality became a component of the radical Enlightenment → criticism of religion. The Marquis de Sade, for example, conveyed his sharp criticism of the Christian categories of good and evil by way of sexual provocation. Rousseau's powerful picture of the human being, and of an ideal education and upbringing, again, idealized a 'natural'

morality ultimately based on Christian norms, and indicated problematic areas of sexuality of 'culture,' an argumentation repeated as a pattern of religious cultural criticism down to the present.

For daily life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was no progressive movement of 'sexual freedom.' The morality of the strengthening middle class, not least of all on account of church influence on pedagogy and legislation, was extremely 'normed' and narrow in the area of the sexual, and was tied to socioeconomic conditions of rising → capitalism. Counter-sketches of workers' and women's rights, as well, usually took a conservative stance in the area of sexual morality. An ambivalent role for the modern understanding of sexuality is played by the sciences. For one, they replace the Church in its function of authority, and produce 'dogmas' themselves: theological argumentations turn into scientific ones, moral verdicts are replaced by the concept of disease, as in the case of homosexuality or onanism. For another, the → theory of evolution, and critical sexual science, fundamentally challenge theology and sexual politics. Especially Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical theory of drive and religion remains today, often against critical resistance, the focal point for the confrontation over religion and sexuality. Freud takes the 'libido' as a key human 'driving' power (even for the emergence of religion!), and coins the concepts of 'compensation,' 'sublimation,' and 'repression.' Thus he transfers human sexuality from the moral area to that of a value-free unconscious, open to analysis.

Sexuality Today

5. In the late 1960s and the 1970s, there appeared the 'sexual revolution,' which developed into a drastic social phenomenon. With the development of the contraceptive pill, a sexuality emphasizing lust and enjoyment, and severed from procreation, became the medium of anarchic social and political criticism, and central for the new myth of the person who now had been delivered from taboos and was engaged in self-development. The feminist → women's movement used the growing sexual knowledge of quantitative sexual research (Kinsey Reports, 1948 and 1953) in a radical critique of the erstwhile 'privately' handled sexual relationship of marriage and family, and insisted on its political meaning. As for the quest for a female identity not defined by structures of male dominance, most Western states saw the beginning of a revision of prevailing, extensively Christian-oriented norms, and this was reflected in an alteration of the law (right to divorce, position of female labor, immunity of homosexual acts from punishment). Through these alterations, Christian churches came under a growing pressure to revise their sexual norms in the direction of a 'modern' understanding. The Catholic Church in particular was fundamentally challenged by a waning acceptance of clerical celibacy, and a demand that women be accepted into the priesthood. A religiosity that was traditionally Christian was in crisis, and many persons sought alternative models in pre- or extra-Christian religions, in order to incorporate sexuality and corporality in a way that seemed positive (→ Esalen Institute; New Age; Paganism/Neopaganism). From the women's movement, there emerged—in part, neo-mythical—religious interpretations of a 'new femaleness,' and sketches of a 'feminist spirituality.' In new religious movements (→ New Religions), as well, sexuality plays an important role as a moment of attraction. Apart from organized religion, the relationship between religion and sexuality in the literature and music of the pop-culture (beat generation, flower-power movement, pop icon Madonna) grew into a key theme. It remains to be explored to what extent, through these develop-

ments, needs and expectations formerly directed to religion have today been transferred to sexuality.

Judgment upon the consequences of the sexual revolution has become an object of controversy. First, it is alleged that liberation from religious morality has been exhausted in the mere commercialization and medial presence of sexuality. The 'demystification' of sexuality is seen in opposition to the—even religiously coded—'allurement of the forbidden and concealed.' The spread of the HIV virus since the 1980s has stirred a counter-movement, which goes as far as to embrace conservative values (marriage, fidelity), and finds itself provided with new, fertile soil, so that even the new religious movements are revising their perception of 'free sexuality.' Thus, the Neo-Sannyas movement, on the occasion of the spread of AIDS, is radically altering its practice and interpretation of sexuality (→ Osho Movement). Again, increasing knowledge and acceptance of 'sexual variance' (homo-, bi-, trans-sexuality, S/M practices) has led to a 'neo-sexual revolution,' in which the meaning of sexuality, gender identity, and gender roles is open as never before. The tension among individual needs, traditional morality, religious orientation, the ideal of a positive, problem-free sexuality, and of independence from procreation and 'natural' ascriptions of role, has been problematized. The question of the meaning of sexuality, the relation of sex and mind or spirit, and bodiliness and sexuality is posed anew in our era.

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For further literature see → Eroticism, → Gender Stereotypes, and → Love.

→ Asceticism, Body, Celibacy, Communication, Criticism of Religion, Enthusiasm, Eroticism, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Gender Stereotypes, Homosexuality/Homoeroticism, Initiation, Life Cycle, Love, Matriarchy/Patriarchy, Nudity, Puberty, Purity, Sin, Utopia

Alexandra Grieser

Shamanism

1. Shamanism, originally and exclusively a theme for anthropologists, religious scholars, medical professionals, colonizers, and Christian missionaries,





On the day immediately preceding, or following, the night of the year's first full moon, in villages and city quarters of the island of Cheju (Republic of Korea)—at the point in time, then, traditionally celebrated as the beginning of spring—a shaman performs extended rituals such as those here illustrated. They are performed to the honor

has won more and more attention in Western industrial societies since the 1960s. Here it plays quite an important role in the quest for spirituality, in efforts to preserve the environment ('nature-based spirituality'; → Environmentalism), in projects for fortifying women's rights, and even in alternative medicine. Neither scientific nor political in its basic nature, shamanism nevertheless persists as an object of interest, including the more popular interest. Shamanism tenaciously captures perceptions and attitudes that surfaced in the older discussions, but that must now be considered deficient. New views and concepts have come in, as well, although they are often illusionary. Behind the multiplicity of interests, expectations, and attitudes that meanwhile play a role in discussions, there are facts that threaten to fade from view, thus blurring the limits of shamanism.

Older Types of Perceptions and Evaluations of Shamanism

2. The answer to the question of the nature of shamanism and the answer to the question of its geographic extent are mutually conditioned. Any definition of shamanism broadens or limits the number and size of the areas that come under examination in an investigation of 'shamanism.' Conversely, extensions or limitations of the space that one must bring into consideration, also lead directly to extensions or limitations of the concept of shamanism.

As a particular religious practice, shamanism was first observed and described in the seventeenth century, in communities of Northern Eurasia, especially Siberia (→ Northern Eurasia/Circumpolar Region). The term 'shamanism' derives from a designation first used among the Tungus, and applied to those who officiate in this religious practice; but the term itself





of the local patronal deities, anthropomorphic beings one or two of whom guide and guard every locality. Marking the temporary presence of such deities among the people, these rituals afford the latter the opportunity of celebrating amusing and entertaining presentations that will ensure the benevolence of the deities for the year about to begin. The photographs show the climax of the annual ritual of the patron deities of Wahul. Amidst great excitement, and attention, Shaman Kang Chonggyu—seventy-seven years of age at the time the pictures were taken, on May 5, 1993—honors the deity before whom stands such a copious table of welcome.

is probably not a Tungus word. The designation then found entry into Europe's intellectual world, and into its languages, through Russian and German. Like the term, the concept of shamanism was also first determined in relation to Siberian and Tungus contexts.

Then, over the course of time, religious practices and conceptualizations that had been met outside North Eurasian culture came to be designated by the term. In the meanwhile, there is scarcely any longer a part of the world lacking religious practices some would classify as shamanic. The extension of the perception and concept of shamanism has had two kinds of results. First, shamanism began to be seen as endowed with at least the potential of a worldwide, and therefore universally human, if not indeed primeval, religious manifestation. Secondly, in attempts to specify the nature of shamanism, external conditions were gradually renounced as the touchstone by which shamanism could be recognized. Thus, for example, specific ritual practices, or a shaman's attire, were less utilized for this purpose, and more and more attention was paid to → ecstasy and → trance, usually designated 'extraordinary states of consciousness,' or the like. Not only ecstasy and trance were gathered under these sorts of terms, but some researchers and authors even subsumed possession under them.

This development of the concept of shamanism occurred first in the academic disciplines concerned with shamanism. The older, evolutionistic religious history saw primarily an 'earliest beginning' in shamanism, but a phenomenon whose remnants had survived into the modern age. This view may have been based on the circumstance that religious scholars of a

former time had been concerned to work on the basis of written sources. But as shamanism is a cultic practice extensively performed in the absence of written associations, it was easy to assume, under the conditions just named, that it was an a-historical religion that had always existed. This assumption, in turn, readily led to the view, particularly outside of academic circles, that, unlike the writing religions, shamanism opened an access to elementary religious experiences. In this connection, then, it typically occurs that the designation of 'shamanism' is often applied to those religious conceptualizations and practices whose historical origins, in the absence of written sources, were lost in a 'dark prehistory.' The designation of 'shamanism' therefore also finds application to what would be more appositely designated 'local religion.' Hence, adopted without the benefit of much scientific reflection, Korean shamanism, for instance, can be ascribed the rank of a national religion in the Republic of Korea.

Elements of Shamanism

3. a) In this delineation, which many see as succeeding in its intent to do justice to shamanism as the all but worldwide phenomenon that it is, the following elements could apply. At the midpoint of shamanism stand *healing*, → *prophecy*, and the *escort of the dead*. The attainment of any of these rests on the notion that the world of human beings is circled by spirits (including, potentially, the dead), among which the maleficent must be barred from the human world, and the good must be invoked for assistance. Shamans are marked vis-à-vis other persons by the fact that they are able to control and overpower the spirits. The activity of a shaman, then, presupposes that shamans are open to the world of the spirits. They must undertake soul-journeys regarded as onerous, or even dangerous, into a beyond ('ecstasy'), or, as it were, allow spirits to enter them ('possession'). They demonstrate their suitability for shamanism by first subduing some life-crisis of their own, marked by sickness or physical disturbances. But only those persons are accounted shamans, who, having endured some life crisis of this kind ('shaman's sickness'), are acknowledged as such by their social environment. To this acknowledgment attaches the expectation that they will exercise their capacities for the good of their milieu. Shamans wear special apparel during their activity, and make use of particular musical instruments, especially drums and bells.

b) It is not possible, out of the complex of characteristics above described, to emphasize a few traits, or even some single earmark, and declare it the basic or indispensable one, without placing the range and span of the concept at risk, or without a blurring of the boundaries between shamanism and other religious practices. One or the other occurs when ecstasy, and only this 'extraordinary state of consciousness,' is specified as the indispensable element of shamanism. By taking this step, the observer excludes, on the one hand, from the area of shamanism, practices that otherwise would surely be designated as shamanic, such as, for example, certain rituals of Korea. On the other hand, shamanism is shifted into an adjacency to practices—for example, Christian mysticism—that indeed know ecstasy, but that usually no one would designate as shamanic.

Instead, it would be possible, as well as meaningful, to exclude the above-described complex from attention to the extent that the only capacity that would remain as characteristic of shamanism would be that of reaching and surviving the extraordinary states of consciousness named above, but then of bringing out this ability as an individual disposition of the shaman, as J. A. MacCulloch has already done. Then the determinative element of the

concept of shamanism would be the ability 'contained' in the individual to assume contact with a reality grasped as the world of spirits, and likewise the obligation to exercise this ability. Thus, a person would not be a shaman who would take up healing or another shamanic activity only because or when he or she had learned them from someone else. Just so, a person would not be a shaman who practiced a 'shamanic activity' because shamanism was hereditary in her or his family—when, then, someone would attempt to act as a shaman without having undergone a personal crisis and come in touch with the world of the spirits.

An emphasis on the shaman's individual disposition would assist in the abandonment of a circumscription of shamanism, such as the one described above, which is unsatisfactory because it lacks some necessary intrinsic connection. For it is not reasonable to see the shamanic as depending on social acknowledgment of any shamanic abilities, nor is it apparent in what sense the latter would necessarily have anything to do with a particular dress. Emphasis on the individual disposition would also allow a whole series of identifying notes to be seen correctly as utterly insignificant—notes that, in earlier scholarship had often been introduced as shamanism's typical conditions, and that even today are still occasionally cited, although the view of shamanism as a worldwide phenomenon has long since rendered them obsolete: shamanism is an early stage in the religious development of humanity; shamanism as the 'arctic hysteria' resulting as a physiological consequence of a certain slender nutritional base, and of a lack of daylight; shamanism as the religion ordered to certain economic and social contours.

Familiar Commerce with the Spirits

Above all, an appeal to the individual disposition to shamanism would endow a certain quality of shamanism with the rank that it doubtless deserves, but which, in many determinations of the concept, is cited only peripherally: the *intimacy* of the shamanic. This intimacy is evinced, for one thing, as an image element in ritual; shamans maintain, with a particular spirit, or with several particular spirits, a closer relationship than with others. As a rule, the nearer spirits are those that have 'stood by' a shaman during the 'shaman sickness,' or those that he has rendered docile during this crisis. Thus, they have become his helping spirits, or personal patrons. Intimacy is evinced, for another thing, in the social; shamans must have comprehensive, and at the same time precise, knowledge of the life conditions of every member of their clientele, in order to be able to be successful in their occupation. Hence, the clientele must always be relatively small.

Current Views on Shamanism

4. Inasmuch as shamanism is currently surrounded by a series of different views, of which many are apposite only in a limited way, a critical commentary on such views may contribute to an understanding of shamanism on a deeper level.

Essence of the World

a) Shamanism is an independent religious teaching, and from this point of view, on an equal level with other religious doctrines. Shamans definitely preserve conceptions of the *essence of the world*. In no shaman, however, have such conceptualizations been reduced to any kind of comprehensive, somewhat closed, image, as is the case with other religions. Additionally, shamanic notions are not spread worldwide—as the name 'shaman' itself is familiar worldwide—or binding to the extent that they are in other religions.

Instead, shamanic conceptualizations are frequently recognizable only as something standing in close connection with surrounding religions. As

such, worldwide, it is first and foremost Christian confessions, along with forms of Buddhism, that are at issue. Further, certain conceptualizations are found in shamanism, which play a role in a multiplicity of religions, and not only in those that immediately surround the shamanism of one region or another.

Soul

The *concepts of the soul* in the shamanism of a large number of Siberian populations are unambiguously influenced by Christian notions of the → soul, which must be ascribed to the activity of Christian missionaries. This sort of concept intersects, again, with other traditions. For shamans, it is not only human beings who have souls, but → animals, plants, mountains, rocks, rivers, and, finally, everything that, in the context of Judeo-Christian piety, is regarded as being inanimate, as many of these things are even ascribed consciousness (→ Animism). This platform supports the thought, so important for shamanism, that all of these things can also be the temporary domicile of the soul of another person. Naturally, this animistic concept of the soul also has to do with the notion that human beings have no triumphal position vis-à-vis other beings and things.

Concerning the notion of a comprehensive animation, shamanism participates in traditions that reach far beyond individual religions. This ubiquity holds even for the shamanic ideas concerning the causes of disease. Diseases erupt either because maleficent spirits penetrate the body, or because the soul has left the body and wanders about, or because it has been abducted from the body.

Cosmology

Not simply to bring other religions in connection with shamanism, we must note that the latter comports an apparently widespread rudimentary → cosmology. Along with the human world, there is often another world, usually thought of lying spatially beneath it, that, among other things, is a stopping place for the souls of the dead (→ Death and Dying), and a world above, as home of the souls ready for their return to the human world. There are, besides, more or less clear ideas about places of the exit or entrance, and the ways in which those souls, including the shamans, find their passage between worlds (→ Orientation).

Sources

Our picture of shamanism is almost completely limited to a shamanism connected with other religious traditions, which is an outcome of the limitation of *sources*. The reason why shamanism is accessible to us exclusively in its relations to other religions is that 'pure' shamanism—surely conceivable—is not provided by any sources that would permit what is shown or said there to be interpreted unambiguously as shamanic. Neither, then, does discourse upon a shamanism submitted to these connections encourage us to attempt the reconstruction of an original one, so that we might deduce conceptualizations and practices that would apply only to shamanism. Inasmuch as relationships between shamanism and other, more widespread, traditions cannot be explained by migration, the assumption would in any case be plausible that shamanism shares an elementary, primitive religiosity (without thereby qualifying to be ranked as such a religion itself).

Broadening One's Awareness

b) Shamanism broadens our consciousness. This view is typically to be met and implemented in circles of industrial societies ('Neo-Shamanism').

An exclusive, or nearly exclusive, attachment to the notion of consciousness-broadening, of course, will likely occasion a bypass of the fact that shamans perform no individual 'consciousness raising' themselves: instead, one possibility is that they take their position in the course of the 'shamanic illness's' extraordinary states of awareness, without the persons of the clientele endeavoring to attain them. These persons, then, are not visited by extraordinary perceptions, and they experience this transitus as anything from a threat to a torture. The other possibility is that this manner of perception is indeed the aim of shamans, by reason of their professional practice, and that shamans expose themselves to it (only) because it is necessary for the preservation of their shamanic abilities, and thus for winning their own sustenance. Shamans who follow a calling, and earnestly pursue their profession, are not getting themselves on a 'trip.'

Female Capacity

c) Shamanism is called a female thing—a regard that often comports the notion that there is, as it were, a natural connection between shamanism and femaleness, so that shamanism has come to enjoy a certain attention and sympathy in feminist circles. Indeed, it is actually the case in many societies—such as, for example, in those of Eastern Asia—that a shamanic clientele, as well as the overwhelming proportion of the shamans themselves, have, in recent times, been of the female gender. Accordingly, female concerns also play an outstanding role in the rituals, and female shamans are then, so to speak, the natural allies of women in their everyday needs (→ Gender Stereotypes; Women's Movement/Spiritual Feminism).

In many societies, shamanic rituals, performed by women or men, occasionally express an affinity for the opposite sex. In critical points in a ritual, female shamans at times embody deified military leaders—the eminently male figure. The embodiment may serve as a demonstration that, in their true strength, women do not stand behind men, and bring to expression a 'counter image,' as it were, to the repression of women as found in daily life. Or, vice-versa, male shamans may behave as women, as they do merely in wearing women's apparel. For some authors, ritual sex change is the remnant of an ancient, matriarchal shamanism (→ Matriarchy/Patriarchy).

Sex Change

The latter interpretation appears rather questionable, if we recall that we cannot really know anything about ancient shamanism, nor therefore, anything about a 'primordial matriarchal shamanism.' Only the general assumption may be reasonable that female shamanism itself is only, once more, a historical phenomenon. It might also be a valid conclusion that, in certain societies, at a certain point in time, a discrimination against women is introduced, and that this then goes hand in hand with a diminishment in the phenomenon of shamanism. At all events, one encounters female shamanism only in societies in which both forms of diminishment (marginalization) are indeed at hand.

Psychic Instability?

d) Shamans are characterized as *psychically unstable persons*, if not out and out mentally ill (→ Psychopathology). This feature is part of the intrinsic character of shamanism: shamans, before they become such, undergo a phase of psychic and even physical instability, the 'shaman's illness.' The acknowledgment of shamans as such depends precisely on the persons in question defeating their diseases and disturbances. Only persons, who are able to mobilize the patron spirits and, with their help, regain their health, are trusted, precisely in virtue of this, to become active for others. Psychic

instability is often accompanied by physical and intellectual debility. But activity as a shaman, which often can continue for days without interruption, calls for the opposite, namely, an extraordinarily high measure of physical and psychic endurance, with intellectual strength as well. Finally, a shaman must be in control of a repertory of ritual acts, songs, and formulae that may well be one of the most comprehensive and exacting demanded in any religion. The pretensions of the repertory lie not only in its sheer extent, but also in the demand that it be memorizable—not to mention the requirement of a constant, lightning-like adaptation to unforeseeable situations, and consequently, the ability to improvise a suitable choice of elements from such a great repertory. All told, over and above their capabilities as ritual celebrants, shamans are often, as well, teachers, counselors, and confidants, and this with good reason. As a result they are personalities held in high regard.

Material Advantage

e) Shamans are said to be interested only in their *material advantage*, so they exploit the gullibility of their fellow human beings. This is the 'argument' so often encountered in the declarations of politicians, administrators, and intellectuals, whose ambition, in their societies, is to foster 'the modern.' Shamans do, of course, have this in common with other professionals, that there are among them the less competent, who are therefore inclined to awaken unfounded hopes in their clientele, as also to avail themselves of dishonorable means.

Clientele

It is to be observed, however that shamans have but few opportunities to abandon their nearly always spare clientele and find another. A high measure of risk therefore attaches to shamanic activity, that its practitioners may lose the basis of their life support. Prudence, therefore, enjoins shamans to awaken in their clientele no expectations that they may not be able to satisfy in some measure. It would likewise be imprudent of them to exaggerate their material demands. Shamans generally stand in competition with other religions. In addition, it is difficult for them to calculate the amount of their income in advance, if only because opportunities to practice shamanism are only conditionally foreseeable in a given space of time.

Gathered into one, all of these circumstances entail the fact that only a few shamans can live exclusively on their shamanic activity. But they must be available, whenever an opportunity for shamanic activity presents itself; thus, it is almost never possible regularly to pursue another activity, by which they could save some of their income. Consequently, by and large, there exist no prosperous or, especially, wealthy shamans. An exception in this regard occurs when an altogether special opportunity presents itself (such as in contemporary Korea; → China/Japan/Korea): in the wake of an establishment of a 'national identity,' shamans may see their activity and status increase in value—or even, in special cases, have themselves placed on the market as media stars.

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→ *Ancestors, Animism, Body, China/Japan/Korea, Ecstasy, Enthusiasm, Illness/Health, New Age, North America (Traditional Religions), Northern Eurasia/Circumpolar Region, Possession, Psyche, Psychopathology, Soul*

Dieter Eikemeier

Shintô

1. The word-sign *Shintô* (Jap., 'Way of the Divinities') consists of the signs for 'divinity/ies' (Sino-Jap., *shin*; Jap., *kami*) and 'way' (Sino-Jap., *tô/dô*; Chin., *tao/dao*; Jap., *michi*; → Daoism; Road/Path/Journey; Martial Arts), and designates the native religion of Japan, which, however, must not be regarded as a unitary religious system (→ China/Japan/Korea). Originally, only local cults existed, independent from one another. After the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century, the designation Shintô was conceived as a counter-concept to *butsudô*, 'Way of the Buddha.' Shintô embraces religious practices and functions that are very different from one another, and which can be ordered in four large groups: (1) state Shintô (the Shintô of the Imperial House), (2) sect Shintô, (3) shrine Shintô, and (4) folk Shintô. Shintô has no founder, no official sacred scriptures, no monolithic instructional system, no established system of instruction, and no religious profession in the Christian sense of a confession of belief. At the center of religious practice stands the *kami* veneration. *Kami* stands for female and male divine beings, for ancestors, spirits (e.g., house, forest, and water spirits), forces of nature (force of life, fertility), and extraordinary nature phenomena (sun, moon, volcanoes, rock formations, aged trees). Belief in the animation (ensoulment) of nature is central to Shintô (→ Animism). Very diverse usages, festivals, and legends exist locally. By contact with continental traditions (cult of ancestors, Chinese mythology, → Daoism, → Buddhism), Shintô altered its shape and self-image.

Mythology

2. Along with shamanic practices (→ Shamanism), which were performed by women in antiquity, the most ancient religious expressions of Japan took the form of local and tribal cults, whose historical basis was the clan (*uji*) system. At the focus of religious veneration stood the ancestor-divinity of the clan. The superior of the clan was at once the political leader and the high priest of the cult. In the fourth century, the Tennô clan attained supremacy,



Schoolgirls rinse their hands and mouths at a stone basin in the entrance area of a Shintô shrine. → Purity and cleanliness are key concerns of Shintô. The basin is earmarked as sacred space by its enclosure with consecrated straw ropes (*shimenawa*), to which white strips of paper (*shide*), cut out in zigzag shapes, have been attached. *Shide* are symbolic sacrificial offerings. Straw ropes with white paper strips often adorn the shrine structure itself, as well as annexed cult and offering spaces, and sacred trees and stones in the temple area. In the background of the stone basin are large vessels for rice wine, bestowed by firms and private contributors, and set out in a roofed wooden structure. The script on the vessels declares the name

and its mythology of Sun Goddess Amaterasu Omikami gained in influence. The main notion of these myths is the divine descent of the Tennô clan. On this ideological basis, the oldest written documents of Japan appeared: *Kojiki* ("Record of Ancient Happenings," 712 CE) and *Nihongi* ("Annals of Japan," 720). Together with mythic texts, they contain prayers and ritual texts that are applied in ceremonies even today. The myths begin with reports of the emergence of the Japanese islands, and plot the cosmological image of a three-dimensional universe: high fields of the sky, world of phenomena, and tomblike underworld. The primal pair, Izanagi and Izanami, stand on the bridge of the sky, and dip a spear into the brine. Drops of water flow to form an island. In the midst thereof, the couple erect a pillar reaching to the sky. Here they conceive and bear all of the things of the world. The most important offspring are Sun Goddess Amateresu, Moon God Tsukiyomi, and Storm God Susanoo. They divide the power of the universe among themselves. At the birth of the God of Fire, Izanami dies, and becomes Goddess of the Dead, in the 'Realm of Darkness' (*yomi no kumi*). Amaterasu installs her great-grandson, Ninigi, as first Regent of Yamato (designating ancient Japan), and confers on him the insignia of the crown: mirror, sword, and 'bowed jewels.'

3. Ninigi's grandson is the first legendary emperor, Jimmu. The third regent, Suinin (first century), has a permanent shrine built for the Sun Goddess, in Ise (principal island of Honshu, Prefecture of Mie), which is still today the central Shintô sanctuary. From ancient Shintô to the Shintô of today, a long road lies, along which, by way of external influences, the shape and contour of this tradition have been powerfully transformed. Even imperial decrees of the seventh century emphasized the function of Shintô as

national cult. In state-organized Shintô, cultic acts were institutionalized, piety lost its spontaneity, and woman her significant position in the cultic action. Under the influence of the Chinese juridical system, the “Office for the Shrine System” arose, which controlled state ceremonies and local shrines. Buddhist influences brought about the emergence of syncretistic forms (e.g., *Ryôbu Shintô*, from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century), according to whose teaching the *kami* are local manifestations of buddhas and bodhisattvas.

4. a) The influence of Neo-Confucianism, and the revival of Shintô by the ‘National School’ (*Kokujako*), led to new developments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The National School called for an orientation to antiquity, and to its writings, in the context of a clear ideological political target: veneration of the Shintô deities, acknowledgment of the Tennô as descendant of the Sun Goddess, and thereby the political and religious leader of Japan. Since mid-nineteenth century, the Tenno institution had deliberately produced a mythic aura that characterized the Emperor as a godlike being. The leaders of the Meiji restoration wanted a centralized state, after the pattern of a ‘family ideology.’ The Emperor, as the father-figure of this state (according to the Constitution of 1889), who had been proclaimed divine, officially held the entire power of the state in his hands and strove for the legitimization of the claim to the absolute power of a thoroughly authoritarian system. State Shintô, defined as a supra- or civil-religious cult of state ethics and patriotism (→ Civil Religion), obliged the members of all religions to observe the cult of the Emperor. By its means, the Meiji government (1868–1912) sought to provide the sense of a national and cultural identity with dense roots. After the military defeat of 1945, and the bankruptcy of the authoritarian national military regime, the then Emperor Hirohito, under pressure on the part of the American occupation, publicly and formally renounced his claim to supreme power, as well as the godlike position of the imperial office. According to the Constitution of 1947, the Tennô today ranks only as a “symbol of Japan, and of the unity of the Japanese people.” He is no longer actively involved in politics. His appearances in public are limited to representative functions. Only his sacred functions as superior of Shintô, and the rites celebrated for the veneration of the Imperial Ancestors, remain his direct responsibility. For years, national and international criticism has opposed the unconstitutional, solemn visit of the Japanese Minister President, as well as of high-ranking political leaders, to the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, where the Japanese war victims are honored; in particular, because since 1978 the names of the seven war criminals executed after 1945 have been included on the shrine’s sacred roster. Before the war, the Yasukuni Shrine was the focal point of Japan’s nationalistic movement. In 1945, on the heels of the sharp separation of politics and religion, it surrendered its position as Sanctuary of the Japanese State, and was privatized. Since as early as the 1950s, however, Japanese with nationalistic inclinations have fought for the reinstatement of the shrine under state jurisdiction.

b) *Sect Shintô* emerged against the background of state Shintô. The designation served officially to divide state Shintô from the newly arisen messianic movements in popular religion, which frequently absorb elements of various religions or spiritual traditions, and are considered a consequence of the ‘culture shock’ that Japan underwent after opening to the West. Between

of the donor. Rice wine (*sake*), rice kernels and plants are the most important sacred offerings in Shintô. Sake is used in many religious ceremonies (e.g., at the marriage ritual) as an offering of food, and distributed, for sacred draughts, as a gift to the community or the priests.



According to the classic Shintô understanding, behind 'impurity' (*kegare*) or 'guilt' (*tsumi*) lurks a blemish of an external kind, in blood (e.g., at the birth of a child, in menstruation), disease, death, or cultic impurity incurred in disobedience to a commandment or in the violation of a taboo (incest, sodomy). Impurity provokes the gods' displeasure, and results in the ostracism or temporary exclusion of an individual from the social community. There is no moral concept of impurity, nor is there one of sin, whose cause will have to be sought in the inner recesses of each human being. Thus, guilt, or 'evil,' can be eliminated through purification ceremonies. A distinction is made between a rite of purification by washing with water (*omisogi*), and the rite of *ôharai*, in which the Shintô priest pronounces prayers and waves a sacred ceremonial staff, hung with strips of paper and cloth, over the believer, or object, in order to sweep away its blemish, and to bless the person or thing. In the illustration, this is being done by a Shintô priest in traditional attire on the occasion of the blessing of an automobile in the entrance area of a Shintô shrine. His purpose is to ban the new car from evil influences (spirits), to purify it, and to bless it. On the right, in a meditative posture, is the car's owner. Similar ceremonies of purification and blessing take place on various occasions: at the purchase of a piece of land or the building of a house, in agrarian contexts, with illnesses. Twice a year,

1882 and 1908, the government recognized thirteen Shintô sects (e.g., Shinrikyô, Tenrikyô), and their number constantly rose. They are forerunners of Japan's → 'new religions.'

c) At the focus of *shrine Shintô* stand both cultic acts at shrines of the gods, and faith content conveyed by the shrines' priesthood. The Shintô community takes part in traditional rites and festivals of the year and the life cycle, such as the New Year's Festival (*shôgatsu*), semi-annual rites of purification (*harai*), wedding ceremonies, and ceremonies of maturity and socialization.

d) *Popular Shintô*, finally, is a designation for the multiplicity of the forms of popular religion, local rites, practices, and tales outside of organized forms of Shintô, the art of the oracle, use of → amulets, agrarian rites of the rural population, beliefs in spirits and demons.

5. The deities of the Shintô myths produce the Japanese islands, natural powers, elements, and plants; however, they are not understood as preexistent, almighty gods, or as creators in the Christian sense. They themselves have emerged from the heart of the world, and are seen as the powers through which life in the world is generated, and grows. Thus, their veneration often stands in the context of fertility ceremonies (→ Regeneration/Fertility). The Japanese *kami* exist and function in this world. For Shintôists, then, the quest for a transcendent world is obviated. The present world is affirmed, and human participation in the preservation and promotion of life corresponds to the will of the deities. The beyond is conceived as a dark, tomblike sphere, freighted with filth and corruption. Shintô has not developed clear concepts of the beyond, or a cult of the dead. Nor have doctrines of redemption, or basic concepts of an ethics, materialized. Buddhism filled this vacuum. The key concepts of → purity (*sei*) and guilt (*tsumi*), in Shintô, should not be interpreted against a background of ethical or moral conceptualizations. Impurity arises through contact with blood, death, or corruption, and can be eliminated by rites of purification (*harai, misogi*). There is no concept of guilt or sin in the moral sense. Acts are not good or evil in themselves: their appraisal depends on circumstances. Evil, then, is not to

be found within us, but rests on outside influences. It can be dissolved by means of ceremonies of purification.

6. The ancient Shintô of the agrarian societies knew no institutionalized forms. Cultic acts were performed in the forest, on the fields, or along the coast. The cultic space was a quadrangular, consecrated surface on the soil, with the branch of a sacred tree in the center (*himorogi*). It was separated from unconsecrated ground by a straw rope (*shimenawa*). Gradually, temporary structures were added, and finally, permanent buildings—lasting dwellings of the deities, to facilitate veneration. The cultic places of today betray conditions of the ancient agrarian society in an astonishing way. Even in postmodern Japan, cultic areas are separated from unconsecrated places by straw ropes. Attached to the sanctuary, with the symbol of the divinity (*shintai*), are a prayer hall, an area for sacrificial gifts, a stage for sacred dance (*kagura*), and various administrative buildings. In Shintô, there are no weekly ceremonies or cultic actions. Believers themselves decide the frequency and duration of their visits to shrines. Frequently, they turn to the deities with personal requests—for children, for passing an exam, for protection from illness.

at the end of the sixth and twelfth months, at many shrines, elaborate, collective purification ceremonies (*ôharai*) for the people are held.

Religious practice in the community is marked by participation in annual, traditional usages, in rites and festivals (*matsuri*), in the framework of a local shrine. As a rule, a *matsuri* consists of a ritual, and a part with free celebration. The cultic act proper, conducted by the priesthood, includes the invocation of the divinities, recitation of prayers (*norito*), presentation of sacrificial gifts (e.g., rice, *sake*, salt, dried seafood, sakaki branches), and consumption of the offerings. The collective component, which actively includes the community, frequently features a → procession, at which the *kami* are brought forth in portable shrines (*mikoshi*) by celebrants in historical array, with traditional presentations of theater and dance, contests, kiosks at which items of devotion (fortune lots, amulets) are sold, and common eating and drinking. All of this, of course, underscores the folk character of the festivals. In Japanese popular belief, the *kami* have a function similar to that of patron saints in Catholicism. They are venerated in cult, borne in processions, and appealed to for counsel and aid in daily needs. In traditional families, along with the Buddhist home altar, there is a Shintô home shrine or wall shelf for the veneration of ancestors (*kamidana*), with framed pictures of deceased family members.

7. One cannot become a Shintoist. In Japan, one is a Shintoist by birth. Most Japanese are at the same time Shintoists and Buddhists. Today the two religions exist side by side, in an amicable manner; they demand no exclusive confession, and complement one another. One is born as a Shintoist. As a rule, the rites of the → life cycle (e.g., birth, maturity, marriage) are Shintoist; funeral ceremonies, nevertheless, are Buddhist. In the West, some people speak of Japanese 'cafeteria religion' with annoyance. Behind the manner in which the Japanese deal with religious traditions, however, another understanding of religion is at work than prevails in Christianized Western culture. Religion is not first and foremost profession of faith. Religions and their practices are paths of living, paths of comprehension, but not truth in itself. The believer makes use of these paths, without absolutizing and without exclusion. The Eastern watchword is "This, and also that." And this approach may impart pragmatic inspiration.

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→ *Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic, Ancestors, China/Japan/Korea, Hereafter, Kyôto, Local Devotion, Marriage/Divorce, Nativism, Shamanism, Soul, Theocracy, Zen Buddhism*

Sabine Beyreuther

Shoah

1. Ever since the 1940s, the Hebrew word *shoah* ('catastrophe'), which is of biblical origin (Isa 10:3), has designated the persecution and murder of some six million European Jews carried out by German National Socialism. Connected to the article *ha-* (*ha-shoah*), it has come to epitomize the catastrophe of Jewish history. The choice of the term 'Shoah' implies a distancing from the expression prevailing since the end of the 1970s, 'Holocaust.'[1] Nevertheless, 'Shoah' and 'Holocaust' are becoming once more synonymous, the former predominating in the Hebraic linguistic areas, the latter in the anglophone ones.

In dealing with the historical experience of the Shoah, one seeks a connection with traditional religion. The modes of reflection on the Shoah therefore frequently contain elements of a religious dimension, these being differentiated in terms of the respective 'subjects' of the same, whether victims, perpetrators, or onlookers.

2. a) Jewish theological reflection on the Shoah begins in the 1960s, with its center of gravity in the United States.[2] In connection with the commemorative character of Judaism, which bears on the relation between faith and history, the various approaches seek an answer to the question of theodicy posed by Auschwitz. Extremely orthodox voices range the Shoah in the long Jewish history of martyrdom, as divine punitive judgment for sins committed (as Joel Titelbaum). Others see, in the Shoah, a time of the absence of God, followed, once more—with the founding of the State of Israel in 1948—by a time of God's benevolent presence (Eliezer Berkowicz). A more radical interpretation of the Shoah has been offered by Richard Rubenstein, who grasps it as proof of the death of God, and therewith as the destruction of traditional Jewish belief. Emil Fackenheim, on the other hand, sees, in a similar self-sacrifice on the part of Judaism, the posthumous victory of Hitler, and concludes to the imperative to hold fast, precisely now, to Jewish belief. Other positions interpret the experience of the Shoah in the light of a motif of a (co-)suffering God, either in congruency with Jewish tradition (Abraham Heschel), or in conscious departure from the biblical, almighty God (Hans Jonas). Doubt of the possibility of interpreting the Shoah in tra-

ditional theological patterns is especially strong in Arthur A. Cohen, for whom the 'Tremendum' of the death camps poses primarily the question of human responsibility.

In Israel

b) In the State of Israel, the Shoah is dealt with primarily on the levels of politics and → civil religion.[3] The Israeli Declaration of Independence of 1948 asserts, in the founding of the State of Israel, and thereby in the purposes of Zionism, a liberating response to the Shoah. Still, in the years after the founding of the State, the Shoah was generally avoided as an object of observation: the image of the suffering and the passivity of the victims of the Nazis contradicted the ideal of the Israeli pioneer and hero in battle. With the laws for the establishment of the annual memorial day (*Yom ha-Shoah*), of 1951 or 1959, as well as of the memorial site (*Yad va-Shem*, "Monument and Name"; cf. Isa 56:5) of 1953, an attempt was made to achieve a balance: the national Memorial of the Shoah was charged with the motif of courage and valor, as Jews had shown in a battle of resistance. Correspondingly, for Yom ha-Shoah, the 27th of Nissan was selected, between Passover and Independence Day, since it had been in the month of Nissan, 1943, that the Warsaw → Ghetto uprising had taken place. In this fashion, commemoration of the Shoah was not bound to an already existing religious memorial day, such as, for example, the 9th of Av, which integrates into the Jewish faith the commemoration of various assaults of fate in Jewish history, such as the destruction of the Temple, in 70 CE. With the Eichmann trial of 1961, Israeli society made a transition to a phase dominated by enlightenment and information concerning the Shoah. The theme of National Socialist persecution now found entry into the curricula of the educational system. After the wars of 1967 and 1973, and the coming to power of the Likud in 1977—as well as after the switch of generations among the survivors of the Shoah—the Israeli attitude toward the Shoah got into a "phase of mythologization," in which the Shoah emerged "more and more as the raison d'être of Zionism and the State of Israel."[4] The state visit of high-ranking foreign guests at Yad va-Shem was established as a national ritual. Since 1980, the Shoah has been an obligatory subject for all pupils, and democratic, patriotic, and moral teachings are drawn from it. True, critics see an instrumentalization here, as well as an immunization. In the 1990s, it is observable that the Shoah is generally increasing in a capacity to bestow identity. This precipitates in its developments in literature, film, and historiography, as well as an incipient reception of theological reflection on the Shoah in the United States.

Jewish-Christian Dialogue

3. Christian reflection on the Shoah was originally sparked by recognition of the guilty involvement of church and theology in National Socialist anti-Semitism. This reaction can be comprised under the general heading of Jewish-Christian dialogue, which has been taking place in the United States and, since about the 1960s, in Germany, as well. It is earmarked first of all by its goal of attaining an attitude among Christians that would evaluate Judaism as an independent theological quantity, in order to foster an unprejudiced encounter of both theologies and faith traditions. The imperative defeat of theological anti-Judaism here—such as of the prejudice against Judaism to the effect that the latter is legalistic, or the teaching that, since Jesus Christ, divine salvation is no longer to be found in the synagogue, but now solely in the Church—ought be reached through a self-critical review of Christian dogmatics and biblical interpretation, as well as through a more



On September 19, 1941, Viktor Klemperer, discharged Dresden Professor of Romanistics, notes in his journal: “The wearing of the Jewish Star, black on yellow material, containing, in roman face designed to resemble Hebrew letters, *Jude* [Ger., ‘Jew’], on the left breast, the size of the palm of the hand, 10 penny, prescribed for us yesterday, beginning tomorrow, 9/19.” The introduction of the Jewish Star, by order of the police of September 1, 1941, which came into force simultaneously with other harassing decisions—such as the order for Jews in streetcars to use only the front platforms—was part of a perfidious strategy of exclusion and harassment on the part of National Socialist Germany. Citizens determined by the State to be Jewish were simultaneously discriminated against by constantly new means, excluded from societal life as stigmatized, marked as ‘a different kind,’ and, for instance, isolated in ‘Jew houses’—social death preceded murder in the Shoah. “Yesterday, as Eva [his wife] sewed on the Jewish Star, a frenzy of desperation shot through me” (Klemperer on September 20, 1941). The brand of the Jewish minority had a tradition in Christian Europe: At the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215), in the 68th constitution, Pope

profound knowledge of Judaism founded partly on the basis of a Jewish self-testimonial. Judaism is gaining in meaning and importance not only as the root of Christianity, but also as current equal partner with the Church in the belief in a common, one God. Mindfulness of the Shoah, then, is shown principally in the theological review of Christian positions of judgment and prejudice. The steps in this process since 1945 can be read in various church declarations.[5]

In Germany

4. To deal with the Shoah in Germany is for Germans to recognize that they, or their ancestors, are the persons responsible for the commission of Nazi crimes. At the same time, there is a question of remembering the victims. This ever more dynamic set of problems touches the most varied areas, such as historiography, literature, film, art, religion, and theology. The memory of

the burden of the German past is extremely difficult, as it is a function of the enormity and complexity of the crimes that now stand, in a mode of self-criticism, before the eyes of the nation. Beginning in 1996, the anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camp at Auschwitz by Soviet troops (January 27) has been a national "memorial day of the victims of National Socialism." Programs are also presented in commemoration of the nocturnal pogrom of November 9, 1938. None of these commemorative rituals is universally accepted, however. Their function—definitely to be regarded as religious—is to indicate to society the meaning and importance of the Shoah for the present. But attitudes here swing between the 'case closed' mentality, which would like to forget the Shoah, or regards it as irrelevant for the present, and the effort to preserve a suitable recall of the Shoah and its victims in the cultural memory. German postwar history here is to be described rather as the consequence of a public dispute, rather coincidentally provoked. As stages in the discourse, the following might be cited as examples. R. Hochhuth's drama *Der Stellvertreter* (Ger., "The Deputy"), 1963; the book by A. and M. Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern*, 1967 (Engl. as "The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behavior"; 1978); the American film series "Holocaust" (1979); Claude Lanzmann's documentary film "Shoah," 1985, and Steven Spielberg's feature film, "Schindler's List," 1994; the "historians' dispute," 1986–1988; the debate over Daniel J. Goldhagen's "Hitlers' Willing Executioners" (1996); and the Walser-Bubis debate (1998). Doubtless the lengthiest, and perhaps the most important, confrontation is the one being waged since 1989 over the 'Holocaust Memorial' in Berlin, right in front of the *Reichstag* (Parliament). On June 25, 1999, the German *Bundestag* (lower house of parliament) decided in favor of architect Peter Eisenman's design: a field of memorial pillars. Here it is clear that the → memory (historically without analogy) of the Shoah in Germany is faced with the challenge to maintain "a memory that undermines [Germany's] very identity" (A. Assmann). German identity here need not be disavowed by a 'shame memorial,' but ought, in its brokenness, maintain itself in a constant awareness, by a memorial to the victims of the Shoah, that will be at the same time a place of respect and reverence for them (→ Monument/Memorial Places).

Innocent III decreed the external marking of Jews and 'Saracens' (Muslims). With Charles V's Imperial Police Order, a yellow ring, indicating that the wearer was a Jew, was obligatory until the end of the eighteenth century. At the end of the sixteenth century, the 'Star of David' (correctly, 'Shield of David'; in Heb., *Magen David*) came into use as an emblem of Jewish identity, and was adopted by Zionism, until it was forcibly imposed, for the first time, in Poland, in October 1939 by order of the National Socialists, as a stigma. 'Macabre' is the word used by the Catholic Press Agency about this picture that shows the sale of the erstwhile sign of stigmatization. But ought the verdict not rather be against those who put such signs in the world, and force it upon their fellow citizens? (Hubert Mohr)

1. Münz 1995, 100-110.
2. Brocke/Jochum 1993; Münz 1995.
3. Liebmann/Don-Yehiya 1983.
4. Zimmermann, Moshe, "Die Folgen des Holocaust für die israelische Gesellschaft," in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 1-2 (1992), 33-43, p. 34.
5. Rendtorff/Henrix 1989.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Conflict/Violence, Memory, National Socialism*

Evelina Volkmann

Silk Road

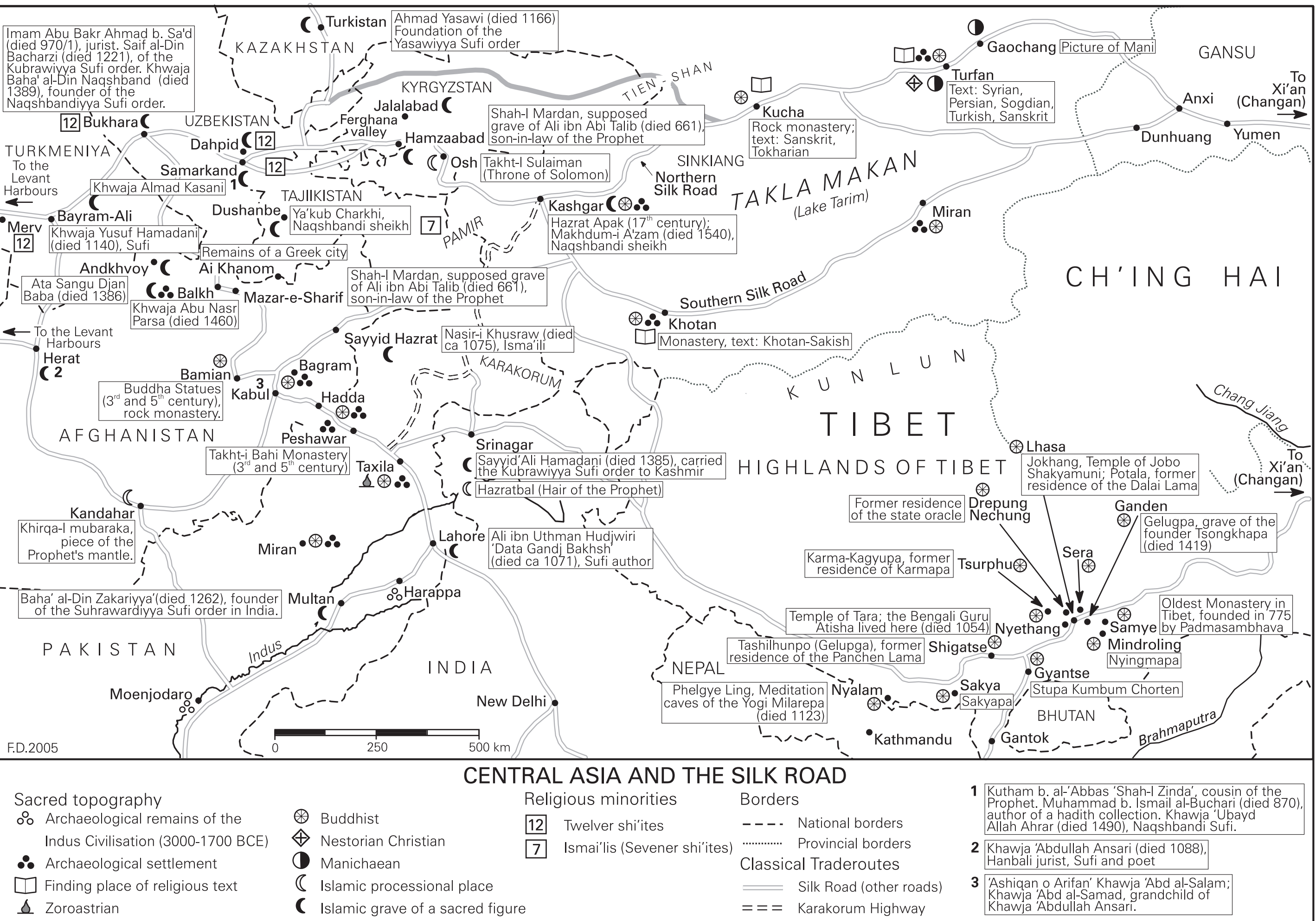
The Region

1. The silk Road was a network of trade routes, reaching from → China, through Turkistan and → Iran, to the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, and first peaked in the first century CE. Chinese silk-ware and ironware, as well as Indian ivory, were merchandise much sought after in Rome. The silk route served not only as a trade connection, but also as a cultural bridge. Although in the easterly direction woolen goods, Alexandrian glass, coral, silver, and gold were transported, more important was the cultural influence of the great world religions that reached Central Asia and China along this route. The merchants who traveled the various parts of the route functioned as missionaries and spread → Buddhism, → Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, and → Islam. With the discovery of the sea route to Asia, in the late fifteenth century, the importance of the land routes gradually dwindled, and in the following centuries, Central Asia grew politically and culturally isolated. In the nineteenth century, the region fell into the area of Chinese and Russian power interests. In 1884, East Turkistan (the basin of the Tarim) became a Chinese province, under the name Xinjiang, 'New Frontier,' and since 1949 has been part of the People's Republic of China. The West Turkistani protectorate of Buchara and Chiva was incorporated into the Soviet Union as part of the Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan. Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the opportunity once more exists for the Muslim population of newly independent Republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan, to enter into regular trade with other parts of the Islamic world.

A large part of the silk route ran through desert areas. The Tarim basin, through which ran all trade routes from China to the West, is enclosed by a ring formed by the Tien-Shan, Pamir, Karakorum, and Kun-Lun ranges, and receives extremely little rainfall. Further west, the landscape is characterized by the Iranian-Turanic wasteland. Between inhospitable wastelands and high mountains, the cultural life of the region took place in the oasis cities along the trade routes. The existence of Turfan (Turpan), the most important archaeological finding in East Turkistan, demonstrates the centuries-long coexistence of the Buddhist, Manichean, and Nestorian religions.

Development in Religious History

2. In West Turkistan, Bukhara and Samarkand developed into important urban centers. As in East Turkistan, here as well, art and culture were first decisively marked by Buddhism, which was favored by the Kushan dynasty,


CENTRAL ASIA AND THE SILK ROAD
Sacred topography
Archaeological remains of the Indus Civilisation (3000-1700 BCE)
Archaeological settlement
Finding place of religious text
Zoroastrian
Buddhist
Nestorian Christian
Manichaean
Islamic processional place
Islamic grave of a sacred figure
Religious minorities
Twelver shi'ites
Isma'ilis (Sevener shi'ites)
Borders
National borders
Provincial borders
Classical Traderoutes
Silk Road (other roads)
Karakorum Highway
1 Kutham b. al-'Abbas 'Shah-I Zinda', cousin of the Prophet. Muhammad b. Ismail al-Buchari (died 870), author of a hadith collection. Khawja 'Ubayd Allah Ahrar (died 1490), Naqshbandi Sufi.
2 Khawja 'Abdullah Ansari (died 1088), Hanbali jurist, Sufi and poet
3 'Ashiqan o Arifan' Khawja 'Abd al-Salam; Khawja 'Abd al-Samad, grandchild of Khawja 'Abdullah Ansari.
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250
500 km
F.D.2005
KAZAKHSTAN
UZBEKISTAN
TURKMENIYA
KYRGYZSTAN
TAJIIKISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
TIBET
HIGHLANDS OF TIBET
KUN LUN
CH'ING HAI
GANSU
SINKIANG
TAKLA MAKAN
(Lake Tarim)
TIEN - SHAN
PAMIR
KARAKORUM
Indus
Brahmaputra
Chang Jiang
Imam Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Sa'd (died 970/1), jurist. Saif al-Din Bacharzi (died 1221), of the Kubrawiyya Sufi order. Khwaja Baha' al-Din Naqshband (died 1389), founder of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order.
Khwaja Almad Kasani
Khwaja Yusuf Hamadani (died 1140), Sufi
Ata Sangu Djan Baba (died 1386)
Khwaja Abu Nasr Parsa (died 1460)
Remains of a Greek city
Ya'kub Charkhi, Naqshbandi sheikh
Ahmad Yasawi (died 1166) Foundation of the Yasawiyya Sufi order
Shah-I Mardan, supposed grave of Ali ibn Abi Talib (died 661), son-in-law of the Prophet
Takht-I Sulaiman (Throne of Solomon)
Hazrat Apak (17th century); Makhdum-i A'zam (died 1540), Naqshbandi sheikh
Shah-I Mardan, supposed grave of Ali ibn Abi Talib (died 661), son-in-law of the Prophet
Nasir-i Khusraw (died ca 1075), Isma'ili
Buddha Statues (3rd and 5th century), rock monastery.
Takht-i Bahi Monastery (3rd and 5th century)
Khirqa-I mubaraka, piece of the Prophet's mantle.
Baha' al-Din Zakariyya' (died 1262), founder of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi order in India.
Sayyid'Ali Hamadani (died 1385), carried the Kubrawiyya Sufi order to Kashmir
Hazratbal (Hair of the Prophet)
Ali ibn Uthman Hudjwiri 'Data Gandj Bakhsh' (died ca 1071), Sufi author
Rock monastery; text: Sanskrit, Tokharian
Monastery, text: Khotan-Sakish
Text: Syrian, Persian, Sogdian, Turkish, Sanskrit
Picture of Mani
Phelgye Ling, Meditation caves of the Yogi Milarepa (died 1123)
Tashilhunpo (Gelupga), former residence of the Panchen Lama
Temple of Tara; the Bengali Guru Atisha lived here (died 1054)
Karma-Kagyupa, former residence of Karmapa
Former residence of the state oracle
Jokhang, Temple of Jobo Shakyamuni; Potala, former residence of the Dalai Lama
Gelugpa, grave of the founder Tsongkhapa (died 1419)
Oldest Monastery in Tibet, founded in 775 by Padmasambhava
Nyingmapa
Stupa Kumbum Chorten
Sakyapa
Northern Silk Road
Southern Silk Road
To the Levant Harbours
To the Levant Harbours
To Xi'an (Changan)
To Xi'an (Changan)
Merv
Bayram-Ali
Bukhara
Samarkand
Dahpid
Dushanbe
Andkhvoy
Ai Khanom
Balkh
Mazar-e-Sharif
Herat
Kandahar
Bamian
Kabul
Bagram
Hadda
Peshawar
Taxila
Sayyid Hazrat
Turkistan
Jalalabad
Ferghana valley
Hamzaabad
Osh
Kashgar
Srinagar
Lahore
Harappa
Multan
Miran
Moenjodaro
New Delhi
Kucha
Khotan
Miran
Turfan
Gaochang
Dunhuang
Anxi
Yumen
Lhasa
Drepung
Nechung
Tsurphu
Sera
Ganden
Samye
Mindroling
Nyethang
Gyantse
Shigatse
Sakya
Nyalam
Kathmandu
Gantok

and which spread, from the first century CE onward, from Northwest India, through today's Afghanistan, to Central Asia. Thus, it is assumed that the name of today's city of Bukhara derives from *vihara* (*vahara*), 'Buddhist monastery.' This institution is said also to have influenced the installation of the Islamic *madrasa*, the 'theological school.' In addition, the existence of Manichean, Nestorian, and Zoroastrian communities in Bukhara and Samarkand is documented. After the death (276 BCE) of their founder, Mani, the Manicheans were persecuted in Sassanid Iran; thus, in the third century, they removed their activities to Central Asia. Nestorian Christianity, which appealed to Patriarch Nestorius of Constantinople (c. 381–451)—who had strictly separated the divine and human nature of Jesus, and was therefore condemned as heretic (431)—reached Merv and Herat in the early fifth century. Shortly thereafter, an episcopal see appeared in Samarkand, becoming a metropolitan see in the eighth century. In the seventh century, → Zoroastrianism began to compete with Buddhism in this region.

Islamization

The Arabic capture of Bukhara and Samarkand, between 709 and 712, signaled the beginning of the Islamization of West Turkistan. In 751, the Arabs defeated the Chinese in the Battle of Talas, and thereby became undisputed rulers of the region, with Arabic campaigns resulting in the destruction of Buddhist sanctuaries. Subsequently, however, the new religion prevailed more pacifically, and relatively slowly.

Brotherhoods and Foundations

Islam established new opportunities for merchants and traders especially. The consolidation of the Mediterranean and Asian economic regions in Arab hands caused a growth in the rate of trade, lasting until the eleventh century. Besides traders, the mystical → Sufi brotherhoods were important vehicles of religion. The Qādirīyyah orders, founded in the twelfth century in Baghdad, played a significant role in Central Asia as well. At the end of the same century, the Kubrawīyyah order appeared in Chiwa. The Naqšbandīyyah order had its beginning in Bukhara, and was closely bound to commerce. Its founder, Bahā' al-Dīn Naqšband (1318–1389) is venerated as the patron saint of Bukhara even today.

Of great significance for religious life were → endowments or foundations, by which mosques, theological schools, and benevolent institutions were maintained. Up until the eighteenth century, Bukhara was a renowned seat of scholarship, and its numerous madrasas attracted well-nigh 30,000 students, from Russia to India.

Under Russian and Soviet Supremacy

3. Russian colonization began in the nineteenth century. First, Tashkent (1865) and Samarkand (1868) were conquered. Bukhara became a Russian protectorate. Shortly thereafter, Chiwa (1873), Choqand (1876), and Merv (1884) fell. Muslim resistance against Russia took shape in the fertile Ferghana Valley, today divided among Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan. In 1869, 1885, and 1898, rebellions erupted in the city of Andishan (see map), inspired by the mystical brotherhoods and brutally crushed by Russian troops. The conservative religious Basmačī uprisings by the Bolsheviks, between 1918 and 1922, likewise found their beginnings in the Ferghana Valley. Other Muslims joined the Pan-Turkish reform movement (Panturanism), which was willing to cooperate with the new regime. Inspired by the Krimtatar Ismail Bei Gasprinski (1851–1914), the Jadīdists (from Ar., *jadīd*, 'new'), beginning in the nineteenth century, strove for a reform of the school

system, as well as for the development of a common literary language for all Turkic peoples. While the Jadīdists from Samarkand had rebelled against Russian domination as late as 1916, in 1920 a large part of this movement joined the Communist Party; nevertheless, these persons and their movement fell victim to the Stalinist mass cleansings of 1930.

The opposition of the Basmačī at first led the new Soviet power to a switch in policy. The foundation lands taken in 1919 were returned in 1922/23. Madrasas and Islamic courts of justice were reopened. Shortly thereafter, however, a frontal assault was mounted on Islam's institutions and culture. In 1927, the Islamic courts definitively lost their capacity to function. In the same year, in the name of the equality of women, the veil was done away with, a measure that even local communists opposed. There followed a systematic persecution of the Muslim clergy, as well as of the Naqšbandī Brotherhood. In 1930, Stalin nationalized all foundation land. Thousands of mosques and madrasas were closed. Between 1959 and 1964, other mosques fell victim to Khrushchev's anti-Islamic offensive. Of 33,000 mosques in the Russian Empire and the Protectorates of Buchara and Chiva in 1912, in 1958 only 1,500 were left. By 1968, their number had shrunk to fewer than 500.

The Soviet regime took pains to control all areas of religious practice. To this end, Muslim 'directorates' were established, the most important of these being the Directorate for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, with its headquarters in Tashkent. The only two madrasas in the Soviet Union were subjected to them, and thereby the formation of the clergy as well. Here the only Islamic publications—a newspaper, limited editions of the Qur'an, and religious calendars—were published. Religious life was placed within narrow limits. The pilgrimage to Mecca was reserved to a handful of chosen delegates. Fasting during the Islamic month of Ramadan was suppressed, for fear of a decline in productivity. Although the ritual slaughter of animals was forbidden, celebration of the sacrificial festivals of 'Īd al-Fiṭr and 'Īd al-Aḍḥā was not entirely prohibited. Besides, the formation of the Muslim identity of the population continued to be determined by Islam. Women played an especially important role in the preservation of religious traditions, such as fasting and visiting local shrines. Just so, the rites accompanying birth, circumcision, marriage, and death continued to be governed according to traditional, and therefore religious, patterns.

Situation Today

4. Even before the collapse of the Soviet Union, a revival of Islam manifested itself in the erection of unofficial houses of prayer, and study circles that passed their knowledge on to the new generation. The numerous tombs of saints as well, that had always been a magnet for the believing population, and on which the activities of the mystical brotherhoods were concentrated, took on the function of substitutes for the mosques that had been shut up. In certain parts of Central Asia, the collapse of the Soviet Union led to a reinforcement of political Islam, which governments had classified as fundamentalism and suppressed. The Ferghana Valley is today the center of the Uzbek branch of the Islamic Revival Party, which has been banned since 1991. Even the building of mosques or other architecture, or the paying of stipends, on the basis of Saudi Arabian sources, was not regarded with a benevolent eye. Instead, the Uzbek government precisely took pains to present itself as the depository of official Islam, and to bind the clergy more tightly into the apparatus of state.

Religious life is determined by Sufi tendencies (→ Sufism). The Naqšbandīyyah and Qādirīyyah orders enjoy the greatest influence throughout Central Asia and Afghanistan. The Kubrawīyyah order is popular among the Turkmen and Karakalpak of Uzbekistan. The center of the Yasawīyyah order lies in Southern Kazakhstan and Northern Uzbekistan. A hundred thousand Twelfer Shiites are to be found among the urban population. A hundred thousand Ismaelites live on Mount Badakshan, in Southeastern Tadzhikistan. In 1992, Tajikistan became the scene of a civil war between members of the old order and an opposition mounted by Islamists and democrats, supported by Iran. Turkey's attempt, in the name of Panturanism, to gain influence in Central Asia, failed, for reason of, among other things, the length of the trade routes. For Turkmenistan and Southern Uzbekistan, the most direct access to the sea leads through Iran. The other states would be served by the dismantling of trade relations with Pakistan; this route, however, is blocked by the persistent war in Afghanistan.

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→ *Buddhism, China/Japan/Korea, Islam, Manichaeism, Order/Brotherhoods, Sufism, Zoroastrianism*

Christine Nölle

Sin

The Concept-Symbol

1. From the religious viewpoint, sin designates the manifold forms of deviation from juridical, social, moral, and intra-religious norms. Connected with the conceptual address of sin, then, is the religious discourse upon the normative, the ritual, juridical, moral, and social construction of order and disorder. Interpretational work on the concept-symbol sin is bound up with ritual practices and procedures for the re-production of the *social order* and the *religious salvific order*, in the form of sanction and punishment, sacrifice and gift, confession, repentance and penance, judgment and re-socialization, remorse, pardon, grace, and therapy.

The discourse upon order and disorder belongs to the thematic spectrum of all religions. The specific concept 'sin' (in Lat., *peccatum*), of course, emerges only in the historical field of emanation of the biblical writings, and of the development of concepts in ancient Christianity and the construction of its dogmatics. A special form is the teaching of primordial or Original Sin.

Original Sin

2. In the writings and theological concepts of the Hebrew Bible, the story of the lost paradise in Gen 3 plays no particularly significant role for the question of sin and its origin. Only in the period of time between the first century BCE and the first century CE does a religious literature form concerning the first human being—who, in the figure of Adam, becomes the theme of the origin and consequence of sin in its meaning for the conceptualization of the whole of humanity as corrupted by sin.

In this context, and in that of the emanations of the religious speculation of his time where Adam is concerned, stands *Paul*. Paul fixes Adam's role within the innermost core of Christian teaching on sin and salvation. Paul seeks to expound, for young Christianity, the meaning of Christ through an analogy, and antithesis, between the old Adam, and the second, new Adam, Christ. With the interpretational pattern conceived by Paul of the Adam-Christ typology, as in Rom 5, the role and meaning of Adam for the development and future elaboration of the Christian dogmatic mythology of sin is inscribed for history.

→ *Augustine* toughens the Pauline image of Adam, the first human being, in his self-assured exegesis of Paul on the concept, and fashions the concept of Original Sin. Adam is at once an individual person and a collective one, inasmuch as the whole of humanity, on the basis of Adam's disobedience, is gathered up in one single 'mass of sin' (*massa perditionis*), and stands before God in guilt. Now Adam's fall, caused by the combination of pride (*superbia*) and self-love (*amor sui*), is connected with the condition of subsequent humanity, produced by the construction of a sexual biological mechanism of transmission. The effect of the first sin consists in the awakening of the sexual appetite (*concupiscentia*), and the revolt of the flesh against the order of God. It is the body then, conceived in the lust of the flesh, which becomes the vehicle of sin for Augustine. Sin engenders sin. From the moment that the Augustinian doctrine of Original Sin shifts into the center of Western Christian dogmatics, sexuality becomes the medium of sin par excellence. If one wishes to know what sin is, one must observe sexuality. According to Augustine, *superbia* and *concupiscentia* are the central sins of every human being, without exception. Lust and original sin are manifested and reflected in each other indissolubly (→ Sexuality). For the inner religious dimension of Christianity's cultural history, it is crucial that 'the forgiveness of sins' be realized in the sacramental rites (especially those of baptism and confession) and/or in the responsiveness of faith (*sola fide*).

3. Throughout modernity, Western discourse upon freedom and evil, guilt and fate, power and helplessness, the craving and subjectivity of the self, transgression, perversion and corruption, sickness and health, or salvation, has been programmed by way of the Christian dogmatic concept of sin. These discourses, networked through the doctrine of sin, like the phenomenology of (mortal) sin that takes its orientation in the psychology of morality, enjoy cultural success and dominant influence.

In the trivial moralisms of the Western world, the patterns of interpretation of the concept-symbol of sin, previously grasped in religious fashion, live on in their own fashion (→ Secularization).

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→ *Body, Conscience, Devil, Eroticism, Ethics/Morals, Guilt, Sexuality, Will (Free)*

Joachim von Soosten

Singing / Song

Concept

1. Singing is a form of → communication belonging to many highly developed species, including the human being. Extending the concept somewhat, and thus including melodic articulations such as crying out, cheering, a soothing murmur, and the like, it seems altogether plausible that the more abstractly codifying communication of → language has arisen precisely from these 'song' forms. While language must be passed on culturally, the voice ranks as the immediate—non-arbitrary if possible—expression of a person's physical and psychic disposition. It is a multidimensional, differentiated instrument, conveying information and feelings through pitch, color (overtones, undertones), volume, and so on. Its timbre is channeled in singing, in which its aesthetics and meaning are culturally conditioned and learned.

2. Singing is an important phenomenon in all cultures. Many persons judge that singing can produce a communication in intimate areas, scarcely comprehensible through language, in sensory fashion. (After all, the content of language is more frankly cognitive and intellectual.) Included in these areas are religious moods and dispositions. By means of religious powers or elements, singing serves communication, and the 'information' of the members of a religious community. Singing is summons, prayer, blessing, veneration, and offering or sacrifice. In addition, singing is sometimes ascribed the meaningful and important capacity to articulate parts of a given religious reality, to share it with others, to bring oneself in harmony or connection with that reality, indeed, to create or generate it in a magical sense. The power of singing or sound (and this especially in many oral cultures, with their appraisal of the value of the word or the name) stands at the center of many processes of such creation or transformation when reported in myths, or ritually produced. It can embody knowledge, spirit, power, life, order, beauty, and cosmic harmony. It can offer protection, and can heal. With the Pygmies of the Central African rainforest, for example, singing stands at the center of their practice of religion. In singing, they stand in permanent contact with the personified rainforest and its powers. The forest is awakened, summoned, lured—and opened when it closes by reason of evil conduct. Many North American Indians regard the medicine songs, received from their protective spirits in visions, as their most precious possession (→ North America [Traditional Religions]). Many religions ascribe certain meanings even to vibrations, as also to vocally interesting overtones and undertones in their singing, as practiced, for instance, in Central Asia (→ Shamanism), or in modern → New Age music.

3. Religions that do not posit a crisp dichotomy between the spheres of the sacred and the profane, frequently ascribe an intrinsic effect to music,



Qawwali is a popular musical style in Islamic Sufi-currents on the Indian subcontinent. A standard ensemble consists of one or more soloists, a line of choral singers (who also clap), tambourines, and concertina-like instruments. The rousing antiphonal songs, with virtuosic improvisations, can rise all the way to ecstasy, but are outwardly almost expressionlessly presented and heard. They are a service to inward surrender, the personal quest for God, and group communication. Texts from the classic Sufi poets are sung (→ Sufism), as well as spontaneous portrayals of a personal experience of God. These (like the sometimes excessive lifestyle of the musicians) can take on forms rejected by orthodoxy as heretical. In Pakistan, great Qawwali singers are superstars, who are reverenced by their followers as saints. Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan even made the leap to international cult-star, and made Qawwali known in the West. The picture shows the regular Thursday Qawwali session in the shrine of the Sufi saint from Farid, Ganj-i Shakar, in Pakpattan, Pakistan.

as if it were altogether obvious that they should do so. Furthermore, hymns connect singing with → language. Their texts are part of oral or written tradition, and can convey an explicit message. Many world religions, which are less interested in music as an art form, than as a medium for a linguistic, cognitive, 'spiritual' message, take a rather ambivalent position vis-à-vis its sensory or aesthetic qualities.

The Christian churches demonize singing far less often than they do → dance or musical instruments. Singing also connects well with intellectualization and mission. Its potential for proclaiming the faith was used by Luther, for example. The Reformation, and hymns in the form of intellectualizing, didactic and confessional song, promoted each other. Singing lends ideal content and value conceptualizations a sensible presence, renders present the unseizable transcendent, guides → feelings and expresses them, effects the materialization of community, and mobilizes masses. It enjoys the advantage over instrumental music that all of the faithful, without training or educational background, can have an active share in it. In 1524, Luther's first hymnal appeared: the *Achtliederbuch* (Ger., "Book of Eight Songs"), followed over the course of the century by various regional



At the services of an Afro-American congregation in Savannah, Georgia (here photographed in 1996), gospel music stands front and center. One by one, Father Green invites members to step up front and present their songs and dances, in this thoroughly musical service. Gospel, as one of the most important forms of Afro-American music, has its roots in the 'spirituals'—sacred songs of European Americans that were adopted and transformed by the black slaves in the wake of their Christianization. The 'spirituals' retained formal and harmonic structures of the European popular and church music: to this was added Afro-American elements in melodic ductus ('blue notes,' the neutral playing or singing of the third and the seventh) and rhythm ('off-beat,'

hymnals. Subsequently, the confrontation over the 'correct' hymnal all but made the battleground for the struggle over Christian views of faith.

In many oral cultures, singing is understood only as a different, more elevated type of speech. The singing voice, however, purposes more dynamics, tone embrace, capacity for modulation, and range, than does the speaking voice, whose physiology is basically different. The mixed mode—'recitative,' speech with the singing voice, and in singing form—connects the opportunities for a good textual understanding with those of the range and aesthetics of singing. In Hindu and Buddhist rituals, such recitations acquire key importance. In the European Middle Ages, recitative was generally used in Gregorian chorales and the mystery plays, although, to be sure, it was then understood as a particular kind of speech, while we today perceive it as singing.

4. Only with the Renaissance was music discovered as an emotional language for subjective expression, and spiritual art-music developed, which with Palestrina was still mainly choral music, and the hymn sung by the congregation. Next, theological schemata presented song as a symbol of the transcendent, and as human reflex. In the practical exercise of religion, however, the functional incorporation of song into the framework of the liturgy, as an enhanced form of common adoration, takes precedence. Singing in the congregation, the church choir, the Gospel group, or even new religious movements, founds community, guides feelings, and conveys messages. But it is precisely in esoteric and → New Age milieus that singing can also become an art form, or theology-in-sound in itself, as, for example, J.-E. Berendt's popular *Nada Brahma* make evident.

5. In many ways, pop culture plays with religious forms and feelings. Singers especially take up religious elements as cultic thematizers of the

stage- or media event, and shape from them, consciously or ironically, a kind of musical → civil religion.

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→ *Communication, Dance, Language, Music, Oral Tradition, Perception, Ritual*

Dietmar Neitzke

along with clapping for rhythmic accentuation). The exchange between soloist and choir is tense, rich, and typical of Afro-American folk music. A question-and-answer pattern occurs in the preaching, as well, when the congregation, with responding cries, confirms and extends what the preacher says. In the musical history of the twentieth century, Afro-American church music (gospel) and 'secular music' (jazz and blues) have exercised a mutual influence. (Kirsten Holzapfel)

Sinti / Roma

1. The Sinti and Roma were originally part of the population of India. In the time following the Sassanid conquests, they emigrated to the West from the region of the upper valley of the Indus. Some migrated to the northern coast of Africa, and to Europe, as far as Spain and Portugal. Others crossed the Black Sea region, and settled, for a considerable time, in Greece. From there, around 1300, they moved in family bands to Central Europe, and as far as Russia and Scandinavia. Byzantines and Europeans, ignorant of the immigrants' Indian origin, inserted them into their Christian image of the world as pilgrims, or penitents. Pope Martin V (1417–1431) issued them appropriate letters of protection and safe conduct. The land of their origin was thought to be Egypt, or Little Egypt (a region in Greece); so they were called 'kings from Egypt' (cf. 'gypsies'). The etymology of their designation 'Athinganoi,' (in Lat., *Adsingani*), from which later evolved the word *Zigeuner* (Ger., Dutch; in French, *tsigan*), usually translated 'gypsy,' refers to the fact that, in Greece, on account of their complicated, Indian-like prescriptions of purity (see below, § 3), they were called 'untouchables,' and were connected in the European mind with the gnostic sect of the Simonians. Sinti and Roma brought new cultural elements to Europe: Flamenco, Tarot, and storytelling contests. The original 'gypsy tarot' still betrays an Indian iconography.

Christian respect died away. The history of the Sinti and Roma in Europe is one of persecution. At the Imperial Diet of 1489, on grounds of suspicion of espionage for the Turks, the Sinti and Roma were expelled from the German Empire. Under Enlightenment absolutism, the policy of compelled assimilation began: Frederick the Great and Empress Maria Theresia issued

decrees under which the Roma could be compelled to settle, children could be taken from their parents and placed in foster families. An attempt was made to prohibit marriage among Roma, a practice that remained partly in force in Switzerland until 1973.

The National Socialist Persecution

This undertaking, launched for reason of the concerns of an absolutist state, did not, however, reach the proportions of the German National Socialist persecution of 1933–1945. In France, Poland, Italy, Romania, Russia, and Germany, Sinti and Roma were interned in concentration camps, by authority of the racist legislation dictated by the 'Nuremberg laws,'[1] by men of the SS and SD, supported by the work of academic 'race scholars.' From the concentration camps, Sinti and Roma were transported to the death camps of Auschwitz-Birkenau (where the Germans had built a separate 'Gypsy family-camp') and subsequently murdered. The so-called 'extermination through work' was an objective of the persecution, as well. During the National Socialist rule approximately 500,000 Sinti and Roma were killed.

2. In Europe today there are some eight million Sinti and Roma, in Germany 100,000.[2] Organized in national unions, they strive for recognition as an ethnic minority, and as citizens with equal rights under reference to the UN Charter. Most Sinti and Roma today have a stable residence. The common language is Rómanes, which is most closely akin to Hindi, and can be traced back to the ancient Indian Sanskrit: the name 'Sinti,' for example, has been traced etymologically to the Sanskrit *Sindhu*, 'Indus' (or *Saindhava*, 'Dweller on the Indus'). *Roma*, the plural of *u rom* ('Rómanes,' 'person belonging to the people of the Roma [pl.]'), is a designation possibly connected with the adjective *Romaka*, in the Mahabharata. Its more exact meaning, however, is unknown. The Sinti and Roma no longer officially accept the foreign designation 'gypsy,' on account of its derogatory connotation. But there are a large number of designations for individual ethnic groups, distinct regionally, as in their traditions, language groups, and ethnic bonds: Sinti live preponderantly in German-speaking countries, the Benelux states, and Northern Italy; Manush in France; Roma in Eastern Europe and in the Balkans; Kale in Southern France and in Spain; Ciganos in Portugal; Romanischals in Great Britain. An especially frequently described sub-group of the Roma are the Romanian *Kalderash* (Romanian, *caldare*, 'copper kettle').

The Religion of the Sinti and Roma

3. Just as in the societal area, the Sinti and Roma have a 'multi-class identity' (K. Reemtsma) in that of the religious as well. They usually belong to the religion of the majority, but with indigenous religious conceptions and beliefs. Most Sinti, for example, belong to the Roman Catholic Church. The next most important confession is the Evangelical Church, especially the Pentecostal movement, an Evangelical faith-orientation. In Muslim regions, the Roma belong to Islam.

Faith Practice

Social life, in function of each ethnic group, centers on the (extended) family or the kinship group (clan). Faith practice is therefore determined by its common value-oriented behavior, as well as by the festivals and rituals of the → life cycle, and (especially among Catholics) by collective pilgrimages.

Prescriptions of Purity

Among the norms of the Sinti and Roma are a series of prescriptions and restrictions with regard to purity (→ Taboo; Purity), which control a great number of social relations. These differ from 'tribe' to 'tribe' (e.g., especially among the Romanian Kalderash), but can possibly be traced all the way back to concepts from Indian religion. With regard to the content of the question, who or what is 'pure' or 'unclean,' as well as with regard to other commands and prohibitions, the counsel of the oldest men is determinative. Transgression against the rules effects 'impurity.' Woman's intimate sphere is especially protected. To be sure, the destruction of a large number of social structures in the National Socialist persecution, as well as adaptation to today's fashion, have caused some things to change, for example clothing conventions.

Rites of the Life Cycle

Birth, marriage, and burial are great festivals for the Sinti. Social life in common is seen as an important component of culture. Thus, they prefer to keep the elderly within the circle of the family, rather than place them in nursing homes. Funerals (*pampanas*) last several days. Women and men loudly wail at the death of their loved ones. After the funeral, a banquet is held.

Pilgrimages and Marian Piety

Many Christian usages maintained in Sinti villages were lost, however, because of the National Socialist persecution. The Marian piety of the Sinti is remarkable (→ Mary; see illus.). Pilgrimages are traditional, undertaken or led by the Sinti, with flower-adorned crosses and statues of Mary. A pilgrimage destination especially dear to the Sinti is Lourdes. Since the nineteenth century, the custom has been cultivated of meeting once a year, May 23–26, at Sainte Marie de la Mer, in Provençe, to honor Saint Sara, Egyptian servant of Mary Salome, and other legendary Marian figures.

Content of Belief

Conceptualizations of faith are not committed to writing, but are transmitted orally in myths and folk tales. Images and narratives may serve as documentation of the content of belief. Parents and the elderly recount stories to the children, as parables of particular principles of human life. In many groups, belief in spirits of the dead (*mulo*) is of importance.

Between Attempts at Integration and Social Exclusion

The attitude of the great Christian churches toward Sinti and Roma is ambivalent even today, and often powerfully influenced by social prejudices. On the Catholic side, a 'gypsy and nomad ministry' to the Sinti is performed in Cologne. Of course, there are constant tensions, owing to discriminatory pronouncements. At the German Evangelical Church Convention, the Central Council of the Sinti and Roma was represented from 1979 to 1991. Even at divine service, the status of 'exotics' has not yet been revised to 'normal.' The behavior of clergy and parishioners often deters Sinti from attendance at Mass. Polls revealed that Sinti were stared at 'as if they had escaped from the zoo,' and that their exclusion was effected in the most varied of manners.[3]

Reception and Stereotypes

Hostile Images vs. Information

4. Where observers of Sinti and Roma have known nothing of their culture, they have often sought to fill these gaps with the construction of stereotypes, and hostile images, that have not corresponded with reality. The image alternates between romanticizing desires that look for license, autonomy, and female eroticism, and social derogation as thieves and beggars. Until very recently, (quasi-) religious perceptions on the part of conventional religion were limited to those of 'gypsy fortune-tellers,' with crystal balls, tarot cards,



A Sintiza places a lamp before a statue of Mary. Various locations in which Mary is venerated, especially Lourdes, are favorite pilgrimage places of the Sinti and Roma. The relation of these people to the Catholic Church, however, has been criticized, and they have been discriminated against by the 'nomad ministry' particularly for their Marian devotion.

and palmistry. By way of a *circulus vitiosus*, the piety of the Sinti was criticized, while a lack of interest in religion was also alleged. These accusations can only be described as attempts to upwardly evaluate the accuser's own identity at other persons' cost, a phenomenon repeatedly encountered in history: the 'scapegoat motif.' Here a collection of traditional stereotypes is appealed to, rather similar to those applied vis-à-vis the Jews. On the basis of Christian legends like one of the refusal to lodge the Holy Family in Egypt, or of the production of the manufacture of the nails of the crucifixion—a pseudo-biblical scenario in which a kind of legendary 'original guilt' notion occurred—the incriminations began to allege a collective sinfulness. It also began to be a matter of pre-modern, inquisitorial varieties of the battle against superstition (according to Himmler's decree of November 20, 1939, women under 'suspicion of fortune-telling' were deported to concentration camps); or of the hostile images of social myths, as that of 'restiveness,' and abduction of children. Finally, the 'scientific findings' of modern racial ideologies ensued ('racially conditioned' criminality, categorization as 'pathologically asocial'). Here the frequently interwoven → hostile images of → anti-Semitism and 'anti-gypsy-ism' reinforced each other. Even today, scientific investigation of the religion of the Sinti and Roma, which ought to be able to provide an objective picture, is yet to be developed: it is still burdened with the bigotries of the past, nor is it yet free of ethno-romanticism.

Still, through the attempt to be accepted as fellow human beings and citizens, without having to be utterly adapted to the majority, the Sinti have supported Western society in a learning process. It is ever more vigorously accepted that equality need not be accompanied by identity, and that what remains strange to the observer need not at once be classified as negative or

dangerous. Granted, another backlash like that of the post-1990 discrimination against the Roma cannot be ruled out.

1. Cf. Circular Decree of the "Reichs- und Preußischer Minister des Innern, über das Verbot von Rassenmischehen" (Ger., Decree of the "Reich and Prussian Minister of the Interior on the Prohibition of Interracial Marriages") of November 26, 1935.
2. Sources: Declarations of Delegates to the Convention of European Council / OSCE / Office for Democratic Institutions, 1994, held at Rome; Legeois, Jean Pierre, Gypsies and Travellers, Paris 1994, 16.
3. Cf. Seidler, Gerhard, Die christliche Gemeinde und die Angst vor Fremden. Aufgewiesen am Beispiel der Sinti und Roma, Frankfurt/M. 1989.

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→ *Collective Representations, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Hinduism, Indian Subcontinent, Minorities, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Purity*

Esther Kraus

Social Myths and Fantasy Images

The Rumor of Orleans

1. On May 10, 1969, in the lovely French city of Orleans, a shop for women's clothing opened. Its name was provocative: *Aux Oubliettes*—Fr., "In the Dungeons." The management had thought up something quite special that was certainly expected to stimulate attention: the changing cubicles were outfitted after the fashion of a medieval dungeon. This idea did not remain without consequence. A scant month later, a number of shops and city-centers began to display the motto: "Don't buy from Jews. They traffic in girls." What had happened? Beginning in Catholic girls' schools, the rumor had spread, first among companions, then with parents and teachers as well, that in the changing booths young women were stunned with injections, abducted, and, at night, by means of, for example, submarines, shipped

to oriental bordellos. It took two weeks for civil authorities and the local bishop to bring the situation under control.

The occurrence is so instructive because it unveils the unconscious and pre-conscious dynamics of social acts, and like a lightening bolt—the steering these dynamics by a repertory of collective models and violent images, and their interweaving and establishment by way of narrative. The point of departure for the scenario is a violent historical image that—not only for teenagers—conjures up the torture chambers of the Inquisitors and the witch-hunters. Thereafter, the thought is observable in its manufacture: in 'compelling' conclusion, the horrible medieval panorama is coupled, associatively, with two other tales: first, that of the oriental harem (→ Orientalism/Exotism), and second, anti-Jewish myths of child-abduction and ritual murder—as well as that of the 'Jewish businessmen' (→ Anti-Semitism). The medium is everyday conversation, gossip, and chatter, on the sidewalk, in the school, in the office, with negative facets. The collective 'spirit of the people,' mixed with residual stories of all kinds, 'mini-yarns' or anecdotes (H.-J. Neubauer), stereotypes, hostile images, bigotries, stirs up a scenario, a 'wild rumor,' whose 'fable-spinning poesie' (Morin: *poésie fabuleuse*) 'mythically doubles' (Neubauer) the reality and its protagonists. Now the process culminates in a fictive role-stereotype of one's neighbors or acquaintances: 'the Jew,' or 'the → witches' (→ Prejudices/Stereotypes).

Social Myths

2. If one considers the → collective representations, the thought processes, and the feelings of a community, these divide primarily into three forms of phenomena: stereotypes, fantasies and models, as well as narratives (collective and socio-mythic). Stereotypes, as the smallest units, are found in both other forms.

Imaginaires—*Models and Fantasy-Images*

a) Collective conceptual images, as to how society, world, sky, and earth, look, or could have looked, are found since antiquity: the 'Golden Age,' or, in the Middle Ages, the image of a class state divided into warriors, farmers, and priests. In both examples, the scintillating quality of this sort of picture can be easily shown. It is a matter of collectively obligatory and effective discoveries of images—of social fantasies, therefore—that have taken on ideological functions for the legitimization of government, and in societal sketches prevailing into the modern age. At the same time, they possess a fantasy-generating potential that has found its reflection in art and literature, and popular printed graphics, as well as in sermons and in philosophical treatises. It is especially in the French research into social history conducted by the *École des Annales* (Fr., "School of *Annales*"), that the first approaches of a 'social history of the *imaginaires* [fantasy images]' has been worked out, to include dreams as well as literary production, iconography, and emblematics (→ Emblem)—the 'symbolical structures' (G. Duby) of society across the board.

The 'Great Stories'

b) Every society has its 'great stories.' For the ancient Greeks, these were the Trojan War and Odysseus's wanderings, in the version of Homer. The ancient Israelites, and the Jews of today, enjoy the stories of Abraham, Joseph, and Esther. The life and death of Jesus is the original Christian story; the late Middle Ages, and modernity, attached Dante's journey to hell and heaven, the tragic inventiveness of Don Quixote, researcher Faust, or the narrative of the Happy Isles (→ Utopia). Stories of a thousand-year reign of

peace have been influential (→ Millenarianism/Chiliasm). There are stories that nearly everyone in a given religion or culture knows 'somehow,' 'from somewhere,' that circulate in fragments, variations, and quotations, and are re-told, in ever new versions, without losing their arrangement and contours; that are read between the cover of a book, just as they are seen and heard in the theater or in films. They are distinguished from the 'normal' stories and myths by their social spectrum, and *longue durée* (Fr., 'long duration') through the centuries. They can be designated as 'macro-myths,' or 'grand narratives,' then. Religious myths (narratives of the gods, etc.), accordingly, are frequently special cases of social myths.

Structures of the Unconscious

To what extent are collective myths and *imaginaires* components of the social unconscious?

a) They possess structures of *longue durée*, distinguish themselves by their durability, and continue to find communicative confirmation.

b) They function as mythic metaphors in historical reality, as powerful historical images, and stories *à clée* (with a hint buried relatively early within them for the solution of a mystery being presented), that busy the collective fantasy and direct it to 'targets.'

c) They convey life sketches, exemplars, and life goals, but also idologemes, and fragments of a → civil religion whose theology is political.

d) As with many → fairytales, they identify the 'polyphony of process': even government needs the endorsement of the public, and thus needs the extension of the myth or other commanding image through further narrative or sketching. There arises a mesh of myths and anti-myths, of narrative fragments ('splinters'; Neubauer 1998) and mini-yarns, from which group members can withdraw only with difficulty.

e) Social myths and *imaginaires* carry 'implicit knowledge' (Michael Polanyi), antecedent understandings, that, as long as they are stored in the cultural memory, are always latently at hand, and are thus ever open to summons ('latency of collective knowledge': Neubauer).

The Hidden Dynamics of Religion

In correlating religion to the material of these considerations, a good part of the religious dynamism of such 'concealed' rules of interpretation could appear: explanation of the world (→ Myth/Mythology), the engendering of 'mythical doubles' (Neubauer), witches, and stigmatizing runs not only openly by way of laws and dogmas, but also covertly, by way of the 'informal stock of signs,' narratives, and images. These hidden signifiers lead out into the broad field of religious mentalities.

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→ *Collective Representations, Prejudices/Stereotypes, Witch/Persecution of Witches*

Hubert Mohr

Socialism I: Christian

1. Socialism, as a social and political movement, and as it developed in the nineteenth century, was nurtured by diverse sources, religious one among them. In the first half of the nineteenth century, social critics emerged who connected religious consciousness with the demand for a renewal of society. Claude Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) represented (*Le Nouveau Christianisme*, Fr., "The New Christianity"; 1825) a humanization of entrepreneur-led industrialism. Wilhelm Weitling (1808–1871) aimed at a social equality, on the basis of Jesus's teaching, that would climax in the abolition of private ownership, inheritance, money, and punishment (*Das Evangelium eines armen Sünders*, Ger., "The Gospel of a Poor Sinner"; 1845). Among the diverse conceptions of socialism, the Marxist variant (Karl Marx, 1818–1883) emerged as the apparently dominant one in Germany (→ Marxism). Middle-class propaganda began with the cliché of 'social democrats against religion.'

With Christoph Blumhardt (1842–1919), a prophetic personality, a member of the Württemberg awakening-Christianity, oppressed workers had a socialist option; Blumhardt entered the Württemberg Land Chamber as a deputy of the Socialist Democratic Party (SPD). In his widely noticed *Sie müssen!* (Ger., "They/You Must!"), Zurich Pastor Hermann Kutter (1863–1931) announced that the Social Democrats had actually appeared in the environment as an instrument of God, for the 'shaking and waking' of a failing Christian society. The religio-social movement that spread in Switzerland had its leading figure in Leonhard Ragaz (1865–1945), whose abiding friendship bound him to Jewish Martin Buber (1878–1963). For Ragaz, 'religious socialism' found its leading model in an idealized Israel. In such a perspective, the Israeli *kibbutzim* could stand as an exemplary realization of religious socialism (→ Zionism).

2. After 1918, Germany saw a multiplicity of group formations, whose ideological variegation can nevertheless be categorized, rather vaguely, under the concept of 'religious socialism.' A belligerent nature such as that of Mannheim Pastor Erwin Eckert (1893–1972) was needed to create, in the Union of Religious Socialists of Germany, a politically effective 'battle organization.' The ecclesio-political intent to wrest the Church from the middle class, so that it could serve the interests of the proletariat, was achieved only to a modest point (if at all). Marburg social ethicist Georg Wünsch (1887–1964) may be regarded as the movement's normative theoretician.

In the intellectual milieu of the time of the Weimar republic, the Berlin circle around Paul Tillich (1886–1965), Carl Mennicke (1887–1959), and Eduard Heimann (1889–1967), had Tillich for its 'head,' and Mennicke (an important social psychologist and social pedagogue) as the 'heart' of the circle. Heimann developed an important 'social theory of capitalism,' that contains concrete approaches to a social policy and politics of reform.

The spectrum of religious socialism may be reduced to the three positions of Wünsch, Paul Tillich, and—at the end of the twentieth century—Dorothee Sölle. Wünsch, in his *Evangelische Wirtschaftsethik* (Ger., "Evangelical Economic Ethics"; 1927) derives a political decision for socialism from factual necessities, but at the same time sees in socialism a "re-producing of the meaning of God's creation, whose meaning is love." Tillich develops a theory of time, understood as an existential situation of alienation. In the

proletarian revolution, there dawns, instead, a 'theonomy' ('rule of the divine law')—an event that Tillich linked with the Greek concept of *kairós*, in the sense of 'fulfilled time.' Sölle writes her *Mystik und Widerstand* (Ger., "Mysticism and Resistance"; 1997) after the collapse of real socialism in the Eastern bloc and in Nicaragua. Like Erich Fromm (who expounds Marx humanistically), she opposes to capitalistic 'Hab-sucht' ('lust/addiction to "have"') the mystical ideal of 'Ledigwerden' ('becoming unencumbered'), in which the question, already arisen in the religio-socialist "Heppenheimer Conference" of 1928, of a 'socialistic shaping of one's life' in the renunciation of the 'have-mentality,' shifted front and center.

3. A new eruption occurred (for many, partly spurred on by the Vietnam War being waged by the United States) in solidarism with the poor in the 'Third World.' Base communities in Latin America had developed a → 'liberation theology' that adopted Marxist tenets. The revolutionary meaning of the Bible's prophetical proclamation was rediscovered—partly in conscious linkage with Blumhardt and Ragaz—by Christians for Socialism, as well as by a new generation in the old "Union of Religious Socialists."

4. The sum-total of the religio-socialist heritage can be contoured in four 'socialisms': a prophetical one (Blumhardt, Kutter), a doctrinaire (Eckart, and, to an extent, Ragaz), a rigoristic (the "Brotherly Courts" around Eberhard Arnold, 1883–1935; Eckert in the transition to the German Communist Party), and a biophilic. The biophilic type is represented by E. Fromm and D. Sölle, and has influenced parts of the ecology movement (→ Environmentalism). In its global comprehension and extension, biophilia, whose impetus is in the direction of new social shapes and forms, runs against every kind of situation of oppression: especially, the economic exploitation of the 'Third' and the 'Fourth' Worlds, woman's oppression, and the desecration of nature. It is not to be doubted that the battle against social injustice, as the legacy of the prophets of Israel and the 'church of the poor' will retain its currency and urgency.

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→ *Capitalism, Charitable Organizations, Industrial Society, Liberation Theology, Marxism, Socialism II*

Arnold Pfeiffer

Socialism II: Islamic

History

1. Intellectuals of the Islamic Middle East came in contact with socialist thought at the close of the nineteenth century, while studying in France and England. Beginning in 1908, and influenced by French models and

anti-imperialist convictions, socialist notions stamped the Turkish National Movement under Ziya Gökalp. The first socialist party in Turkey was founded in 1910, shortly after the Young Turks' Revolution of 1908, but dissolved three months later. In 1912 it formed anew, for one year. The term *ishtirāk-e emwāl* ('redistribution of wealth') at a time when neologisms reflected the new socio-cultural, economic, and political ideas adopted from Western Europe, became the basis of the term *ishtirākči* ('[a] socialist') and *ishtirāki* ('socialistic'). Soon, however, the terms *sosyalist* ('[a] socialist') and *sosyalism* ('socialism') came into use in Turkish and Persian.

Arabic Countries and Socialistic Movements

In 1912, Copt Salama Musa published the first book in Arabic with the title *al-Ishtirākiyya* ("The Socialism"). It gave information about Fabian socialism, of British coinage. Egyptian reformer Shiblī Shumayyil, of Syrian Christian origin, and Ismā'īl Maẓhar carried on debates in their writings in the 1920s, on socialist ideas with an eye to reforms that would effect more social justice and state welfare. In Alexandria, surely in consequence of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, a socialist party was founded in 1920, and a communist party in 1921. Influences of → National Socialism, as well as of Fascism of German and Italian coinage, appeared in Egypt, as well as in Iraq (Rashīd 'Alī al-Kīlānī) in 1941, partly conditioned by opposition to British colonial policy. After national independence, in the 1950s, regimes came to power in several Arab countries propagating socialist theory, usually depending on a unity party, and retaining Islam as the state religion. This occurred in Egypt under Nasser, in Syria and Iraq with the support of the *Baath* parties (*ba'ṯ*, 'national reawakening')—which, however, would soon fall victim to internal strife—in Tunisia under Bourguiba, and in Libya in 1969 under Ghaddafi.

Fundamental Ideas

2. In contrast with socialism of a Marxist stamp, which strives for internationalism and rigorous atheism, Islamic socialism carries nationalistic traits, and appeals to the → Qur'an, and to the commandments there formulated for right action (e.g., sura 5:8). It appeals especially to the 'poor tax' (*zakāt*) as one of the five 'pillars of Islam'— as the responsibility of every Muslim. These emphases did lead to agrarian and industrial reforms, for example in Egypt in the 1950s, that were bound up with the privatization of large landholdings and large industry, but did not, principally—unlike → Marxism—demand the dismantling of private ownership of means of production. Rather, representatives of Islamic socialism have always appealed to the social conscience premised by Islam, and the social responsibility of the well-to-do. They frequently cite the Ḥadīth, the second-most important source of Islamic law and the Muslim's conduct: the Prophet Muhammad has enjoined solidarity of community on every Muslim. "Every one of you is a guardian (defender), and each of you is responsible": that is, especially, the well-off are responsible for the poor.

Effectiveness in Social and Political Reality

3. Taking one's point of departure in the economic situation of a less developed industry—therefore, of a numerically weak industrial proletariat—representatives of an Islamic socialism see their social basis as stronger among the rural proletariat than in the working class. They generally seek a class harmony, as God-given human kinship, and not class struggle (as Marxism). The leaders of Islamic socialism, in their various molds, have always been intellectuals. In the Eastern-bloc countries, as well as among Near Eastern

Communists, their independence vis-à-vis Marxism occasioned their reputation as inconsistent, 'petit bourgeois' socialists. This indictment did not, however, prevent good foreign and economic relations between Eastern-bloc countries and countries, even parties, of the Middle East, that have striven for an Islamic socialism. For diplomatic reasons, Eastern-bloc governments silently tolerated a persecution of Communists, for example in Nasser's Egypt, or Baathist Iraq, or Baathist Syria. In Eastern-bloc countries, communist immigrants received asylum, but had to postpone their party activities. For example, Iraqi Communists in the German Democratic Republic held their party conferences in West Berlin.

Current Developments

Since the collapse of the Eastern bloc, Middle Eastern socialists of a more frankly secular orientation have begun to rethink their positions. These reflections have taken various directions. Even the representatives of different currents of Islamic → fundamentalism—beginning with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt after 1928, and Syria since 1935, then with Lebanon and Palestine, later, and into the present, with Afghanistan, today the FIS (Front Islamique du Salut, Fr. "Islamic Salvation Front") in Algeria, and the fundamentalist Shia clergy in Iran since 1979—all of these are turning mainly to the economically and socially frustrated urban and rural middle and lower class. In confrontation with Christianity, on the one hand, and Communism on the other, they interpret and propagate Islam first and foremost as *the* pragmatic religion—of comprehensive social justice, social responsibility, and the equality of all persons, in all of the values of these—a religion of freedom (including that of conscience) and human dignity from the outset. This had been reality already, in an (idealized) early Islam. According to Sayyid Quṭb (normative ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood), it must now be the reality of political power once more. After all, Islam must seek to be—as it already is, according to the will of God—the comprehensive and determinative religion (that is, as political ideology) of nature, as well as of human life across the board. Practice in actually existing Islamic states does deviate from theory. By way of an important example: in → Iran (ruled since 1979 by Shia fundamentalist clergy), erstwhile pragmatic clergy (often as large landholders), along with the "Guardian Council," successfully opposed the demand of a counter-wing of the Mullahs for 'socialist' economic reforms, including a land reform and the nationalization of foreign trade.

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→ *Fundamentalism, Industrial Society, Islam, Marxism, Socialism I*

Wiebke Walther

Socialization / Upbringing

Even if one's point of departure is the premise that the human being is by nature predisposed to religion (cf., Lat.: *homo naturaliter religiosus*; *homo religiosus*)—to a certain extent recent cognitive approaches to the study of religion present a resurgence of that view—it still remains to be explained how, ideally, a helpless nursling becomes a competent member or competent client of a given religion. From generation to generation, religions must be creatively reproduced. 'Socialization,' and 'upbringing,' 'education,' or 'rearing,' denote attempts to bring to the concept a simultaneous (1) continuity, that spans the generations, and (2) emergence of a religious competency and religious individuality on the part of the members of a religion. Furthermore, questions of socio-religious control and power are at stake. Socialization here describes a more comprehensive event than does 'upbringing.' As a rule, what is understood by socialization is a manifold interplay of individual persons with various dimensions of their respective environment, while 'upbringing' refers to an intended influence on the ones being brought up (as a rule, persons developing and growing) by the educator (as a rule, adults). 'Upbringing,' then, is a subset of incidents of socialization.

Multidimensionality of Incidents of Socialization

Older theoretical approaches understood socialization as a kind of '*making* social.' Newer approaches see socialization as the '*becoming* social' of an individual, whose own active attainments are more strongly emphasized. In recent scholarship, the insight has been increasingly acknowledged that processes of socialization last from birth until death. In other words: socialization is far from being completed with attendance at school or the university. Ecological approaches, furthermore, indicate that every individual is involved in several contexts of socialization at once. Here the spectrum spans from 'closer' environmental regions, interlocked and intermingled in various ways (family, friends, neighborhood, association, groups of workers), to 'more remote' environmental regions (transportation system, mass media, politics), to comprehensive environmental areas that provide a frame of reference for several regions of socialization (fundamental cultural value-systems).

'Religion,' in this context, should not be understood simply as a separate, partial area of the respective society or culture, but to a greater or lesser extent permeates all of these dimensions of socialization. 'Religious socialization,' then, is, on the one hand, an implicit component of a 'normal socialization' in the corresponding culture; but, on the other hand, it can be explicitly furthered or hindered through particular techniques and institutions. Religions contribute to the development of cultural systems, without being completely absorbed in them. Hence, various cultures dominated by the same religion can exhibit considerable differences; and religions, in various forms, or historical or cultural contexts, can legitimize different values.

Learning

Socialization and upbringing are instances of learning. 'Learning' generally denotes permanent changes in the behavior or capabilities of a person that are instigated by specific exercises and experiences. Religious socialization contains a whole series of learning processes. Learning from or in religions can occur continuously or discontinuously, for example through daily re-

ligious acts, or through intensive religious experiences ('illuminations'; → Light/Enlightenment). The learning events can run according to plan, or not, e.g., through purposive memorizing of religious texts (→ Oral Tradition), or through the unexpected appearance of missionaries or preachers. Learning bears not only on cognitive events: besides religious knowledge, for example, one must learn how and when to apply the texts that have been committed to memory, or when and how to move at the proper moments (for instance, the attitude of the hands, gross positions of the body as one kneels or stands, direction of the eyes upward or downward, etc.). Learning particular positions of the body, gestures, movements, and bodily functions, is a key component not only of meditation techniques, as in Zen or Yoga, but of most ritualized acts (→ Prayer/Curse). Feelings and emotions need to be learned as well: cultures and religions (as segments of cultures) offer determinate 'emotional stereotypes,' which pre-structure the experience. For example, emotional expectations are frequently attached to religious festivals. Further, one must learn how and in what social contexts to lend expression to one's feelings (for instance, the presentation of mourning) and how emotions are named. 'Meanings,' as soon as they are regarded as relevant, can be learned and remembered in no time, while skills (e.g. the performance of a ritual) are usually inculcated over a long period. Learning can occur in institutions especially provided for it (schools), or simply 'in passing' (as in the family). Some religious authorities insist that, rather than ritual skills or the intellectual absorption of theological teachings, what is actually important is their practical translation, their 'inner,' 'spiritual,' or 'mystical' content. One does not necessarily learn a religious doctrine, but one learns to act in specific contexts. Thus, by participation in cult, one does not necessarily learn (about) the teachings of the respective religion, but one learns to be a part of the community. Learning is not first and foremost the result of purposive instruction, but occurs preponderantly as imitation and identification ('learning by model'). These models can arise out of altogether distinct contexts, and are medially transmitted in different ways. There are various motives for imitation. Frequently, a person is chosen who is chosen or assigned as a representative model by reason of their behavior. In recent times, the mass media (television, but also literature) are acquiring more importance in constructing such models.

Cognitive Processes and Stages

Since Jean Piaget (1896–1980), researchers have accepted the insight that cognitive processes are connected with certain stages of structural mental development. Piaget distinguishes four stages. At each stage, reality is constructed corresponding to the mental potential of the respective stage: the environment is 'assimilated' to the mental apparatus. If the attainment of these assimilations fails over a long period of time, the respective cognitive structures can be basically altered and of adapted to the new demands ('assimilating'), in order to attain a condition of balance ('equilibrating'). The sequence of the developmental stages, which Piaget traces from the 'sensorimotor' stage to the stage of 'formal operations,' is irreversible. Each stage integrates the preceding, and none can be 'hurdled.' Piaget's model of cognitive development was later transferred to other areas, such as the development of gender socialization, social understanding, or the ability to make moral judgments. Efforts in the development of the last cited were applied by some American and German theologians to religious development. The

sequence of the steps is unalterable in this case as well, but not every person necessarily traverses all stages (e.g., one can 'hold' at stage two).

The 'structural genetic' model of religious development (Oser and Gmünder) sketches five stages: (1) an orientation to absolute heteronomy (rules are determined from without), wherein the instance of what is ultimately valid (for example, God) actively intervenes in the world, while the human being merely reacts; (2) an orientation to the principle of reciprocity (*do ut des*, Lat., "I give that you may give"), whereby the ultimate instance is presented as open to influence; (3) an orientation to absolute autonomy ('deism'), wherein the human being is seen as self-responsible, while the instance of the ultimately valid no longer intervenes in worldly events; (4) a recognition and acknowledgment of the limits of the subject's autonomy, wherein the instance of the ultimate stipulates a kind of 'salvation plan'; and (5) a direct relationship of the human being to the instance of the ultimately valid, for instance in mysticism. Another model (Fowler) is laid out more in multiple layers, and at the same time more fuzzy. Here it is a matter of the development of 'faith' in six steps (1) Intuitive-Projective faith; (2) Mythic-Literal faith; (3) Synthetic-Conventional faith; (4) Individuative-Reflective faith; (5) Conjunctive faith; (6) Universalizing faith (exceedingly rare).

Unquestionably, developmental stages of religious biography can be found in all cultures and religions. But the theories proposed up until now are valid principally for Western and Christian cultures, and they are clearly informed by a normative (albeit liberal) Christian understanding of religion. Comparative studies of religious development of religious development processes are still lacking. Here, 'indigenous' models of religious development, specific to each religion, must be taken into account.

Roles

Religions present a network of various roles. On the one side, there are specifically religious roles (priest, guru, shaman, monk, saint); on the other, non-specifically religious roles can be 'religiously fraught' or charged (as with the partners to a 'Christian marriage'). Connected with the respective roles are different rights, duties, and expectations, the fulfillment of which, as a rule, is connected with recognition and reward, while their disregard is met with disapproval and sanctions. The transmission and assimilation of certain role-complexes are important aspects of religious socialization and upbringing. These processes occur during the entire lifetime. The learning and assimilation of roles is connected with the acquisition of certain value-orientations, and progresses in several stages. Roles, for one thing, are structured, and, for another, are 'negotiated' among the respective participants, and are individually modified. The fundamental 'mastering' of roles implies the capacity to endure even unsatisfactory role-implementations, to gain control of ambiguous situations, and, if need be, to take a calculated distance from role stipulations. While certain roles occupy all of one's person ('total roles,' e.g., monks or nuns), the normal case will be that a number of roles, or diverse roles, are called for, in different situations and in varying degrees of intensity. This scenario can occasion conflicts between various role requirements. In certain ritual contexts, roles can be reversed (→ Carnival). The roles never involve only the respective 'players', but also their partners in interaction. The guru presents himself in terms of the guru role, and his pupils present themselves vis-à-vis the guru otherwise than they do toward their other fellow human beings. Roles change in different historical and geographical contexts. Some roles lose their attractiveness, or even vanish

entirely, while others are created anew. The creation of new roles is an important aspect of innovations in religious history, and frequently accompanies fundamental conceptual and ideological changes. Examples have been the emergence of the roles of the prophet and the philosopher in Israelite or Greek religious history, respectively.

The role repertoire of the religions, of course, relates not only to the area of relations among human beings. In rituals, persons 'play' or 'perform' the role of gods, spirits, or religious founders, 'imitate' religious exemplars (e.g., Christ, Francis, Ali, Hussein, the Buddha), and even the extra-human communications partners (demons, angels, spirits, gods), generally act in a framework of calculable role patterns, which must be learned by those who 'use' religious systems. Employing the pre-structured repertoire of roles makes religious communication possible.

Religious Socialization in the Family

An instance of religious socialization that is presumably primary in all cultures is the family. By observation and imitation of the religious practices of family members, children familiarize themselves with religious realities. Children imitate the posture of family members while praying, and accompany them to the celebration of rituals. At home, they hear myths and legends. The concrete reality of families is culturally and historically variable, of course. Accordingly, the religious socialization ensured by families will vary, as well. Some examples: owing to a growing fulltime employment of women, membership and collaboration of women in religious organizations (e.g., parishes) in the United States has markedly declined in recent decades, and fathers play a more important role in children's religious upbringing.[2] A recent study from The Netherlands[3] draws attention to the concurrence of episodes of socialization within families and outside: the success of religious upbringing achieved by schools, or the mass media, seems to depend not least of all on the religious atmosphere in the family. Church membership, or a positive attitude-in principle of parents, of course, does not guarantee any 'successful' Christian socialization. More important for children, evidently, are the practical results that parents derive from their Christian profession.

Families are 'religious centers,' associated in various ways with their religious environments. In ancient Mesopotamia and Syria, for example, a rather unproblematic relationship prevailed between 'family' and 'state' forms of religion. But in Israel, a situation of competition developed, and a change in 'family religion.' On the one hand, the cult of the ancestors and the veneration of local deities were extensively suppressed: at the same time, certain feasts of the 'national religion' such as Passover were celebrated as family affairs.[4]

Individual and Group Relationships

Religious upbringing often runs its course in individual relationships. Here, religious authorities are, e.g., the master, guru, dervish, hermit, tutor, best friend, master of initiation, father confessor, baptismal sponsor, religious educator, or spiritual companion. Another, non-school type of pedagogy is effected in → groups: e.g., clubs, ritual communities, orders, guilds, associations, school-age groups, youth groups.

Schools

In various historical and cultural contexts, various forms of religious education in schools have developed. The history of the Indian 'forest schools' extends from the Vedic time into the twentieth century. Buddhism replaced this system with monastic training centers, including the famous 'university'

of Nalanda. In China private schools were often integrated into families instead. In Greco-Roman antiquity, there was no formal religious education. The same is true for the Christian schools of the time of the Roman Empire. In the Middle Ages, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam developed structurally similar theological schools of higher education. The characteristics of a school that we take for granted—a government controlled, public, obligatory school system, a curriculum, a separate faculty, classes, subjects, periods—are earmarks of the modern school, which, since the nineteenth century, has spread throughout the world. The initiation and form of religious education varies from country to country.

Even modern schools aim not only at transmitting knowledge, but also at the comprehensive 'disciplining' of the pupil. Many traditions value emotive and affective learning more highly than cognitive learning (as in → Sufism, → yoga, or → Zen Buddhism). Accordingly, corporeal affective processes play a stronger pedagogical role.

Conversion as Re-Socialization

The need to learn religions is key in the transition to other religions. This process may require an individual to make conscious connections with earlier socialization experiences, or to emphatically rescind them. The Talmud explicitly likens a convert to a newborn child (bYevamot 22a, bBekharot 47a). As an example from the present, we may adduce a study of Swiss women, who, one or two years after their marriage with Muslims from Arab countries, have adopted Islam.[4] They are confronted with a code of behavior that is at first foreign to them, which they assimilate more or less slowly, not without difficulties, whereby they may discover, in their new religion, familiar, 'Swiss' values such as punctuality, precision, and cleanliness. In the process of learning their new religion, already-converted Muslims may function as exemplars. The new socialization may proceed with a change of given name: Christina becomes Zainab. Prayers are learned in a foreign language (Arabic). The corresponding postures and times must be assiduously interiorized. Fasting, as well, is new territory, and can occasion irritation in the workplace, just as can prayer made at particular times. Food taboos lead to a relearning of habits of shopping, cooking, and eating (without pork and alcohol). The most serious changes have to do with gender roles: Muslim women must learn the observance of Islamic prescriptions concerning menstruation, and to behave reservedly toward the other sex (e.g., avoid eye-contact). The latter corresponds to the adoption of a new, anti-erotic style of dress, including the wearing of the headscarf, with which they also publicly display the role of believing Muslim women in the sight of others. This display can occasion depreciative and derisive reactions. To be sure, many basic components of previous experiences of socialization remain untouched, of course, and flow into their new religious identity: the Islam of Swiss Muslim women is more democratic and 'feminist' than that of many 'Islamic' countries.

The association of conversion and socialization is often stressed, with critical intent, by the religious establishment. Thus, one repeatedly hears that membership in new religious movements or communities (→ New Religions) is the result of a disturbed 'normal socialization.' Of course, this can be empirically established only in exceptional cases. Rigid patterns of religious socialization and learning in some groups are at times stigmatized as 'brain-washing.'

Stories, Myths, and Rituals

One of the key media of religious upbringing is storytelling. Religious experts even consciously adopt this strategy: Zen and Sufi masters, Buddhist monks, Hindu → sadhus and → gurus, Hassidic rabbis (→ Hasidism), Afro-American preachers, and African prophets assimilate the technique of using stories to 'latch on' to everyday experience and at the same time to transcend it. Nor is the importance of → singing to be underestimated. Furthermore, → myths can discharge a special role in religious socialization processes: they can be seen as differing from → fairytales, sagas, or legends in their pragmatic relevance for the creation of worlds, or an orientation in worlds already created. In its reference to exemplary patterns, the application of myths releases spaces of experience and agency. Thus, the handing on of myths gives the members of 'myth communities' the advantage of patterns (and roles!), with the help of which they gain access to new worlds. Socialization through myths, then, is not simply a reproduction, but, likewise, a construction of worlds of experience and actions.

The same holds true for → rituals, which contribute to religious socialization and upbringing on a number of levels. This function comes to its most striking expression in rituals containing verbal instructions, such as sermons (for example in Buddhism, Christianity, or Islam). Rituals of transition frequently contain entire learning programs, which, in a kind of compact seminar, transmit to the candidates both basic and secret cultural knowledge. Even simple rituals must be learned. The regular celebration of simple rituals, such as that of the Buddhist flower-gift (placing flowers before a statue of the Buddha), the most basic of all Buddhist rituals, can—for example in conformity with a given stage of religious development—be provided with a rich repertory of meanings. For example, the ritual may embody the relationship of the Buddha to those who honor him, it may express dedication to, or trust in, the Buddha, it may be held to emphasize the purification of the senses as a meditative exercise, or it may be seen to contain the ritual actor's profession of the insight into the transience of all life (that eventually will lead to redemption).[6] Ritual centers are often centers of doctrine, as well, such as monasteries, mosques, or temples. The design and layout, the construction, and the adornment of cult sites often unfold many-layered programs of formation. Such is the case with the medieval cathedral, the Hindu temple, or the Buddhist stupa. The celebration of certain rituals is reserved to certain functionaries, who must qualify for this duty by submitting to a specific training. By contributing to the socialization of the body and the feelings rituals are moreover bound up with episodes of 'ordinary' socialization.

Behavior with Children—Conception of the Hereafter

A number of studies[7] have tried to establish a connection between forms of interaction with children in a culture, and systems of religious symbols there. Some studies reinforce the assumption that severe comportment with children encourages faith in a strict, even aggressive, spiritual world. Another study reports that societies for which leniency with children is the order of the day, less frequently fear the apparition of spirits at funerals. According to another study, however, forbearing deportment vis-à-vis children leads to the assumption that the gods can be influenced through rituals. Still other research attests that where children are treated somewhat cruelly, gods are to an extent also presented as cruel. This sort of seemingly empirically corroborated analysis is, of course, problematic in several respects. It sees

biography as the purely passive product of parental influence, and rests on a questionable theory of religion. The naivety of this kind of study demonstrates the complicated connection among religion, culture, and socialization/upbringing. For example, is faith in severe or indulgent gods necessarily the consequence of a severe or lenient interaction with children, rather than its premise?

The connection between religions and cultures cannot be reduced to an unambiguous causal relationship. In various cultural and religious contexts, one encounters different goals of upbringing, theories of upbringing, and apprehensions of the nature of the child and of the meaning of life. Some recent studies distinguish between individualistic cultures and those whose orientation is social. In the former, then, such as those of Germany or Switzerland, a more aggressive attitude is said to prevail among the children than in the latter, such as those of Japan or Bali. However, the importance of religious orientation in the fundamental value system and its application is hard to determine here.

Pluralism and Socialization

The ideal type of the classic theory of socialization takes its implicit point of departure in the notion that the individual is socialized into a homogeneous world. This picture corresponds to fundamentalist fancy, but not to the reality of differentiated religions and pluralistic societies, in which individuals must assert their identities vis-à-vis contradictory requirements of socialization and different contexts of socialization (→ Pluralism; Secularization). The transmission of cultural competencies in dealing with religions and religious orientations is, therefore, a demand of modern socialization and education.

Socialization of the Religious Scholars

For religious studies, socialization, upbringing, and related areas of life are not only objects of study, for students of religion themselves pass through socialization processes specific to their culture, religion, class, and gender. These specificities, in turn, have an impact on the academic work of the scholars. An intensive religious socialization in childhood can either favor or impair an understanding of certain phenomena. An academic socialization as theologian, sociologist, physician, lawyer, or anthropologist will affect the subject's sensibility with respect to the questions to be addressed and the manner in which they ought to be addressed. Most scholars of religion, furthermore, have matured with an understanding of reality specific to a particular culture and religion, and this understanding occasions the emergence of 'religion' as an independent category and informs certain basic rules to scholarship. It is to be hoped, then, that, in future more scholars with different backgrounds in their own history of socialization may enrich the scholarly discourse about religion.

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→ *Child/Childhood, Emotions/Feelings, Family, Initiation, Life Cycle, Master/Pupil, Rites of Passage, Sexuality*

Michael Stausberg

Society

Definition and Overview

1. 'Society' denotes a comprehensive social connection, a holistic system of human life in common, signed by extensive autarchy. As a concept, society is never independent of the concrete historical framework-conditions in which it is being developed. Historically, it is a new concept that became possible only as the unity of state and society—and their close connection with religion—lost its self-evidence: a development that begins to materialize in Europe only with the beginning of the modern age. Today's understanding of society is marked by the conception of the 'middle-class society' arising in the eighteenth century.

According to Max → Weber, society is distinguished from community on the basis of its cohesion being not of an emotive nature, but of a rational goal-directedness. This distinction means that a society 'functions' independently of whether persons are emotionally close to one another or not: as a rule, societies are too large to make personal relations among all of its members possible, but they nevertheless live 'together,' in a certain sense, since this facilitates the organization of daily life, and of the circumstances of life.

As a further development, American sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902–1979) defined society as a social system that combines in itself all the functions needed for its continuation. Parsons takes his point of departure in four key functions that every society must realize: adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and pattern-maintenance. His functionalistic approach could be summarized as follows.

- 'Adaptation' means an accommodation to the physical environment. That is, every society must deal in a rational way with the resources standing at its disposition (raw materials, environmental conditions, labor power, etc.), and thereby regulate its economic requirements.



Even the great churches seek to broaden their appeal: highway churches, 'rave' services, or, as in this photograph, a 'biker' service. At a memorial service, motorcyclists pray for their comrades who have been killed in traffic accidents.

- 'Goal attainment' designates the task of realizing important goals of a society. Thus, in the broadest sense, what is at issue is the development and adjustment of political tasks.
- Even in societies characterized by little differentiation, it can frequently be discerned which roles a person must implement. The more complex a society, the more important it becomes to integrate individual roles into a comprehensive system. Without role 'integration,' a society eventually collapses.
- Lest behavior in concrete inter-human relations be governed solely by the immediate personal advantage or disadvantage, societies must develop cultural norms ('pattern maintenance').

The following material will be concerned with a brief historical survey of models for the description of society.

Unless explicitly stated otherwise, the material of the present entry will pertain to the societies of Western Europe. Taken basically, 'society' as a whole is necessarily a diffuse concept. Only by way of concentration on individual aspects (politics, → economy, degree of institutionalization, etc.) does it become intelligible and empirically manageable. Nevertheless, we shall here make the attempt to follow certain approaches being used in the current discussion in the social sciences—approaches to the task of rendering conceptually manageable the fundamental characteristics of modern society across the board.

Societal Forms and Structures: Historical Survey

2. Societies can be distinguished in terms of the degree of their inner differentiation, in terms of the number and quality of the societal sub-groups (status, classes, ranks), in terms of the degree of a society's openness to without, as well as that of individual groups reciprocally, and—closely bound up with the latter—in terms of the opportunities for mobility on the part of individuals (among and within the various generations).

Status—Class—Rank

a) *From the society of status to modern industrial society:* In Europe, to simplifly greatly, four systems or structures of social order can be distinguished in the course of history from the Middle Ages until today, as follows: (1) pre-industrial society of status, (2) early industrial society's class structure, (3) the system of stratification in later industrial society, and (4) advanced industrial society. Each of these societal forms identifies itself by way of a particular form of inner hierarchical differentiation.

Up until the beginning of industrialization, society was divided into social states or conditions, clearly distinguishable from one another, and closed in upon themselves. The order of the conditions was legitimized through religious value concepts, membership in a status or condition was determined by birth, and mobility from one status to another was possible only in the rarest of cases.

Industrialization replaced the rigid order of status with the somewhat less rigid class society. The position of an individual in the social structure was then normally determined by ownership or deprivation of the goods of production. Mobility from one class to the next was indeed possible in principle, but, owing to economic barriers, was seldom the case.

In the course of the twentieth century, a hierarchy of profession or occupation developed, in which, by way of example, the situation of a supervisor and that of a cleaning woman would be far apart. For ever more persons, it was now no longer ownership, nor even origin, but the position of one's profession that was the most important determinant of one's living condition. The social system continued to be open to description only inadequately, through reciprocally antagonistic classes now designated by the more neutral term *status.* The systems based on social status overlay the systems of class and condition, without, it is true, either of the latter being fully superseded. Despite societal and social barriers as present as ever, individual status became pervious to social mobility. In the framework of this more and more sharply differentiated society, the notion of a society of achievement began to prevail. This development was reinforced by an explosion of prosperity, felt at all levels (the 1950s and 1960s), which provided large parts of the population with consumer and luxury goods to an extent previously unknown. In a situation of a collective economic climb, the idea was infectious

that all, in proportion to their individual efforts, have the opportunity for success (measurable in economic dimensions).

This societal formation, experienced as new, was designated with various catchwords, like 'class society in a melting pot,' or 'leveled-out middle class.' Entrenched as ever, structures of inequality died away in persons' consciousness—as a rule, not only in broad parts of the population, but also among leading social scientists. In the presence of this euphoria of progress, religion (at least in central Europe) seemed to have been deprived of its power to function as a force for social integration and the maintenance of norms.

What now began to prevail could perhaps best be called a unitary petty bourgeois lifestyle. As for the Church, it made a certain minimal appeal to a sense of duty, but the real character of obligation was missing. People attended services now only on special feast days and contacted the Church only as a 'service undertaking,' one of setting up certain procedures in matters of life cycle (baptism, marriage, funeral). By and large, interest in religious topics had very much faded into the background.

Having, Being, Enjoying

b) *In the progressive industrial society of the close of the twentieth century:* The development described up to this point can be denoted a process of increasing modernization. The degree of modernization can be read in the degree of distribution of labor, bureaucratization, social differentiation, and growing technologization and 'rationalization.' What for a certain time appeared as progress that could not be halted, was, at the close of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, at the latest, called into question not only by historical development, but on the theoretical and political level, as well. Western industrial societies collided with the 'frontiers of growth' (*Report to the Club of Rome*, 1972). The cruelty of the Vietnam War raised doubts in an entire generation as to the correctness of prevailing political and social discourse. Now the modern age was followed by the apparently vague concept of → postmodernity.

The analytical division of classes in terms of an objective social situation (overwhelmingly economically determined) seemed less and less reliable as a means for the adequate description of society. Thus, in the 1980s, especially for investigation of the market, youth, and the electorate, the Sinus Institute developed the concept of 'social milieu.' Milieus were defined in terms of subjective criteria. These combine persons whose concept and manner of life is similar, and who therefore form a cultural unit in society.

Milieus were determined whose members are distinct in value orientation and life goals, in their attitude toward work, free time, and consumption, toward family and partnership. Furthermore, they differ in their perspectives on the future, in basic political convictions, and in lifestyles. But not even this model escapes vertical differentiation, into lower, middle, and upper class: and here, by way of a second (horizontal) set of coordinates, a distinction of milieus was introduced according to their orientation along the spectrum between conservative/traditional values and value transformation. In the milieu models of the 1980s, the pole of 'value transformation' still seems still clear as monolithically post-materialistic—'being,' in contradistinction from a (petty) bourgeois 'having,' an ascription that for the 1990s, at the latest, is no longer valid.

Each of the idealized, typical, milieus has its typical age structure. Persons of the 'petty bourgeois milieu,' on the average, are noticeably older than in

the 'hedonistic milieu,' and have their typical free-time habits and cultural preferences. To be sure, these elements are secondary for the concept of milieu, and variable. The decisive factors for legitimate ascription to a milieu are fundamental value-orientations (education and upbringing, money, social relations, etc.) and life goals (e.g., success, or self-realization). Based on these fundamental attitudes toward life, on a lower level of abstraction, a whole series of temporary and sub-cultural units are to be found, formed along new axes, such as sports, music, cult films, or certain vacation forms. Various immigrant cultures (Turkish, Italian, etc.) possess and enduring character; unfortunately, the concept of milieus does not sufficiently take these cultures into account.

With regard to religion, religiosity, and spirituality, in most Western European countries 'ecclesiality' as an indicator is more strongly marked only in the area of the conservative and lower-middle-class milieu. But if we adduce the broader indicator 'religiosity / interest in religious themes,' then this is a dimension describable in nearly all milieus (exception: a traditional and tradition-less worker milieu), although in varying quality. Thus, in the hedonistic milieu, the number of regular churchgoers is scarcely worth citing: on the other hand, 'alternative' offers on the part of the religious market (→ New Age) are definitely taken into account with interest. Close connections to religious groups are seldom the result. Rather, in the framework of a structure of opportunity, individual offers are chosen. An exact analysis, in terms of social science, of the religious orientations and 'consumer habits' in the individual milieus is still pending, but this analysis could probably yield instructive results vis-à-vis the structure of religiosity in today's society. And, to stay with the picture of the religious 'market': even the agents of the offers of religion (including the established churches) take account of the varying 'consumer habits' of their clients. The offer grows broader, seeks sub-cultural niches, and adapts to modish trends ('rave' service; see ill.).

Modern Concepts of Society

3. It has already been mentioned above that postmodernity is a vague concept. On this account, recent scientific efforts seek to develop the characteristics that reflect Western service-societies or industrial societies. What follows, then, is a compendious description of some of the most current concepts of society that have prevailed in recent decades.

a) Ulrich Beck caused a furor in 1986 with his postulate of a 'risk society' (→ Security). Without attempting to deny the inequalities that have so stubbornly prevailed, he emphasizes that the risks of a highly technologized society know no class boundaries: in other words, a threatened environment (→ Environmentalism), a nuclear menace, or even mass unemployment, have a tendency to be able to find and affect everyone. In Beck's appraisal, these risks characterize living conditions more prominently than do differences in material sustenance. Simultaneously, traditional associations dissolve (family traditions) and give each individual the freedom to decide what forms and arrangements her or his own life will have, thus taking on the risk of having to answer for the consequences of his or her own activity. One result of this trend to individualization is that it is now no longer automatically fixed whether and how persons may arrange their religious life: they may switch religious communities, choose one or more of the offers of various groups and institutions, or simply ignore all offers. For Peter Berger, this priority of personal decision constitutes 'the heretical imperative.'

b) Society grows ever more complex and specialized. Nearly every area of life is bureaucratized and technologized. Thus, it becomes important for individuals to gain access to the corresponding knowledge, and have it available; and this produces important social changes. And so, American sociologist Daniel Bell can speak, with some justice, of a 'knowledge society.' The conveyance of knowledge by the media is no longer worldwide; the media spread it to divide it. Modern → media provide access to information in colossal density and assortment. This novel quality and quantity has prompted scientists to speak in generalizing terms of an 'information' and 'media society.' No attention is given here to the fact that interpretation and manner of utilization are never independent of a society's social and political conditions. It is always important, for example, to know whether the quality and plurality of mass media are regulated by conditions of a juridical framework, and what the particular nature and identity of that framework is. For all religious communities, the conditions of the framework have fundamentally changed, owing to the sources of information available to nearly all. These communities must themselves be present in the media. Those who are not, find it difficult even to be noticed as existing. On this account, it is no longer unusual, to cite one example, for the Catholic Church to offer financial support for films in which clergy emerge as *sympathiques*. Of even more importance, however, is the constant situation of competition among the religious communities, arising from the fact that, in principle, all users of the media have information available concerning many different religions. For most persons, → television plays a vital role: it is present everywhere, and simple to receive. Televised presentations confer certain advantages on religions: their content is altogether open to visualization, and their cult creates strong visible impressions.

c) For most persons in progressive industrial societies, the working week and life is so shaped that a great deal of time remains for—more or less arranged—free time. Here, many persons have frankly more opportunities to select how to distribute their time than in the framework of their breadwinning activities. Thus, it is obvious that the form and arrangement of free time becomes an important means to the opening out of one's personality, and therefore to self-realization, and the development of one's own self-image. The catchy phrase, 'leisure society,' has been coined to do justice to the meaning of the field of free time in one's life. Gerhard Schulz's 'event society' is a specific elaboration of this concept. Schulz emphasizes the fact that many persons (as long as they have economic means) not only mold their lives according to the standard of their elementary needs, but also pursue the goal of making an 'event' out of almost every act. Whether this need is a natural one, or one induced by 'advertisement,' is open to question. The need to arrange one's own life corresponding to the desired event-intensity is of course far from being an equally strong facet of all of the milieus cited above. It is not only in the classic area of consumership that the need for an event-intensive arrangement of free time represents an important market; persons who offer propositions along the entire spectrum of the shaping of religion and life find an important clientele here. Courses of meditation in Santorin, or trance-dancing weeks on Lanzarote, have just as much a business cycle as do introductions to Zen Buddhism in adult evening classes. Whole → tourism enterprises live on the 'folkloristic' presentation of native piety. Visits to the Aborigines in Australia, or to the Indian reservations of North America, not only enjoy great popularity, but actually change the

consumed 'reality.' There are Indian Sun Dances now performed only for tourists. Whole festal calendars are rearranged to conform to typical tourist seasons and expectations.

d) Most modern societies are, de jure or de facto, pluralistic (→ Pluralism). In the Federal Republic of Germany, for instance, religious and cultural pluralism are guaranteed in the Fundamental Law by the Right to Liberty of Action (art. 2) and the Mandate of Equality (art. 3). The extent to which this is implemented, and whether one may speak of a generally accepted multicultural society, is not readily determinable. The political discussion is governed by a fatal identification of ethnic origin or extraction with religion and culture. It is easily overlooked that, in Germany, even without immigration, membership in one of the two great Christian churches is no longer self-evident. Some one-third of the population does not belong to them, and nearly twenty million belong to no religious community. In political discourse, however, it is customary to treat 'German' and 'Christian' synonymously, since those who are not themselves Christian have nevertheless 'at least' been 'Christianly socialized,' which is regarded as sufficient for a verbal consensus. Conversely, anyone not of German extraction, and especially anyone not a Christian, is said to be a 'part of the problem' (→ Ethnicity; Migration).

Globalization

All but a very few progressive industrial societies have to do battle with the 'dissolving' of their unity in terms of a national state identity. Markets, currents of merchandise and finances, migration of labor power, and even cultural 'products' such as religion, have long since ceased to be restricted to particular countries. We have a world economy, and, in the cultural area, a strong American/Western dominance is perceptible worldwide. A centuries-long colonization enabled the Catholic and Protestant churches to create a presence in nearly all of the regions of the earth, meeting a counter-balance only in countries of a strong Islamic domination. On the international level, for instance with the discussion, in a framework of the United Nations, of how human rights are to be defined, Christian conceptualizations have overwhelmingly prevailed.

None of this has as yet occasioned the generation of a 'global society.' The social (!) connection among world citizens is only rudimentary. Most persons do not feel themselves to be 'citizens of the world.' What happens in Africa, for example, is meaningless for the majority in Europe. In view of the extreme inequality of world distribution of goods and culture, it is not surprising that few things can operate as a force for integration. Ideologically, the poorest countries have little to oppose to the defensive strategies of the wealthy countries (superiority of Western/Christian democratic culture, the 'principle of achievement'). Only on the level of the 'threshold countries' have counter-movements formed in the last decades (liberation theology, political Islamism). Following Samuel Huntington in this connection, a 'clash of civilizations' is readily invoked, without any consideration of what integrative potential is at hand (for an emerging world society?).

Résumé

4. Up until a few years ago, theses on the development of the social structure were characterized by optimistic fundamental appraisals. The point of departure was an increasing unification/standardization of living conditions, an ever more differentiated set of social conditions, and the hope that purely material differences would lose in importance in favor of 'horizontal'

inequalities. The individualizing of living milieus, lifestyles, and life situations is leading to the dissolution of class-typical subcultures, indeed to a 'destratification' of the world of living across the board. Class membership is no longer the object of conscious identification. Instead, what arises is a pluralization of lines of conflict. Everyone, of either gender, can choose amongst an endless multiplicity of opportunities, whether in the arrangement of the parlor, in the choice of school, of life-partner, of occupation, of religious community, of friends, and so on. In practice, however, decisions are never actually free: as a rule, we make 'typical' decisions. We seek our partners in a typical social environment, we often decide in favor of the religious community in which we were socialized, and in the selection of living-room furniture, something of our biography can be read. Thus, 'alternative' modes of living (such as living-communities, unmarried partnerships), are factually limited to a biographical 'experimental phase' (mostly between the ages of twenty and thirty), are also accepted as such socially, and are most often in statistical conformity with established forms (marriage and family). Nevertheless, it is 'normal' to try out shamanic trance rituals or Buddhist meditation, and then marry in the village church.

In other words, from a theoretical liberty of selection, no endless multiplicity can be deduced of decisions actually faced. Norms, expectations, and traditions have become more multiple and flexible; but they still exist, as they always have.

Literature

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→ *Charitable Organizations, Civil Religion, Economy, Everyday Life, Minorities, Political Religion, Popular Culture, Publicity, Religion, Utopia, Weber*

Claudia Haydt

Son / Daughter

A Piece of Me

1. Unlike that of 'child,' the concepts 'son' and 'daughter' have a special value in terms of parents' feelings. They are a piece of the parent that receives the opportunity to live life over again, and better—to continue life and work 'a step ahead' of the parent. When the corporeal daughter and son shake off these bonds to seek their own life, the parent's projection of self can transfer to other young persons: the junior partner in the business, the daughter-in-

law. And then the concepts are applied metaphorically. However, the Western, Christian-formed limitation of the extension of the concept of family, and the compulsions of the 'flexible person' of the so-called third industrialization, generate altogether different associations from those of a culture in which kinship determines the key social position. Both the emotional and the juridical association can be intended in these metaphors. Indeed, many cultures apply them without knowing the concept of 'metaphor' itself.

Heir and Successor

2. a) In the Semitic languages, the word *ben* means 'son,' denoting a membership in, or a belonging to, a family, slaves included; appurtenance to an office, whose designated successor is called 'son'; membership in a people, with a fictitious tribal father, like 'the children of Israel'; a belonging to a class or type. The Arabic expression *bin adam* ('son of Adam'), for instance, means 'human being.' This fictitious and mythological manner of speaking has an orientation to the real relation of kinship.

b) In Mesopotamia, kings called themselves 'sons of gods and goddesses,' to legitimate the claim to power made by their dynasty. In this case, what is stressed is the juridical relation between son and elders: the 'parents' have transferred power to their 'son,' and the king is the legitimate heir of the monarchy. The 'parents,' being gods, are obligated to afford their 'son' succor and assistance. In the Hebrew Bible, as well, steeped in the ancient Eastern conceptual world, the relationship between the king and YHWH is described as that between a son and father (Ps 2:89).

'Son of Man' / 'Son of God'

c) 'Son' has a special significance in the expression, 'son of man.' Here, 'man' (in the sense of 'human being,' not 'male human being'), while singular in number, represents a collectivity. The most ancient locus is Dan 7:13, where (in either of the likely readings of the text—'man' or 'son of man') the expression denotes the people of Israel in the End Time, and is clearly applied metaphorically. In the apocalyptic literature after Daniel, the meaning has changed to that of the title for the Messiah. This word was taken over by early Christian communities as a title for Jesus; possibly Jesus had already spoken of himself in this way. This word indicates both Jesus's high position as Messiah, and his lowliness, and position as slave, vis-à-vis the human being. However, the expression 'son of man' was still not understood literally. It is otherwise with the concept 'Son of God' in Christianity. The concept is found in the apocryphal literature of the Hebrew Bible, but there it denotes Israel, or the human being, in general. The Christians referred this expression to Jesus, without understanding it in the biological sense. In the Roman Empire, Christ came into cultic competition with the emperors, among whom Augustus was to have been miraculously conceived by the god Apollo. The Semitic chosen delegate of God became the biological divine son. In the ancient councils, embittered battles were waged over the correct understanding of this phrase.

Daughter

d) In a patriarchal society, the figurative application of 'daughter' far less accentuated as that of the 'son.' In Hebrew, we encounter the expression, 'daughter [of] Zion' (as in Isa 1:8; Lam 1:6; 2:1) for the city of Jerusalem. That use of 'daughter' in this instance is grounded on the fact that the grammatical gender of the place name is feminine. 'Daughter,' in the Bible, unlike 'Son,' actually has no theological meaning of its own.

3. The concepts 'son' and 'daughter' are known in the religious sense apart from Judaism and Christianity, as well. Thus, in Buddhism, monks and nuns are called sons and daughters of the Buddha. Granted, the Buddha is never called 'Father.' After all, the metaphor can also be so understood that—at least 'ideologically'—monks and nuns stand equally placed vis-à-vis each other, like sons and daughters respectively, and in the teaching of the Buddha have a common goal. However, the Buddha's daughters were subordinated to his sons, just as daughters were subordinated in the actual relation of brother and sister in India and East Asia.

In Christianity, the concept of 'son' has a special position, founded in the notion that Jesus is the Son of God. Christianity is unique in this respect; and it is of course also due to the central theological meaning of Christology that 'son' and 'daughter' are by no means applied metaphorically. But neither in the goddess movement is 'daughter' ever applied to denote the relation of a follower to any of the goddesses. Rather, an identification is made with the goddess. For us modern persons, the metaphors of 'son' and 'daughter' probably connote a dependency that is not pleasing to us.

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→ *Child/Childhood, Family/Kinship/Genealogy, Gender Stereotypes, Matriarchy/Patriarchy, Socialization/Upbringing*

Leo Tepper

Soul

Multiplicity of Souls

1. After the idea of God, the idea that a human person has one or more souls became a widespread driving force of religious orientation and cultic instruction books. By way of extremely different conceptualizations, the soul is bound up with, especially, the whole history of religion, but without being exhausted in the area of religion. In view of the broad spectrum of cultural constructions, different demands and needs present themselves by way of notions of the soul. Conceptions of bone souls, breath souls, organ- and body-souls have their point of departure in concrete physiological experiences, and transfer this aspect of life into concepts of an afterlife, or at least of a continued existence. After death, persons might continue to exist 'in' their last breath, as a 'breath soul,' or through their bones, which "will be again clothed in flesh" (cf. Ezek 37). Other aspects place the division of the soul from the body in the foreground—during its life as a free spirit, a soul of fate, or a special instance of the *alter ego*, after its death as a shadow-soul, or as a breath- or picture-soul. All of these religious patterns transform reflections into concrete conceptualizations, whose orientation is to questions such as "What is left over, when someone dies?"; "How do ancestors

and rulers continue to operate after death?"; "What temporarily disappears, when a person falls into a faint, a trance, or an ecstasy?"

The One Soul

2. In view of the various cultures and different eras, it can be maintained that in an earlier period a multiplicity of souls existed side-by-side in persons' conceptions. Ancient Egypt and Homeric Greece may serve as examples of the Mediterranean course of European history of religion.

The notion that a person possesses 'only' *one* soul, and that this soul represents the person in her or his totality, is first found in European tradition with Heraclitus. There is more here than a simple combination of life-principle with a spirit of the dead. It is the decisive 'psychological turning point' in European history of religion. Heraclitus is one of the Pre-Socratic philosophers, who, from Anaximenes onward, equated 'soul substance' with the 'fundamental material' of the world (*arché*), thus guaranteeing the soul a special rank in their cosmologies. On still another count Heraclitus introduces a turning point: with him, the soul is characterized above all by its capacity for cognition. According to the archaic cognitive principle that like can be cognized or known only by like, the fiery soul (→ *psyché*) is the component of the person that is predestined to know the world represented in fire.

Independence of Soul from Body

3. The notion that the soul can be released from the body, a common component of the notion of a soul, opens up certain new possibilities. The soul comes to spaces that have been inaccessible to the body (journey to the sky, journey in the beyond), retains its knowledge after death, also improves its form of existence after death—or, indeed, precisely by death. As a professionalized practice of commerce with the soul (according to M. → Eliade, the shaman is the great 'specialist' of the human soul; only shamans 'see' it, for they know its 'shape' or formation, and its destiny; → Shamanism.) Without a doubt, shamanism has essential elements to contribute to the tradition of the soul, and to its integration into complex societies. The 'autonomy of the soul' and a professional interaction with it become constitutive elements of religious groups (Pythagoras) and mystery cults (→ Mysteries).

In this historical and cultural framework, in the seventh and sixth centuries before the common era, conditions developed in Greece that turned the notion of soul into the religious concept that—together with the notion of God—determined European history of religion in the transition between ancient and Christian history. It is in the Socratic 'concern for the soul' (*epiméleia tes psychés*) that the cathartic anticipation of the Mysteries culminates: the soul of the human being that has come from the gods and that has accompanied a person throughout life, and outlasts death as his and her own *self*, must be constantly preserved from 'blemishes.' The limited cathartic of the general practice of cult is thus transformed into a constant claim on a 'pure life.' Under pressure of a "Puritanical psychology" (E. R. Dodds), the methodology developed of a lifestyle that presented a basically new pattern of religious orientation. With the 'latent historicization of the soul'—the idea that the soul has a history of its own, and a history of guilt, ordered to it—the religious premises of psychiatry are given.

Stranger in the World

4. With concepts of a soul independent of the body, and against the various cultural horizons, 'soul' became the preferred medium of an integration into

various contexts: as soul of the ancestors, it comes among them, and guarantees collective norms; as 'soul divine,' it returns to the region of the gods; as soul charged with fire, it climbs to the sphere of the ether; as soul redeemed, it is with God. Finally, with the conclusion that it is not in its proper place, → gnosticism shaped it into a 'twin alienation': thus, anthropologies and soteriologies, with their pedagogical and political drafts, at the same time are shot through with the concept of soul. With his three parts of the soul (the *logistikón*, the *thymoeidés*, the *epithymetikón*), not only has Plato sketched out a fundamental pattern for Western psychology to live by, but has pointed to the pregnant connection between psychology and politics (→ Platonism). For Plato, structure of the soul and structure of the state, parts of the soul and social ranks, must be brought into a harmonious correlation determined by justice, if the state is to endure. In Platonism, the state's claim on the human soul has found a theoretical foundation, one of whose consequences is the state's 'maintaining imperative' with respect to the 'salvation of the soul' of the citizen. Only human rights and freedom of religion have sundered this nexus from 'uniformity.'

An Endless History?

3. However the linguistic equivalents for the concept of 'soul' (e.g., Fr. *âme*, Ger. *Seele*) may be determined in non-European languages, they belong to those religious conception-complexes that are characterized by a *longue durée* (Fr., 'long duration'), over epochs and cultural boundaries. For the European tradition, this durability means that the Platonic and Neo-Pythagorean concepts of the soul, developed in a Mediterranean polytheistic context, has survived in (or against) a monotheistic, industrial, and post-industrial environment. The foundations of this long-term plausibility for a concept of the soul can be seen in its postulation that a part of the person potentially withdraws from the "pressure of reality" (S. Freud), from even that of a hereafter or a later incarnation. Closely connected, here, are the conceptions that posit the destiny of the soul as independent of that of the individual incarnation, so that the soul has its own history of culpability and ascent. In this fashion, under certain conditions, the soul becomes the preferred object of 'self-help,' of control and discipline (leading or guiding the soul). It can also replace or redefine the older techniques to be applied to the → body (catharsis, disciplining, asceticism). The other foundation for the trans-cultural plausibility of a concept of the soul probably lies in the fact that the soul is capable not only of achieving an integration of the person into the society of persons, but also of connecting him or her to the environment, from plants to the world as a whole. To ascribe plants, animals, and human beings a soul (or a common soul-part) is to order the 'animate' environment, the beings having life, to an 'anthropological' schema. To ascribe the whole world a world-soul, integrates the individual human soul into a cosmic scenario.

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→ *Animism, Aristotelianism, Gnosticism, Immortality, Platonism, Psyche, Psychoanalysis, Shamanism*

Burkhard Gladigow

South America

The Holy Mountain of the Zenú

1. Some few years ago, in Colombia, the Zenú undertook their traditional Easter pilgrimage to a cave on Mt. Sierrachiquita, abode of the mythical Kazike, Mohana. The white proprietor of the mountain paralyzed the 'pagan' cultic system by having the cave filled. As his punishment—so the Zenú believe—Mohana blinded him. At the same time, a firm from Barranquilla consolidated the mountain, the nature sanctuary, the reservoir for medicinal herbs, and the place for shamanic rituals, with the purpose of mining street-gravel. But since the mountain, as a Caiman, supports the earth, the Indians now fear the end of the world, through the flooding of their area by the sea beneath the world.

Indio-American Identity

2. For Indio-American cultures and religions such as those of the Zenú, 'Latin American identity' is: adjacency of Christian usage and the ancient gods and myths; Western economic imperialism and unlawful settlement of the land and territory; an urban slum-existence and exploitation of raw materials, in these regions, the remotest of the world. Basically, the Indio-American cultures are considered to be those that embrace the indigenous peoples of South and → Central America, as far as Honduras (to a line drawn between San Pedro Sulla and the Gulf of de Fonseca). The first Indians emigrated to America 14,000 years ago, hunters and gatherers from Northeast Asia, and settled the subcontinent all the way to Tierra del Fuego. Today they inhabit the three major anthropo-geographical regions 'Caribbean—Pacific—Andes' (they are the descendants of, among others, the Aymará and the Inca) and dwell in the tropical rainforest (Amazon, East Brazil), as well as in the Gran Chaco, all the way to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego. Owing to the sometimes early mix with European immigrants ('mestization'), as well as to a vague assignment of land and water to fishing and farming populations (Caboclos of the Amazon, peasants), with their indigenous high-cultural inheritance, and owing to newly awakened Indian consciousness, statistical data on the Indians now living are unreliable. At present, demographers suppose populations totaling over 15 million (among others, eleven million Andeans and one million Amazons) for South American Indians. Aside from Peru and Bolivia, where Indians make up the lion's share of the population, and 'white' Argentina, the numerically largest group in South America is comprised of mestizos. South America displays an extraordinary cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. More than one hundred and



The feasts of the saints, as here in San Andrés de Sotavento, on the Colombian coast of the Caribbean, exhibit the motif called the 'world upside-down.' Carnivalesque celebrations are ritualized rebellions, mounted by the socially and economically repressed Indians and Indo-Mestizos: even the 'whites' lionize Indian San Simón, who, as a mythical Cazike, defended the Indians against the whites, and they offer him contributions of maize beer (*chichi*) or money. In the orgiastic, powerful acts of the feasts, 'heated' society periodically 'cools off.'

twenty indigenous peoples live in Brazil alone: there are hunters (the Aché, Paraguay), planters (the Shuar, Ecuador), the Quaechua-speaking rural population of Peru (descendants of the Inca), Indians in remote areas (Kogi, Colombia), and 'acculturated' Indian farmers (Zenú, Colombia), besides the broad spectrum of the mestizo cultures. Despite numerous local types and divisions, religious world-images and cultic practices are bound by similar concepts, and these govern the thinking and acting of indigenous or Indio-Mestizo groups of South America. Hence it is possible to speak of a unitary 'Indio-American religion.'[1]

Today, millions of Indians are nominally *Christians*. Shortly after the 'discovery' of America (1492), European colonization and missionary activity began. The political and economic interests of the conquerors (read, greed for gold) received the religious stamp of approval as a 'Crusade' through papal bulls, especially since the Indians were said to be practicing → cannibalism, unbridled sexual activity, and devil worship. For the native inhabitants, 'discovery' meant physical annihilation, enslavement, forced Christianization, and the prohibition of their 'demoniacal' religious practice. The missionaries' cunning, with which they built churches on ravaged sites of indigenous worship, supplied the Indians with the opportunity to practice their 'heathenism' in thenceforth 'syncretist garb.' In this fashion, many Indian Christians continued to practice their respective Indian religions, as they always had.

Indio-American Worldview

3. The Indio-American cosmos consists of several layers, held together by a 'world axis': regions of the sky, then the earth, then the ocean of the lower world, upon which the earth rests. The 'life force' (in Span., *espíritu*) of sun or moon, of the wild, or of a lower world of 'living waters' (in Andean thought, source of the cyclical course of water), nourishes the cosmos. The vertical distinction is the outcome of destructions of the world having occurred in primeval time, through world flood and conflagration. The lower world is the domain of mighty water beasts (anaconda, caiman), heaven is the powerful realm of the robber birds (king vulture, harpy eagle), and the



South America is strewn and studded with places of mythic qualities. Every waterhole, every mountain, every lake, every site along a river, may have the potential meaning and importance of a sacred place. Every people, then, every village, has its sacred places—the places of its mythical origin—as the symbolic cultural basis of its relations. The cartographical survey here shows that an Indio-American pilgrimage, as a collective mass-presentation, is fittingly regarded as the phenomenon of a 'high culture.' There is a mingling, on Colombian territory, of Incan and Aymarán tradition, and in Colombian territory, of pre-Spanish elements with Christendom. In the case of these cultures, even pre-Spanish pilgrimages are attested. Thus, these maps include only important cultic centers and meaningful pre-Colombian sites.



HONDURAS
NICARAGUA
WAYÚ / GUAJIRO
Kalus, rock fortification of the spirits, CUNA
Serrania del Darién
KOGI
Sorte
Caracas
Tacarigua
Trinidad
WARAO
PANAMA
ZENÚ
CUNA
COLOMBIA
TUNEBO / CUNDIBOYACENSES
VENEZUELA
WARAO
Cerro Manoa
Karoshimo, world mountain of the WARAO
COSTA RICA
PAEZ
COYAIMA
NATAGAIMA
WAHARI
Tepui
GUYANA
SURINAM
FRENCH GUIANA
YECUANA
Bogota
COCONUCO
YANACONA
Serra Parima
Hekula nature spirits of the Yanomami
Tispinapi
YAÑOMAMI
Grave of Venâncio Kamiko Christu, shaman and prophet of the BANIWA/ WAKUÉNAI around 1850
Batuque, Indo-African synthesis. Surrounding 'enchanted' lakes as habitations of the 'Water Mothers'; underground spirit palaces
TUKANO
MAKÚ
Myths of the Caboclos: mother of the fish, Kurupira - forest spirit
Quito
Cotopaxi
Belem
ECUADOR
Chimborazo
Itapiranga
Parintins
São Luis
TUKUNA
Temple Casa das Minas and Casa Nago
JÍVARO
Cachoeira Bela Vista
'Enchanted' habitation of spirits
Ayabaca
Huancabamba
Region of 'enchanted' high mountain lakes, in which water spirits live; initiations and healing rituals of the curanderismo
MUNDURUCÚ
CANELA
QUECHUA (INKA)
SHIPIBO CONIBO
CAYAPÓ
Rio Branco
Ayahuasca religion
B R A Z I L
Xango
Recife
P E R U
CAMPA
Quyllur Rit'i (Quechua: snow glittering like the stars), pilgrimage in the honour of the mountain god Ausangate
Lima
Pachacamac
Machu Picchu
MATSIGENKA
Paucartambo
XINGUANOS
Salvador de Bahia
Sun temple of Viracocha, central sanctuary of the INCAS
Coricancha
NAMBICUARA
SIRIONÓ
BORORO
XAVANTE
Candomblé
QUECHUA (INKA)
Titicaca See
Nazca-Desert
Capacabana
Tihuanaco
Worship of Mary and Pachamama
Brasilia
Janelão
Rock paintings of the Bororo
AYMARA
B O L I V I A
Gigantic geometric figures of the NAZCA culture, constellations, astronomic calendar for indigenous agriculture
MATACO
GUARANÍ
Christ statue on the Sugar Loaf Mountain
Umbanda
PARAGUAY
Rio de Janeiro
Llullailaco
Asunción
Sãn Paulo
Umbanda
CHILI
ACHÉ
PACIFIC OCEAN
Porto Alegre
Laguna del Cobre
ATLANTIC OCEAN
URUGUAY
Santiago
Buenos Aires
Montevideo
ARGENTINA
MAPUCHE
Volcanic snake mountains Tren Tren and mountains of the 'Mistress of the sea' Kai Kai in the myths of the MAPUCHE
Temuco
PATAGONIANS
SOUTH AMERICA
Sacred topography
Sacred mountain
Sacred lake, river, waterfall
Myth of the Gigantic Serpents
Myth of the Dolphin Spirit
Pre-Colombian sanctuary
Catholic and popular religion
María Lionza religion
Afro-American religions
TUKUNA
WAHARI
Indian cultures
0
500
1000 km
F.D.2005



The village of Charazani celebrates the Feast of *Todos Santos* (Sp., 'All Saints'). Here, the Christian feasts of All Saints and All Souls, November 1 and 2, are connected with pre-Christian conceptualizations of the return of the dead (cf. → Death and Dying). In this region, loved ones return after their deaths as *almas nuevas* (Sp., 'new souls') for three feasts of All Saints, and visit the cabins in which they have lived. On November 2, the villagers go out to the cemetery, accompanied by music groups, whose flutes and drums have played uninterruptedly since the day before. Families with a 'new soul' bring gifts along. Days before, sugar-cane poles have been constructed, in their cabin, hung with breads and fruits, and standing on a richly draped table. Nor must bottles of whiskey be lacking. Many of the celebrants are already tipsy, since, after Mass on November 1, they have entered the homes in which the 'new souls' have paid a visit, spoken prayers, and conversed all night long, drinking alcohol. At the cemetery, the gifts are supposed to be placed at the graves. In what one might call the Quechua catechism, the position taken by the Catholic Church with regard to the usages of *Todos Santos* becomes ambivalent. Nevertheless, in the everyday ritual of the Bolivian Andes in the area of the usages pertaining to the dead, a contiguity of Christian and non-Christian religious elements is feasible. (Kirsten Holzapfel, following Ina Rösing)

forest supports the jaguar. In some instances, these sorts of animals are also supernatural beings, even with their human traits—after all, an incarnation or 'ensocietization' of the universe will generate a 'mythic familiarity' with it, preserving, naturally, its often menacing ambivalence. Regions of the sky and underworld harbor mythical primitive beings, and souls of the dead. The horizontal perspective is ethnocentric: the region of one's own we-group, human culture, is ensconced in the center of space, and separated from the 'without': from the wild, with its spirits, and other unfamiliar beings.

The Wild

A sacred geography marks the inhabited areas of indigenous peoples, makes territorial claims visible in battles over land, forms places of pilgrimage, and constitutes an identity in the ethnicity of cultures. The key orientation pattern is the uncontrollable wild, with its life and power, so different from the zone of culture. The wild (watering places, caves) is the gate to the lower world, and as cultic 'border region,' the place of shamanic initiation. Water, medicinal plants, and wild beasts are tentative gifts of the universe; they have spiritual masters and mothers (Lord of the Animals, plant spirits, Water Mother). With the utilization of these nature-resources (mythically: 'life force,' *espíritu*), the human being must observe a complicated network of rules of reciprocal relations ('principle of reciprocity'). He must kill only the number of animals that he receives as 'gifts,' granted by the guardian spirits in exchange for souls of the dead or sacrificial offerings (tobacco, coca). Uncontrolled contact with the wild entails the risk of losing one's own life power. The spirits punish greedy persons, like the Colombian mountain-owner mentioned above, with bad hunting or illness. In a context of the indigenous "philosophy of dynamic equilibrium" (G. Reichel-Dolmatoff), the prohibitions connected with the use ('taming') of the wilderness or with hunting are mechanisms of ecological control that are frequently misunderstood as the wisdom of Indian 'Eco-saints' in a Western, mystifying interpretation (→ Orientalism/Exotism; Environmentalism).

The Two Worlds

"There are two ways of seeing things." When the Kogi proclaim their thought, they speak of *aluna*—'spirit,' 'thought,' 'essence of things,' 'concealed true reality.' 'Everyday reality' is illusion. The polarity between the visible and the invisible world explains the importance and meaning of ritual drug-consumption (e.g., of *Yagé*, or Quechua *ayahuasca*, 'soul liana'—a brew of jungle liana, *Banisteriopsis sp.*; → Trance), the importance and meaning of shamanic ecstasy and vision. The two worlds entirely interpenetrate; the invisible world can turn on human beings; shamans are the defenders of their own community, since they have at their disposition mighty spirits of defense and assistance (e.g., the jaguar); through these spirits, they are able to regulate relations between human beings and spirit beings. The power of the shamans rests not least of all on their knowledge (legitimized in ecstasy), on their seeing 'true' reality in visions, and on their deliberately seeking out this reality, in which they are then able to act. Their tasks, then, are: healing, weather control, interpretation of presages and dreams, provision of hunting animals, handling (socialization) of fare, escort of the souls of the dead to the region of their cosmic destination, and execution of the rituals.

Hot and Cold—a Dynamic Equilibrium

Dialectically complementary polarities (not → dualisms!) are characteristic of Indio-American thought. The principle that everything in the world possesses a certain measure of *espíritu* or *calor* ('heat'), determines the 'religious

everyday.' Objects or events in the *espíritu* world are 'hot,' *espíritu*-poor ones are 'cold,' the human being attains wellness and serenity only when s/he maintains a dynamic equilibrium among factors separately containing a 'too much' or a 'too little' of *espíritu*. By periodic 'coolings,' festivals prevent too great a 'heating' of society and cosmos. Violent activity, and wild drinking bouts, are the expression of the creator's craving for destruction, and serve for the maintenance or renewal of the world order.[2] Thus, at Andean festivals, the male (*ira*) and female (*arka*) principles crash into each other, in a bloody, frequently deadly, ritual battle, and are dialectically reconciled in the *tinku*, the dynamic equilibrium of complementary opposites.

Illness and Healing—the Curandero

Healing from culturally specific, spiritual illness is the affair of the shaman (*curandero*, Sp., 'healer'), in situations such as when, in ecstasy, he seeks out the cosmic regions and brings back the sufferer's soul. A diagnosis is possible only through the shaman's clairvoyance, for instance, through the recognition of infectious spirits in the patient's urine. The Indian medico-religious complex testifies to uninterrupted vitality: the Sibundoy Indians (Southwestern Colombia) practice their trade in remedial plants as far as Costa Rica, and shamans are active in the big cities of Latin American 'whites.' The spirituality of the shamans, mediators of the conflictive relationships among the classes, cultures, and ethnic groups, becomes a coveted commodity: one buys spirit for money. The socioeconomic impetus to acculturation, sharpened by international technology and globalization, is balanced out by indigenous 'magic,' and charms meant to harm (sometimes as a weapon in the battle of the classes!).

The Indio-American Religions Today

6. Even five hundred years after Columbus, massive Christian attempts to missionize and repress Indio-Americans achieve only partial outcomes. In 'syncretistic piety,' usually the result of 'quiet' cultural resistance on the part of the defeated, not infrequently the Indian underlay shines through a Christian veneer. Thus, Catholic saints have been incorporated as a 'foreign word' into the indigenous 'religious grammar.' For a successful harvest, the descendants of the Incas in Peru and Bolivia make offerings to the Blessed Virgin Mary, who has fused with the earth mother Pachamama. *Curanderos* work with saints and angels, their 'shamanic' succoring spirits. For Indio-mestizos, Jesus is the Sun, traversing the sky with his medicine bag, resting at noon and chewing coca. Indio-Americans make pilgrimages to the ancestors' sacred mountains, in whose caves the mythical gold caiman and Catholic saints peacefully coexist.

Charismatic Movements and Messianic Hopes

However, the picture of peaceful coexistence can be deceiving. On the heels of a newly awakened Indian awareness and movements of revitalization, Indian saints—charismatically gifted Indians, reverenced as saints after their death—and miraculous sacred images discovered by Indians in the wild are set up over against the 'dead' saints of the whites. The operations of fundamentalist, evangelical sects from the United States, such as the Pentecostalists, or the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Northwestern Amazonia, were frequently the prelude of later economic exploitation of resources (mineral oil, etc.) in Indian regions, and hence had more of a destructive than an enhancing effect on Indian cultures. To be sure, a mixture of indigenous religion and Anglican Protestantism are leading to syncretistic revival

movements ('Hallelujah religion'): shamanic prophets among the Akawaio Guayanas announced the falsification of the salvific message by white missionaries who sought to dissuade the Indians from entertaining any hope of material riches (→ Charismatic Movement).[3] In the future-vision of the descendants of the Incas, the rule of the Christian God is at an end when Inkarrí, the mythic personification of the Inca ruler murdered by Spaniards, and leader of rebellions, rises up once more from his dismembered body: 'blood flow,' and 'blood sun,' then mark the 'world turner' (*pachacuti*), the end of the 'white' world, and the beginning of a new, Indian world-age. The sources of Inca mythology nourished the early-colonial, religio-political possession cult of the *taqui oncoy* ("Song/Dance of the Pleiades"; c. 1560), just as did, finally, the 'liberation ideology' of the Peruvian guerrilla movement "Shining Path" (*Sendero Luminoso*). Eschatological hopes also nourished Andean popular theater, which presented the colonial trauma—the Spanish invasion—experienced as a cosmic catastrophe, from the 'standpoint of the defeated,' and thereby overcame it. Messianic movements are attested even in pre-Spanish Indio-America—phenomena intensified, it is true, by a social situation of contact with the 'whites'—as with the religious migrations of the Tupí-Guarani (Brazil, Paraguay) in quest of the 'land without evil.'

In the modern metropolises of Latin America as well, Indian life is by no means characterized by adaptation alone. Guajiro women (Venezuela/Colombia) react to the 'Wilderness' Macaraibos with "their longing to shamanize,"[4] the Andean rural population who have migrated to the cities contribute their earnings (from taxis and shops) to Pachamama, along with their traditional drink offerings (*ch'alla*). City cults of healing, based on the Indian drug Yagé, transcend all classes and ethnic groups: in Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia, there has appeared the *Ayahuasca* religion that propagates the drinking of the 'sacramental drug' (especially for salvific purposes), under the direction of a shaman or spiritist.[5] In the common life of the cultures, forms are mixed together, such as the Indio-African Batuque religion (Northern Brazil), or the Indio-African-European synthesis of Venezuela's Maria Lionza religion. The region of the dead of Cuna (Panama), overflowing with Western consumer goods, the rocky places of the spirits with the golden skyscrapers, parades, and telephones, all testify to the ability of Indian culture to rework influences of modern times without surrendering their own culture.

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→ *Afro-American Religions, Animal, Central America, Colonialism, Cosmology/Cosmogony, Liberation Theology, Mission, North America (Traditional Religions), Shamanism*

Josef Drexler

Southeast Asia

The Region

1. a) Southeast Asia comprises (Islamic) Malaysia and the (primarily Buddhist) states of Burma (Myanmar), Thailand, Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam.

Wars and Crises without End?

b) Imperialism, first that of the British and French, then of the United States in the Vietnam War, inflicted deep wounds. The Khmer Rouge reign of terror shocked and stunned the entire region. Even after the withdrawal of soldiers, however, cultures collided once more. Armies were succeeded by economy and tourism, both sometimes viewed as another kind of imperialism. Millions of persons work for subsistence wages, many earn their money in the dangerous sex market for years, and then pay dearly with their misery. Alarming modernizations in the cities, and retardation on the countryside, plunge the region into crisis after crisis. The West perceives China and Communism as heavily tinting the region's independence, but (especially Theravada) Buddhism from India shapes an older class identity affecting these countries. Buddhist monks, in their own way, repeatedly struggled with the foreign conquerors.

c) In the second century BCE, North Vietnam fell under a roughly one-thousand-year Chinese hegemony. With the occupation, there arrived in the region not only the teachings of Chinese → Daoism and → Confucianism, but later various schools of Mahayana Buddhism as well, that had developed in China. In the course of time, these currents were mixed with an indigenous veneration of → ancestors, and there arose a variegated popular religion.

Beginning in the third century, Indian traders brought philosophical and religious ideas from their homeland into today's Burma (Myanmar), and in post-Christian times, all the way to Vietnam by sea. In Middle Vietnam and Kampuchea, the Hindu-influenced realms of Champa and Angkor materialized. Rather at the same time, Buddhist-influenced dominions formed in Burma and Thailand. In the twelfth century, in Burma, Theravada Buddhism was elevated to the status of state religion. The contemporary rulers



On a street in the inner city of Rangoon, Burma (Myanmar), in the afternoon of the November full moon, a *kathina* festival is held. The Buddha himself was the originator of the direction that fully ordained members of orders should stop at one place during the four-month rainy season (*vassa*), between the months of *savanna* (July/August) and *kattika* (October/November). The obligation of residence lasts three months. *Vassa* is an opportunity for the lay members to express their veneration, and to gain merit by supplying the orders with necessities. When the rainy season is at an end, the *kathina* period begins, lasting until the next full moon. The *kathina* period extends the gift-giving time to the month of *phagunna* (February/March). The most important event

of Thailand, Laos, and Kampuchea followed this example. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the kings of the lands of Southeast Asia reinforced their positions of power vis-à-vis Buddhist order-communities (*sangha*). The clergy of these countries is even today controlled by the state.

With the exception of Vietnam and Malaysia, the writing systems of the countries of Southeast Asia developed from the writing systems of India. The cultic language of the lands of Theravada Buddhism is Pali.

2. The *practice of religion* is possible even in the Socialist states of Laos and Vietnam, and the number of monks and novices—in Vietnam also nuns—is great. In Theravada countries, women are fully ordained only in exceptional cases, and, as a rule, do not enjoy the great respect accorded by believers to the monks.

In popular conceptualizations, it is important for the laity to acquire merit in order to achieve a favorable rebirth. Monks provide them with the opportunity to do so, by accepting meals from them, for example. Merit can also be acquired through contributions of money or goods to monasteries. On all important occasions in the life of a person (birth, marriage, death), monks are invited into the houses of the laity to conduct ceremonies. In many difficulties, those in search of counsel turn to the clergy. The monasteries also offer the laity instruction in Buddhist teaching.

a) As a rule, believers do not visit temples on a daily basis, but only on religious or personal festival days, or on pilgrimage. Early in the morning, a ritual takes place before the home altar. Before personal meditation, one offers flowers, incense sticks, vegetables, or the like, to the statue of the Buddha.

b) In Southeast Asia, various 'religious levels' are superimposed that have existed there even before Buddhism, and that play a role alongside Buddhism even today. It is particularly in Theravada Buddhism that the

Buddha stands for a path of salvation without a divine function attaching to him. Persons turn to the gods of → Hinduism for the fulfillment of their desires, or avail themselves of → amulets for protection against all manner of iniquity and insult. Before weighty decisions in life, before a marriage, for example, or a long journey, men and women are summoned to consult as astrologers or prophets, or advice is sought from oracles. Monks are not actually supposed to turn to these practices, but they tolerate them, and are usually present at them when popular religious rites are performed that are regarded as subordinate to Buddhism.

Belief in spirits long preceded the arrival of Buddhism in Southeast Asia. Only certain persons could enter into contact with this special world: the mediums or the shamans. Even in Southeast Asia's modern cities, little spirit-houses in front of homes testify to belief in this old tradition. In order to placate the potential hostility of the spirit upon whose territory human persons have come, a Brahmin or an astrologer must perform a ceremony of consecration. The house spirit is thenceforward to be nourished with daily sacrifices of food and drink. Even the spirits of trees, mountains, and waters must be dealt with, as well as with that of an unnatural death. Magical powers are visibly attributed, especially to high, old trees, through the many variegated wish-ribbons around their trunks. Notions of the spirits have kept pace with changes: repeatedly, one sees on the rear-view mirror of an automobile, or on the bow of a boat, fresh garlands—for the spirits who are to watch over one's journeying. Among the important family celebrations (naming of a child, marriage, important journeys, the New Year, but not a funeral), the *Baci* ceremony is included, presided over by a respected member of the family or neighborhood. Here as well, monks may be present, but do not take part in the ritual. The reconciliation of human beings with one another, and of the world of human beings and spirits, takes place here, around the Baci Tree. Reciprocal good wishes are wrapped around the wrist in the form of a cotton ribbon, an act intended at the same time to ward off evil spirits.

c) According to Buddhist notions, death is but a way station along the route to a new rebirth. Still, in many countries of Southeast Asia, families commemorate their dead on the anniversary of the day of their death. Especially in Vietnam, but also among Thais of Chinese extraction, the veneration of ancestors takes place according to the Chinese model.

The countries of Southeast Asia are home to a multiplicity of ethnic minorities, partly immigrants of recent centuries, partly the early rulers of the region, such as the minority of the Cham in Vietnam and Kampuchea, who today belong to Islam. Most ethnic groups have heir own (tribal) religions and cults, influenced little, if at all, by Buddhism.

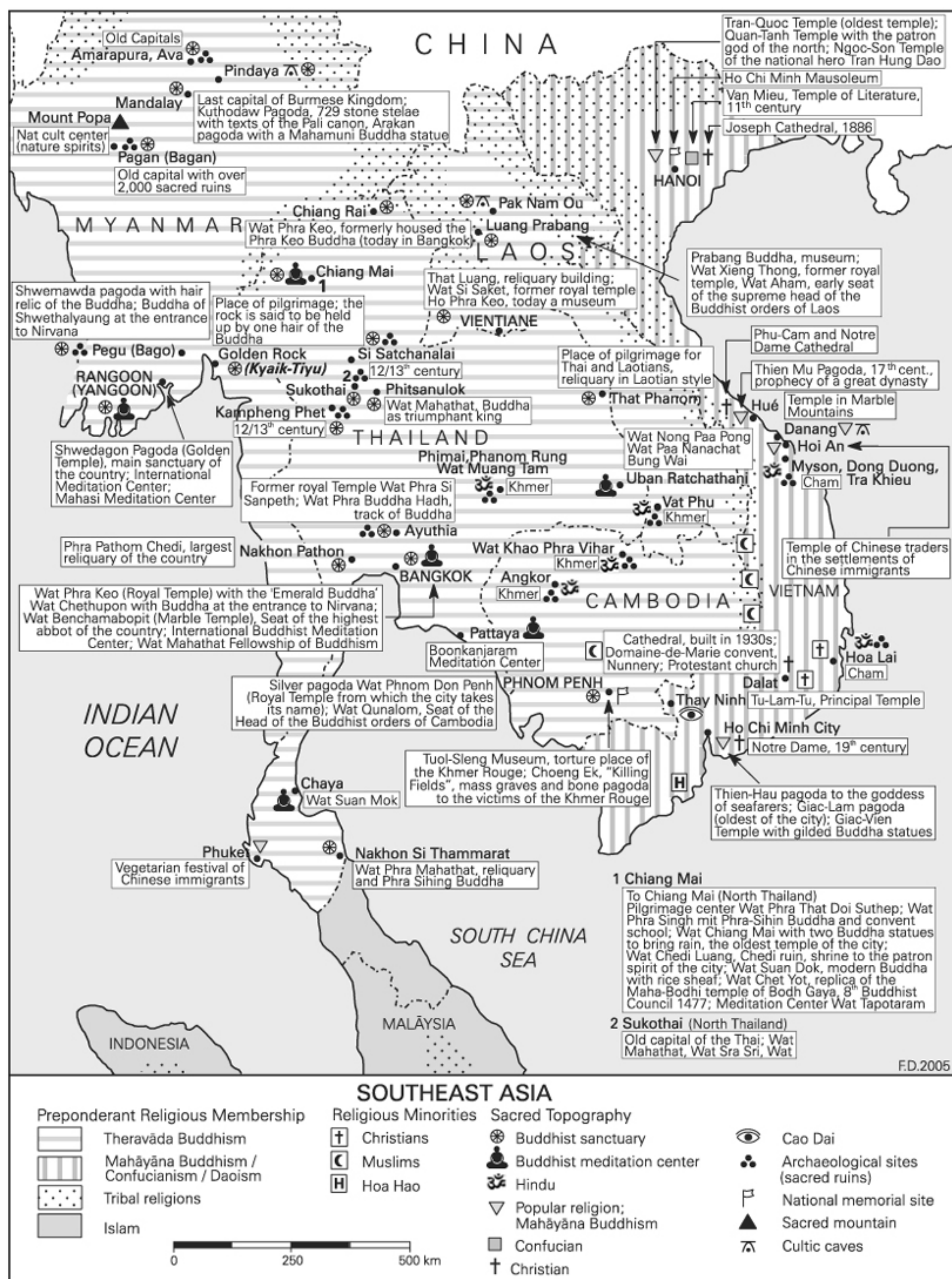
is the bestowal of the *kathina* garments to the community of the order. The robes are further distributed among the individual monks who have spent the rainy season in the monastery in question. The donations may consist simply of material for sewing, or of finished robes—the latter being more customary in Rangoon. At the bestowal, the veneration of the Buddha, and the triple 'flight' formula is recited ("I flee to the Buddha …"). Then a lay member, holding a pile of robes in both hands, says: "Revered ones, modestly bring we forth these *kathina* robes, and other gifts of the community." The monks respond, "Sadhu" ("Good"), and recite verses, such as "Merit is the flight of all beings in the next world." There is also a custom of holding weaving contests in large pagodas during the November full moon. Young women vie with one another to weave a robe that, subsequently, is usually draped over a figure of the Buddha. Usually, families (including those of the neighborhood) invite the monks to come before their houses. Electric amplification assures that, at least acoustically, the whole street participates in the festival. (T. Fessel and M. Petrich)

Religion and Politics

The Buddhism of Southeast Asia has repeatedly had to adapt to new circumstances in the course of its history.

With entry into a monastery, monks renounce secular life, and therewith politics as well. However, it has repeatedly occurred that, in times of crisis, the clergy has surrendered its neutral position, and monks have always, to a greater or lesser extent, been active in political actions. We can see this clearly in Burma (Myanmar) during the colonial period, and still today. The West has observed the resistance emerging from the monasteries in the fiery self-immolation of Buddhist monks during the Vietnam War.

Subjects discussed today in the countries of Southeast Asia are, among


CHINA
Tran-Quoc Temple (oldest temple); Quan-Tanh Temple with the patron god of the north; Ngoc-Son Temple of the national hero Tran Hung Dao
Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum
Van Mieu, Temple of Literature, 11th century
Joseph Cathedral, 1886
HANOI
Old Capitals
Amarapura, Ava
Pindaya
Mandalay
Last capital of Burmese Kingdom; Kuthodaw Pagoda, 729 stone stelae with texts of the Pali canon, Arakan pagoda with a Mahamuni Buddha statue
Mount Popa
Nat cult center (nature spirits)
Pagan (Bagan)
Old capital with over 2,000 sacred ruins
Chiang Rai
Pak Nam Ou
MYANMAR
Wat Phra Keo, formerly housed the Phra Keo Buddha (today in Bangkok)
Luang Prabang
LAOS
Prabang Buddha, museum; Wat Xieng Thong, former royal temple, Wat Aham, early seat of the supreme head of the Buddhist orders of Laos
Chiang Mai
1
That Luang, reliquary building; Wat Si Saket, former royal temple Ho Phra Keo, today a museum
VIENTIANE
Shwemawda pagoda with hair relic of the Buddha; Buddha of Shwethalyaung at the entrance to Nirvana
Place of pilgrimage; the rock is said to be held up by one hair of the Buddha
Pegu (Bago)
Golden Rock
(Kyaik-Tiyu)
Si Satchanalai
12/13th century
2
Place of pilgrimage for Thai and Laotians, reliquary in Laotian style
Phu-Cam and Notre Dame Cathedral
Thien Mu Pagoda, 17th cent., prophecy of a great dynasty
RANGOON (YANGOON)
Sukothai
Phitsanulok
Wat Mahathat, Buddha as triumphant king
That Phanom
Hué
Temple in Marble Mountains
Kampheng Phet
12/13th century
THAILAND
Danang
Hoi An
Shwedagon Pagoda (Golden Temple), main sanctuary of the country; International Meditation Center; Mahasi Meditation Center
Phimai,Phanom Rung
Wat Muang Tam
Khmer
Wat Nong Paa Pong
Wat Paa Nanachat
Bung Wai
Uban Ratchathani
Myson, Dong Duong, Tra Khieu
Cham
Former royal Temple Wat Phra Si Sanpeth; Wat Phra Buddha Hadh, track of Buddha
Vat Phu
Khmer
Ayuthia
Phra Pathom Chedi, largest reliquary of the country
Nakhon Pathon
Wat Khao Phra Vihar
Khmer
Temple of Chinese traders in the settlements of Chinese immigrants
BANGKOK
Angkor
Khmer
CAMBODIA
VIETNAM
Wat Phra Keo (Royal Temple) with the 'Emerald Buddha' Wat Chethupon with Buddha at the entrance to Nirvana; Wat Benchamabopit (Marble Temple), Seat of the highest abbot of the country; International Buddhist Meditation Center; Wat Mahathat Fellowship of Buddhism
Pattaya
Boonkanjaram Meditation Center
Cathedral, built in 1930s; Domaine-de-Marie convent, Nunnery; Protestant church
Hoa Lai
Cham
Dalat
Silver pagoda Wat Phnom Don Penh (Royal Temple from which the city takes its name); Wat Qunalom, Seat of the Head of the Buddhist orders of Cambodia
PHNOM PENH
Thay Ninh
Tu-Lam-Tu, Principal Temple
INDIAN OCEAN
Ho Chi Minh City
Notre Dame, 19th century
Tuol-Sleng Museum, torture place of the Khmer Rouge; Choeng Ek, "Killing Fields", mass graves and bone pagoda to the victims of the Khmer Rouge
Chaya
Wat Suan Mok
Thien-Hau pagoda to the goddess of seafarers; Giac-Lam pagoda (oldest of the city); Giac-Vien Temple with gilded Buddha statues
Phuket
Nakhon Si Thammarat
Vegetarian festival of Chinese immigrants
Wat Phra Mahathat, reliquary and Phra Sihing Buddha
1 Chiang Mai
To Chiang Mai (North Thailand) Pilgrimage center Wat Phra That Doi Suthep; Wat Phra Singh mit Phra-Sihin Buddha and convent school; Wat Chiang Mai with two Buddha statues to bring rain, the oldest temple of the city; Wat Chedi Luang, Chedi ruin, shrine to the patron spirit of the city; Wat Suan Dok, modern Buddha with rice sheaf; Wat Chet Yot, replica of the Maha-Bodhi temple of Bodh Gaya, 8th Buddhist Council 1477; Meditation Center Wat Tapotaram
SOUTH CHINA SEA
2 Sukothai (North Thailand)
Old capital of the Thai; Wat Mahathat, Wat Sra Sri, Wat
MALĀYSIA
INDONESIA
F.D.2005
SOUTHEAST ASIA
Preponderant Religious Membership
Theravāda Buddhism
Mahāyāna Buddhism / Confucianism / Daoism
Tribal religions
Islam
Religious Minorities
Christians
Muslims
Hoa Hao
Sacred Topography
Buddhist sanctuary
Buddhist meditation center
Hindu
Popular religion; Mahāyāna Buddhism
Confucian
Christian
Cao Dai
Archaeological sites (sacred ruins)
National memorial site
Sacred mountain
Cultic caves
0
250
500 km

others, a democratization of the hierarchy of the order, engagement for peace, dialogue with other religions, and the introduction of women's ordination. Opportunities for meditation, which attract more travelers from the West each year, have been developed recently in various monasteries of the region.

In Vietnam in the twentieth century, two very syncretistic religious movements have developed: the Hoa Hao, which emphasizes the simplicity of a cult of a Buddhist hue, and the community of the Cao Dai, so striking, among other reasons, for the colorful attractiveness of their sacred installations and their cult.

Tourism

The countries of Southeast Asia are favorite destinations for travelers. The negative effects on those whose lands the tourists visit are often emphasized. However, → tourism has positive aspects, as well. Among them belong, for instance, restorations of historical and religious sites, and the study of their own culture and religion by indigenous groups who work in tourism, often attracted by dialogue with travelers from other cultural circles. Travelers gain insight into religious traditions, standing in parallel or merged, and into another style of everyday life, in which religion obviously belongs. And they learn tolerance toward foreigners, not only in the religious area, but in personal contact, as well—experiences that can contribute to a better understanding of foreign cultures.

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→ *Amulet, Ancestors, Buddhism, China/Japan/Korea, Confucianism, Daoism, Hinduism, Islam, Shamanism, Tourism*

Brigitte Heusel

Southeast Asia: Time Chart

Era 1: Migratory movements

from 3000 BCE	Immigration from North to South	Peoples unwilling to subject themselves to a China now expanding southward, emigrate to Southeast Asia, partially dislodging the original population. They dispose of better tools and farming

		methods than do the natives there.
c. 300 BCE	Dong Son culture	Sacred bronze drums have been found throughout Southeast Asia. Their decorations break open notions of the other world, and to shamanic rituals of the time in question.
208 BCE	The first empire in Southeast Asia	Nam Viet (today's South China and North Vietnam) is established in the tangles and disorders of the end of the first Empire of China as an independent state—the first realm that can be historically indicated in Southeast Asia.
2nd cent. BCE	Expansion of China	The trade route from China westward leads through today's Myanmar (Burma). The realm of Nam Viet will be a colony of China for a thousand years (111 BCE to 938 CE).
Era 2: Influences from India and China		
first centuries CE	Indian and Chinese traders in Southeast Asia	With the rise of maritime commerce, the mainland and the islands of China constitute an important objective for Indian merchant ships. It is not only wares, but ideas as well, that reach Southeast Asia with the ships.

	First "Indisized" Empires: Funan (today's Kampuchea), Langkasuka and Tambralinga (today's Malaysia). Oc Eo an important harbor city	The empires will organize on Indian models. Hinduism marks the elite of Funan. In both realms of Malaysia, it is especially Buddhism that spreads. The written language is adopted from India. Tribute to China is required.
4th–8th cent.	Broader extent of Hinduism and Buddhism	Indian influences reach from Arakan (today's Myanmar) to the island world. Further "Indisized" realms are founded, whose rulers are oriented toward Buddhism (Mon realms) or Hinduism (Champa). Flourishing cultures arise, with a tendency toward the architecture and art of India. Maritime commerce with farm products, precious metals and stones, precious cloth and spices, flourishes between the Mediterranean region and the Far East. Prosperity finds its expression in the construction of sacred installations, e.g., Borobodur.
9th–13th cent.	God-kings: The Realm of Angkor	'Revolution' in rice farming. A network of irrigation canals spreads through the Kambodjan plain, supporting three harvests annually. The superabundance of rice is the foundation of the Khmer Realm.

		It becomes possible to support many types of labor and craft. Kings are seen as the progeny of Indian gods (especially of Shiva), and have absolute power. An expression of this power is constituted by the sacred installations created by hordes of workers at once, as, e.g., Angkor Vat (mid-twelfth century).
11th cent.	Buddhist realm of Bagan (Pagan)	With the assistance of monks from Sri Lanka, the King of Bagan introduces pure Theravada into his country, as the high religion of the country, while the veneration of Nat (spirits) continues. Close contacts with Sri Lanka.
12th–15th cent.	Flowering and end of the Hindu kingdoms of Southeast Asia: Theravada Buddhism on the march	Wars between the two Hindu Realms, Champa and Angkor, weaken the power of both. In the thirteenth century, there is more immigration to deal with, at the advance of the Mongols. In mid-thirteenth century, realms of the Thai materialize: c. 1250 Sukothai, Ayutthaya in 1350, and Lan Chang (1354).
Era 3: The influence of Islam		
from the 7th cent.	New Order in maritime trading	With maritime mercantile supremacy in Arab hands, Islam

		arrives in Southeast Asia by the sea trade. Missionaries do not enter with fire and sword, but little by little the natives adopt the new faith, as had been the case with India.
13th–15th cent.	First Islamic realms in Southeast Asia: Sumatra, Malacca	Dynasties of Islamic coloring and tone replace the Indian system of government. Followers of Islamic mysticism are often teachers of a native elite.
Era 4: Christianity comes		
1511	Portuguese conquer Malacca	With the capture of Malacca, and the continued Portuguese advance, the old mercantile order in Southeast Asia is destroyed. In 1493, the Pope divides the (then known) world into Spanish and Portuguese spheres of authority for mission and trade.
16th–19th cent.	Beginning of the colonization of Southeast Asia	Unlike that of the sailors from India and Near Asia, the appearance of the Europeans is no example for the population (i.e., Christianity is not voluntarily adopted).
19th cent.	Division of Southeast Asia among Holland, Great Britain, and France	A reconsideration of the individual cultures and religions. In Thailand, King Rama IV introduces a reforming structure into

		Theravada Buddhism (Thammayut). In Burma, the fifth Buddhist Council (1871).
Era 5: Independence		
early 20th cent.	Reconsideration and New Order	A reconsideration of the native religions, and, where necessary, their reform, reinforces a resistance to the colonial lords.
from 1945	Colonies become independent states	To an extent, independence is followed by civil wars, and renewed assaults from the West (Vietnam). Sixth Buddhist Council (1956), in Rangoon (Yangoon, Burma/Myanmar). The attempt at a Buddhist socialism fails.
1966–1973	Vietnam War	Buddhist monks and nuns burn themselves alive, in protest against the role of the United States and the South Vietnamese government.
from 1975	In quest of the paradises	The religions of Southeast Asia, especially Buddhism, awaken the interest of searchers for meaning from Western countries.
2001	New conflicts	After bloody battles, East Timor (Christian) becomes an independent state. Reforms in the socialist states of Southeast Asia (Laos, Vietnam) proceed in the same

direction, and enable a freer religious practice. In the South Philippines and Indonesia, further tensions between Islamic minorities and the (Catholic) majority.

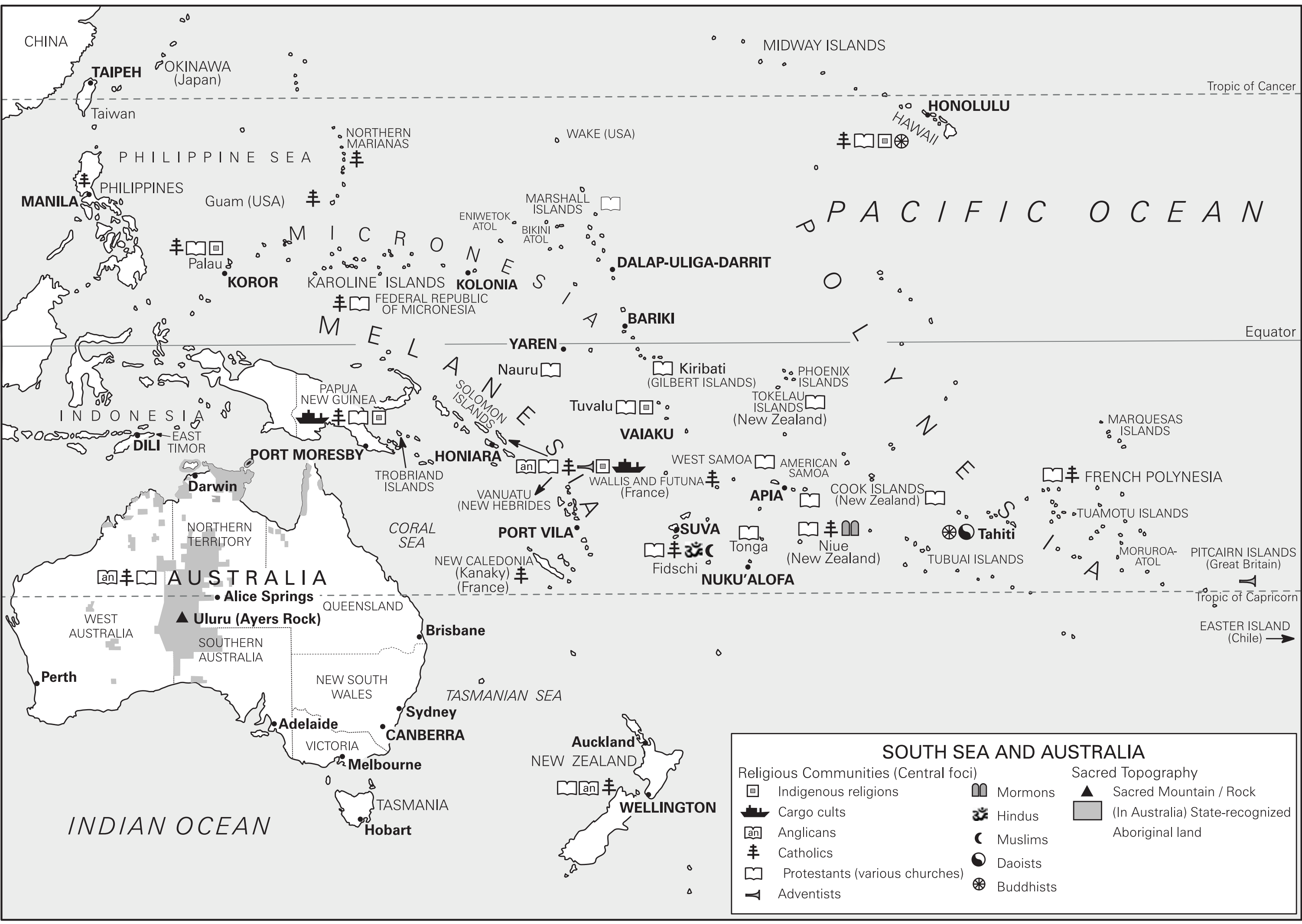
Brigitte Heusel

South Sea / Australia

The Area

'South Sea' is an old name for the Pacific Ocean. Today it means the part of the Pacific comprising the Islands of Oceania. This is an area of ca. 70 million square kilometers, all surrounding 7,500 Pacific islands between America, the Philippines, and Australia. Oceania can be divided into Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. New Zealand in the South, and Papua-New Guinea in the West, are also numbered among the states of the South Sea, while Australia, as a continent by itself, no longer belongs to it geographically. The islands of Hawaii and Easter Island, lying along the northern and eastern perimeter, do indeed spread into the region of Oceania, but are territories either of the United States (Hawaii) or of Chile (Easter Island). Considering their extensive political and economic dependency on, and the transformation of the values of their social culture by the states possessing them, they will need no further mention in the following consideration.

The South Sea has always been a fascinating destination for travelers of every bent and purpose. Soldiers, researchers, painters, and missionaries have traversed the islands, atolls, and coral reefs of the Pacific Ocean ever since their discovery. The native population were seldom taken into consideration. A recent example was the French atom-bomb experiments in the Moruroa Atoll (French Polynesia), in 1995. Just as earlier, with the Americans on the atolls of Bikini and Eniwetok (Marshall Islands), or the British on Christmas Island (Kiribati), so neither does the French colonial power exercise any consideration for inhabitants and environment, but, just as always before, asserts its right to make any determination whatsoever over the native population's life and goods. This disregard has always had multiple societal effects, not least of all upon the religion of the South Sea Islanders. What missionaries have not managed to finish, soldiers and politicians have finished by force. Thus, Polynesians in Tahiti (French Polynesia), persons ruled by French and economically controlled by Chinese, feel like tolerated foreigners in their own country. Although Oceania was divided up into an extensively postcolonial society by independent states, the old economic and political dependencies remain.



CHINA
TAIPEH
OKINAWA
(Japan)
Taiwan
MIDWAY ISLANDS
Tropic of Cancer
HONOLULU
HAWAII
NORTHERN MARIANAS
WAKE (USA)
PHILIPPINE SEA
PHILIPPINES
MANILA
Guam (USA)
PACIFIC OCEAN
MARSHALL ISLANDS
ENIWETOK ATOL
BIKINI ATOL
MICRONESIA
POLYNESIA
Palau
KOROR
KAROLINE ISLANDS
KOLONIA
DALAP-ULIGA-DARRIT
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF MICRONESIA
MELANESIA
BARIKI
YAREN
Equator
Nauru
Kiribati
(GILBERT ISLANDS)
PHOENIX ISLANDS
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
SOLOMON ISLANDS
TOKELAU ISLANDS
(New Zealand)
Tuvalu
INDONESIA
EAST TIMOR
DILI
VAIAKU
MARQUESAS ISLANDS
PORT MORESBY
HONIARA
TROBRIAND ISLANDS
WEST SAMOA
AMERICAN SAMOA
FRENCH POLYNESIA
Darwin
WALLIS AND FUTUNA
(France)
APIA
COOK ISLANDS
(New Zealand)
VANUATU
(NEW HEBRIDES)
TUAMOTU ISLANDS
NORTHERN TERRITORY
CORAL SEA
PORT VILA
SUVA
Tonga
Niue
(New Zealand)
Tahiti
NEW CALEDONIA
(Kanaky)
(France)
Fidschi
NUKU'ALOFA
TUBUAI ISLANDS
MORUROA-ATOL
PITCAIRN ISLANDS
(Great Britain)
AUSTRALIA
Alice Springs
Tropic of Capricorn
QUEENSLAND
WEST AUSTRALIA
Uluru (Ayers Rock)
Brisbane
EASTER ISLAND
(Chile)
SOUTHERN AUSTRALIA
Perth
NEW SOUTH WALES
TASMANIAN SEA
Sydney
Adelaide
CANBERRA
VICTORIA
Melbourne
Auckland
NEW ZEALAND
TASMANIA
WELLINGTON
INDIAN OCEAN
Hobart
SOUTH SEA AND AUSTRALIA
Religious Communities (Central foci)
Indigenous religions
Cargo cults
Anglicans
Catholics
Protestants (various churches)
Adventists
Mormons
Hindus
Muslims
Daoists
Buddhists
Sacred Topography
Sacred Mountain / Rock
(In Australia) State-recognized Aboriginal land

2. Considering the religious landscape of Oceania today, it is first notable that the current religions of Oceania are determined by their colonial Christian legacy. The original, indigenous religions, cults, magic, and myths of the islands of Oceania either were overwhelmed culturally, or perished in social upheavals and in the annihilation of traditional forms of subsistence (fishing, → Exchange/Gift).

Polynesia

a) To the Polynesian group of islands, over a surface of about 50 million square kilometers, belong the independent states of Tuvalu (former Ellice Islands, population c. 10,000 inhabitants), Tonga (c. 110,000), West Samoa (c. 215,000), and New Zealand (c. 3.5 million). In addition, there are regions figuring as dependent colonies, including, under New Zealander administration, the Cook Islands (c. 20,000 inhabitants), American Samoa (c. 60,000), and French Polynesia (c. 220,000). Polynesia is thus the region most dependent on the erstwhile colonial powers in Oceania. This dependency has effects in all areas of life, and, after two hundred years of Western influence, traditional culture in Polynesia has dissolved. Societies and religions of Polynesia have very extensively conformed to Western culture.

Christian Mission and the Fall of the Ancient Religions

The systematic missionizing of the South Sea began at the end of the eighteenth century. In the wake of the discoveries by Englishman James Cook (1729–1779), missionary ships, especially from Great Britain and America at first, began to cross the South Sea. In particular, the London Mission Society, Methodists and Presbyterians, were at work in the South Sea from this time on, which explains the extensive spread of Protestantism. By the end of the nineteenth century, the missionizing of Polynesia was already complete, and independent churches had arisen. The reason for the surprisingly rapid Christianizing of Polynesia, and the almost total extinction of the ancient religions (which anthropologist of religion Nevermann once described as “the most mature and best reasoned thing […] that nature peoples have produced”)[1] may have lain not least of all in these religions themselves. For one thing, there already was, in the polytheistic pantheon, a supreme God, who, as creator, had created heaven and earth. For another thing, the aristocratically organized traditional societies of Polynesia had developed specialized priestly classes that were responsible for cult. Thus, there were two essential preconditions for a rapid adoption of Christianity. Strict cultic restrictions (‘→ taboo rules,’ from the Polynesian *tápu*) were imposed on priests and chieftains, which, far from being understood as prohibitions, were counted on for the protection of their fellow human beings. An extraordinary ‘power of activity’ (in Polynesian, *mana*) resided in political and religious leaders, as in the gods. It could vary in strength, but for ordinary persons, it was accounted very dangerous. Accordingly, dealings with vehicles or vessels of *mana* needed to be regulated by prescriptions of *tápu*. It is true that the *tápu* system was reinforced and became a kind of ritual system of compulsion, so that even the accidental touching of a single hair of a bearer of *mana* could be a capital transgression. This circumstance may have likewise contributed to Polynesians’ ready acceptance of Christianity, which brought them a substantial reduction in the weight of ritual procedure: as a result of the plenitude of the taboo prescriptions, no one had any longer been able to be sure that she or he had not unwittingly violated one of them.[2] Finally—and this factor contributing to the rapid spread of Christianity as

Tápu *and* Mana

well—missionaries had recognized the importance of native assistants, and soon found eager Polynesian collaborators, who moved the missionizing of Oceania forward.

Today, in Polynesia (without New Zealand), the Protestants, with all of their subgroups (Lutherans, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists), and almost 70% of the population as members, constitute the largest confessional group. Catholics come second, with 24.2%. Catholicism is represented especially in the regions governed by France. The high proportion of the Chinese population in French Polynesia (12%) corresponds with the high proportion of other religions. On the little island of Niue, Mormons are 10%. On Tuvalu—Christianized by the London Mission Society since the mid-nineteenth century, and a British protectorate since 1892—nearly the whole population are Congregationalists, of the Church of Tuvalu. In addition, under the ever-powerful societal influence of that community, traditional usages, along with belief in the presence of spirits, still thrive. With their Cook Islands Christian Church, virtually all inhabitants of those islands are Protestant. Here again, missioners of the London Mission Society were active. These latter, along with Methodist missionaries, were active early on Samoa as well (from the beginning of the nineteenth century), and have left behind the largest Congregationalist Church in Oceania, with 50% of the inhabitants. The Adventists, a particularly 'mission-minded' sect, with their faith entirely concentrated on hopes in the eschaton, are represented in a higher proportion than in their ratio world-wide, and have convinced all fifty-six of the inhabitants of Pitcairn, descendants of the Bounty mutineers.

Micronesia

Micronesia includes, especially, the Federal Republic of Micronesia, Kribati (formerly Gilbert Islands), the Marshall Islands, Northern Mariana, Guam, and Palau. In this gigantic region, with more than 3,000 islands, on c. 8 million square kilometers, approximately one-half million people live. In the time of the Japanese occupation, between the two World Wars, Japanese missionaries failed in their attempt to convert the Micronesians to Buddhism or to Shintô, and the Christian mission was fundamental. Nearly 65% of the Micronesians (on Guam, 98%) are Catholic today, which goes back to the early discovery of the Marianas by the Spaniards. Discovered in 1565, occupied and missionized since 1668, the Marianas were the first Islands in the Pacific to be expressly Christianized. The societal systems of Micronesia, with their hierarchically partitioned classes and an inherited status of chieftain, as well as of cultic systems orientated to the veneration of ancestors, were soon things of the past. Surviving in Western museums, there are occasional material witnesses of these cultures, such as the architectonically spectacular men's clubhouses from Palau, with their picture stories on gable ends and beams telling of mythical or historical events. The islands of Micronesia were relatively uninteresting for the colonial powers, but had great importance geo-strategically. During and after the Second World War, on the basis of the financial and material wealth of American troops, the 'Americanization' of Micronesia's island world proceeded apace (the atolls of the Marshall Islands suffered under American testing of atomic bombs), and, for want of goods and services, government moneys flowed there from the islands purely for the intent of 'welfare.' The dependency of the islanders that was produced in this fashion accelerated the cultural, religious, and

social breakdown of many Micronesian societies, whose orientation today is entirely to Western values and concepts.

Melanesia

c) Up to borders of the French Transoceanic Territory of New Caledonia (c. 190,000 inhabitants), Melanesia is independent. Papua New Guinea (c. 4,400,000), Fiji (c. 78,000), Solomon Islands (c. 410,000), and Vanatu (formerly New Hebrides, c. 180,000), comprise the four distinct states of Melanesia. As in the remainder of South Sea, missionaries naturally have worked in Melanesia, and regarded superficially, were successful here as well. Protestantism accounts for 38% of all Melanesians, and 21.1% are Catholics. In French New Caledonia, Catholics number 60%, to be explained by the fact that here nearly 40% of the population are Europeans, especially French. The original inhabitants (Kanakes), likewise with 40%, have become a minority in their own country. Six-and-one-half percent of Melanesians belong to the Anglican Church (in the Solomon Islands, with 34%, they are the largest confessional group). While Anglicans in Micronesia and Polynesia are simply nonexistent, in Melanesia the geographical proximity to the large regions of the Anglican Religion of Australia (26.1%) and New Zealand (34%) becomes visible. In Vanatu (6%), and in the Solomon Islands (10%), Adventists are stronger than anywhere else in South Sea. Fiji, the most populous island state of Oceania, became 46% Indian, this population having been recruited during the British colonial time. There is a correspondingly high proportion of Hindus among the Fiji Islanders (38%). Eight percent of the total population of Fiji are Muslim; the majority (51%) are Christian, of whom 43% are Protestant. It is striking that Melanesia has a high proportion of members of indigenous religions, a datum otherwise scarcely to be verified in Oceania. Besides Vanatu (7.6%) and Solomon Islands (4%), this holds especially true on the—still scarcely accessible—Papua New Guinea (34%). Almost no Europeans live in these three states, so that the proportion of Melanesians here is well over 90%.

Papua New Guinea

Upon a more precise consideration of the religious orientation of the Melanesians of Papua New Guinea, it becomes clear that, while many of them have indeed converted to Christian confessions, this has frequently been a mere formality. Christianity and traditional belief lie adjacent to one another. In the Church, the Christian religion is practiced, but in daily life, indigenous rites, magic, and myths play the determining religious role as much as they ever did. The reason is that the missionaries, who had settled primarily in the coastal regions, did not visit Papua New Guinea's huge backcountry, with its wild, all but impenetrable nature. Furthermore, the population density there is very slight, and the over seven hundred different languages and dialects of the individual, widely separated tribal groups make it difficult to gather information of any kind. This dispersion is the cause of great cultural and religious diversity. Usually only a few hundred persons live in the small, separated, traditional settlement entities, without a hierarchical, social structure ('segmentary social form'). There is no inherited chieftain or priestly office (such as in Polynesia and Micronesia), or, therefore, central structures that could multiply the effects of the missionaries' efforts. On the other hand, the Melanesian 'big men' have since become stereotyped figures in anthropology.[3] It is their → prestige, which rests on economic and military success, and not their extraction or provenance, that establishes their reputation. They possess special *mana*: they have many adherents and great

ceremonial influence. The most important foundation of traditional belief was the veneration of → ancestors. In secret male organizations, connections were struck with the ancestors. Like the totem forebears of the Australian → Aborigines, the Melanesian ancestors were the antecedents and creators of the world, and both mystical primordial beings, and souls existing in the present. Men's houses, along with → masks, are the renowned material outcropping of this religion. In particular, Melanesian cult-masks are today snatched from their ritual and mythic connection, to become 'art without context,' and are classified in the Western museum culture in their particular form as 'aesthetic objects.' They stand as examples of the social and religious paradigm-swap of the Oceanic cultures: the de-consecration of religious tradition to art, to theater, to a spectacle for tourists.

From Cult to Artistic Cultivation

Cargo Cults

A reaction to the pressure of modernity is demonstrated by the *cargo cults*. In Vanatu and the Solomons, and especially in Papua New Guinea, the mighty shattering of religious and social life, launched by the confrontation with the 'whites,' constitutes a special form of the acceptance and rejection of the new and the foreign. At first held to be ancestors, the whites were soon recognized as persons who, of course, possessed unimaginable riches. Confrontation with the unexplainable goods of the whites, their 'cargo' that had landed, whose production the Melanesians could not understand or duplicate, led only to the conclusion that these goods originated in the land of the ancestors, and had been stolen by the whites. But the ancestors would wreak vengeance, would return, would expel the whites, would restore social order, and would hand over firearms, automobiles, and aircraft to the Melanesians. In expectation of this event, not only were moorings, wharfs, and high masts set up for divine radio signals, but plantings were destroyed, animals slain, and houses burned. A sense of the end of the world, and hope in the future, culminated in this pre-modern catastrophe. Up until the present, the existence of more than two hundred individual cargo cults, separated in time and space—in the meantime acknowledged and understood as precursors of nationalistic movements—has been demonstrated. There are early reports of the cargo movement in 1893, on Milne Bay, in British New Guinea. This movement reached a first climax in the 1920s and 1930s, in Melanesia, especially in New Hebrides and the Solomons. The years between 1946 and 1954 witnessed a second cargo-cult spurt in Melanesia, although some of these instances were transformed into social movements.

Australia and New Zealand

3. In Australia, about 90% of the some 18,000,000 inhabitants are of British descent. The original inhabitants of Australia, the → Aborigines, today make up only one percent of the population. The statistical proportion of traditional religions is correspondingly slender, inasmuch as either the immigrants and their churches have absorbed the natives, or the latter no longer appreciably tilt the balance. Ancient hunting rituals can no longer play a role in the big-city context. White Australians, descendants of European immigrants (Irish, English, Italian), belong, in rather equal proportion, to the Anglican (26.1%), the Catholic (26%), or the Protestant (24.3%) churches.

The situation is similar in New Zealand. Europeans of British extraction make up the majority (88%) of the population. New Zealanders are 28% Protestant, 24% Anglican, and 15% Catholic. It is true that the indigenous Maori, with nearly 9% of the population, still comprise a noteworthy share of the population of 3.5 million. However, they have been absorbed more

and more into the urban population, and their traditional religious forms have not survived the modern age.

South Sea as Paradise—the Exotic Fantasy

3. Erotic wishes, and images of free sexuality and nature-connected primitivity on lonely beaches, a Robinsonade on variegated coral reefs in turquoise water, an existence under palms swaying in the wind and casting cool shadows, are imprinted in the South Sea dreams of the modern city-dweller to the present day—the South Sea as the Paradise afar—projected to its apex in the American film, Randal Kleiser's "The Blue Lagoon" (1980) with the scantily clad yet ever chaste, unthreatening Brooke Shields. However, Gauguin's wild romanticism of a paradise in the South Sea at the turn of the twentieth century, had soon to be exchanged for the sobering reality of a colonial deformation of Polynesian society. Today, as well, little has survived—aside from an inspiring landscape—of the enticing dream of the South Sea paradise (→ Garden/Paradise). Traditional cultures of the South Sea have extensively given way to the powerful cultural pressure of Western civilization, and are now mostly marketed as mere tourist spectacles.

1. Nevermann 1968, 62.
2. Ibid., 17.
3. Schultz, Hermann, Stammesreligionen. Zur Kreativität des kulturellen Bewußtseins, Stuttgart 1993, 93.

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→ *Aborigines, Colonialism*

Gerhard Schlatter

Specialists, Religious

1. a) The concept of religious specialist can denote the results of a permanent division of labor within a religion. The individual members of a religious → group possess distinct competencies when it comes to practicing religion and its acts. In many religions, those who lead religious acts are those who occupy a leading position of honor and power, such as the



Young female rabbis, in prayer shawls, and wearing kippas, during a service on the occasion of the First European Convention of female rabbis, cantors, and Jews (of both genders) with training or interest in rabbinical matters, in Berlin, May 1999. Some 120 female specialists in matters of Judaism, including seven active rabbis, met in the New Synagogue, in Berlin, to join together in the battle for the acceptance of female cultic personnel in the worldwide Jewish community. Up until now, it has only been Reform Judaism that has admitted female rabbis: in Germany, at present, there is only one. The Berlin center for studies *Bet Debora*, "House of Debora," named for the biblical judge and military leader against the Canaanites, and deliberately connected with the liberal tradition of Berlin, was where Regina Jonas (born in Berlin in 1902, murdered at Auschwitz in 1944) was the first woman to be ordained to the rabbinate (December 27, 1935). Although there were several women in America who had completed a rabbinical course of studies at the same time, it was only in 1972, with Sally Priesand, that the first American female rabbi took office. Just as in the area of the Christian churches with the acceptance of women as clerical ministers, the admittance of women to the rabbinate has led to tensions with conservative and orthodox groups in the Jewish community. With the help of historical research, then, an attempt is being made to find legitimizing exemplars in the past. (R. Deines)

chiefs of an enterprise, or of the state. But religious specialists can be spoken of meaningfully only where a specific competency in religious acts and knowledge must be actually acquired. The sociological concept affords the possibility of a description. Concepts like 'priest,' 'prophet,' or 'shaman' originate in particular religious traditions, and are frequently understood polemically. Should we seek to apply, for example, 'priest' trans-culturally, it will obscure differences in cultic activity, personal holiness, lengthy formation, and full professional dedication. Even a seemingly general determination such as 'intermediary (of salvation)' becomes highly problematic: this designation is a product of the Protestant polemic that no intermediary can be employed between human beings and their God.

b) The division of labor in question can be described under two aspects. (1) The relationship between specialists and non-specialists is a connection of varying degrees of proximity (social density). Thus, this relationship more or less determines how often believers seek out a specialist. As



Federico Llaves is a Callawaya, a healer from the Bolivian province of Bautista Saavedra, in the Department of La Paz. In the villages of the Apolobama, and of Muneca Cordillere, in the Andes, live traveling medicine men, who also work their farms. They function in the area of herbal medicine, as well as in that of symbolical healing. For eighteen-year-old Irene Ramos Vila, who has lost her first child, he here performs a night ritual, the "Banishment of Grief." After all, as he says, "grief is still in the house" after a death. "And so a purification is always performed, lest the unwholesome continue to pursue us." In the course of the night, he prepares one white and one mourning *mesa* (Span., 'sacrificial gift,' lit. 'table'), for the 'white healing' and for the repulse of evil and harm. All have removed their hats, as the ritual gets under way. In its course, a moment occurs when—as pictured here—the healer places an embroidered stole, from the sacristy of the church, around Irene's shoulders, and blesses her with a white *q'into* of sacrificial offerings (wool, coca leaves, lama suet, and alcohol, in a white towel), and his iron cross, in the name of the Trinity. Mountain peaks, Mother Earth (Pachamama), and the wind, are summoned as well. Between parts of the ceremony, there is sometimes time for talking, eating, smoking, chewing coca, and drinking alcohol. Federico Llaves practices in the Callawaya tradition, integrating Catholic elements into the ceremony, and lending the event his own personal style. His participation, his ritual capacities, and his competency in interpreting death and grief, help survivors in this difficult time of transition. (Kirsten Holzapfel, after Ina Rösing)

for the degrees existing in the relationship of authority—discipleship (→ Disciples), or → master-pupil relations—this measure may be grounded in personal → charisma. (2) It may also be a matter of a stable relation between a spiritual 'official' and a community, or the services of a specialist may be sought only in 'critical' situations, such as prophecy or fortune-telling (astrology, card-reading), or rituals of the → life cycle (such as funeral preachers, marriage priests). Stores of knowledge (of ritual, of theology) have to be preserved and elaborated through monopolization, or at least close control, and corresponding specialists have to be relieved of other activities. Staffs of administrators, then (cashiers, recording secretaries, registrars), and assisting personnel (slaughterer for sacrificial rituals, musicians, attendants), can be distinguished into cultic specialists and theologians. The formation or 'training' of religious specialists has been of special meaning and importance for European history of religion, and for Christianity. These specialists would be persons whose tasks were to attend exclusively to reflection on, and systematization of, stores of knowledge, assume responsibility for doctrines, and interpret and apply the generalizations thus achieved (→ Theology) to new situations (and texts). Special training, proper rules of lifestyle, and hierarchical control, were necessary in order to assure the inner coherency of such an organization. Certain instances of specialization form religious 'virtuosi'—as, for example, ascetics, who live religion especially intensively, and, for that purpose, organize into closed groups, in → monasticism—or else they build systems of two-degree membership, of general members and of the 'perfected,' as did the medieval Cathari.

Antiquity

2. a) It was characteristic of the ancient urban religions of the Greco-Roman world to display minimal organization. They usually consisted of priesthoods that recruited their membership among the (usually male) members of the upper class, or even only among certain families. Here it was a matter of 'leisure-time priests,' who had often delegated their routine cult to slaves or personal assistants, and who were 'professional priests' only in particular cases, then living on the income of their temple installations (except in Egypt). 'Full-time priests' (such as the Roman Vestal Virgins) were rare. Of course, there were purveyors of religious services, in healing-cults and oracles, who seemed to live on their activity, as well as itinerant experts who seemed to do the same. In the Judaism of the Diaspora, we see a high percentage of members of synagogues in honorary offices, while professional scholars were rare. The very early Christian system of cultic, social, or theological specialists comes as a surprise, then, and it soon led to efforts to finance an independent 'clergy,' as well as to array it with privileges, as political leaders gradually promoted the new religion. Along with the ever more closely intertwined offices that, in Christianity, as well, developed into careers, independently operating specialists (such as teachers, exorcists), still had importance and meaning at first.

Christianity

b) For further European history of religion, the institutionalization of the Christian Church, and especially that of Rome, with its functionaries, played an important role. On the one hand, ever-higher formation was demanded of priests, and greater personal holiness, which fostered the 'sacralization' of the organization (such as with Gregory VII's reform in the High Middle Ages). At the same time, however, such measures encouraged criticism. The sense and meaning of the prevailing religious division of labor came more and more into question—after all, salvation is to be available to all persons equally. Thus, in the Reformation, the doctrine emerged of a

'universal priesthood of all of the faithful.' The organizational power of even the medieval Church, and the lack of competition on the part of state organizations, resulted in tasks of formation devolving upon the competency of religious specialists in Latin schools and universities, throughout broad expanses of European history.

Extra-European Cultures

3. The organizational and differentiating patterns just described are observable in extra-European cultures as well. Outside of urban societies, the village priest, with his far-reaching and little differentiated religious authority, and the various, and often crisply differentiated, ranks of temple priests—became the most important forms of religious specialization. The extreme case of regulated priestly states (theocracies) is to be observed alike in the monastic republic of the Greek Athos, and in Buddhist Tibet before the Chinese occupation. Special types of religious authority, such as that of the → guru or healer, are exported to Europe even today.

Current Discussions

4. Current discussions on religious specialization are—at least in the West—strikingly restricted to the problems of the status of Christian priests. On the one hand, the role represents a fully transmitted professional activity, possessing all of the indications of a 'profession' in the most cogent sense. On the other hand, the loss of public respect, and the increase of role diversification in the area of the common priesthood of all Christian confessions, has led to insecurity with regard to status, and tendencies to de-professionalization. Or, in the public area, in connection with the confrontation concerning Islamic religious education in public schools, there is discussion of how religious specialists are legitimated, and how representative they are for such religions with looser organization.

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→ *European History of Religion, Group, Guru, Monasticism, Priest/Priestess, Weber*

Jörg Rüpke

Sphinx

1. The (male!) sphinx, in Egypt, consists of a recumbent lion with the head of a Pharaoh (androsphinx). The lion has been the royal beast since time immemorial, so that, in the sphinx, the brute strength of the mighty predator is linked with the wisdom of the human governor, as a phenomenal image of royalty, and beyond this, as a divine → composite being. In the sphinxes watching at the entrances of temples or necropolises, the power of the Pharaoh is mightily displayed as guardian and defender of his sanctuary. Granted, in Egypt the sphinx is usually male, but female potentates, as well, used that symbol of majestic power, so that, even in Egypt, if only rarely, the female sphinx does occur.

It is the Great Sphinx of Giza (Fourth Dynasty) that is world-renowned. With its length of some 73.5m, and its height of 20m, it may be the most powerful construction of a mythical beast in existence. Its monumental figure symbolizes the sacred royalty of the Old Kingdom at the height of its power. It lies along the path to the Pyramid of Chefren, and it was believed that it pictured the Pharaoh of that name. New material, however, indicates his father Cheops (c. 2604/2554–2581/2531 BCE) as its builder. Through the connection of aspects of the sun cult and the royal cult, the Sphinx of Giza was venerated in the New Kingdom as 'Horus on the Horizon' (in Greek, *Harmachis*), and thereby regarded as a form of the apparition of the Sun God, Re. Thus, Amun-Re also became a new King of the Gods, as well as the Sun God, and the figure of the sphinx featured Amun's typical ram's head ("Kriosphinx").

2. In Greek mythology, the unambiguously female sphinx was depicted as the Demon of Death, a winged lion with the head of a woman. The sphinx became the synonym for the enigmatic, a development owed to the famous myth of the Theban Sphinx, who slew all who failed to solve her riddle. → Oedipus, however, found the correct solution, whereupon the sphinx plunged into the depths. Despite the gender alternation, the sphinx was probably adopted in Greece from the ancient East.

3. In Europe, beginning in the Renaissance, the figure of the sphinx experienced a 'rebirth,' in architecture, sculpture, painting, and literature, and this in both its Egyptian and its Greek phenomenal forms. In the sometimes monumental sculptures of sphinxes in park and palace installations, from the Baroque until the twentieth century, these guardian figures served the representational needs of state and nobility or upper class. In art, the sphinx was increasingly eroticized. In the Symbolism and *Décadence* of the close of the nineteenth century, in Felicien Rops and Fernand Khnopff, in the lyricism of Oscar Wilde (*The Sphinx*, 1894), she became a male fantasy of the *femme fatale*, the timeless cipher of the enigmatic, perilous eros of woman.

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→ *Composite Beings, Egypt, Gender Stereotypes, Monarchy/Royalty, Oedipus, Reception*

Edmund Hermsen

Spiritism

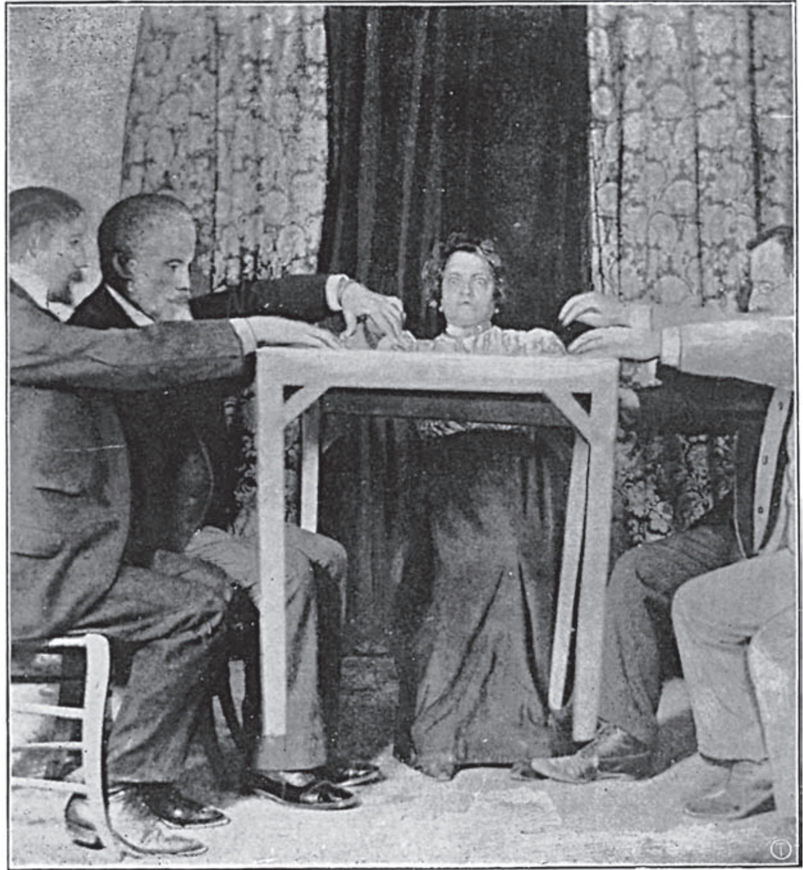
1. Spiritism or Spiritualism (from Lat. *spiritus*, 'soul,' 'spirit') is to be understood here not simply as belief in spirits, but as belief in the continued life of the soul in a beyond, and the possibility of communicating with the spirits of the departed. Often in the spiritistic literature, the designation 'spiritualism' is used instead. Spiritism is one of the important international new religions of the nineteenth century. It came from the United States and seized Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century. After the First World War, original spiritism quickly lost its importance in the Old World. But in Brazil, for example, its significance grew, and there, for instance in the Umbanda religion, even adopted Afro-American cultic elements.

The Forerunners: Mesmerism and Swedenborgians

2. Although the lay religion of spiritism appeared only in the middle of the nineteenth century, there are many movements that could be cited by way of precedent. Besides centuries-old popular traditions still appearing in 'popular spiritism,' like belief in ghosts and spirits, necromancy (conjuring the dead), and fortune telling, there were also spiritistic currents that were attacked by Enlightenment authors. The latter included especially the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), which sought to open the view of a higher world of spirits, and even more, Mesmerism, the 'animal magnetism' of Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), a kind of hypnotic technique ('magnetic sleep'), which Mesmer and his pupils preferred to apply by occasioning 'somnambulism,' (from Lat. 'sleepwalker'), in order to interrogate things from the world of the supernatural as well (→ Power; Occultism; Electricity; Energy).

History and Varieties

3. The actual starting point of spiritistic mass religion may be taken to be the 'tappings' detected or, more precisely, generated by children of the Fox family in the United States, and their interpretation as means of communication used by the deceased. These perceptions may or may not have been a direct religious reaction to the installation of the first Morse telegraph line, between Washington and Baltimore, in 1883/84, and to its 'democratic' character (being publicly accessible and privately owned). There was then talk, in the United States, about a 'spiritual telegraphy' between the living and the dead. Within a few years, 'table tipping' had become a fashionable game, as well as a means employed by a cult of piety on both sides of the Atlantic. Contact with spirits took place during private *séances* (Fr., 'sessions'). Under the direction of an accomplished 'medium,' in the framework of a 'circle,' a few persons would assemble, usually around a table (see illus.). The trance 'mediums,' the → specialists in this telecommunication with the beyond, played the traditional role of the Christian prophetesses and prophets, just as that of the → witches and healers, but in addition showed some of the traits of



This photograph of an experimental levitation shows the famous medium, Eusapia Paladino (1854–1920), at a table-raising. The course of the *séance*, according to the eyewitness account (slightly blurred by male fantasies) of a celebrated Italian criminologist, was as follows. "The persons sitting around the table lay their hands on it, forming a chain. Each of the medium's hands is held by the nearest hand of each of her two nearest neighbors, and each of the medium's feet is lying beneath that of her neighbor, who also presses his knee against that of the medium." Then the table "usually rises ten to twenty centimeters. [. . .] At times, it remains in the air several seconds, making irregular motions. [. . .] In these attempts, the medium's face becomes distorted, her fists clench, she moans, and seems to be suffering" (Lombroso, Cesare, Hypnotische und spiritistische Forschungen, Stuttgart, no date [1909], 68f.).

modern entertainment stars. Soon certain (especially female) mediums attained an international reputation. The entertainment value of their religious 'shows' came from the *levitations* (objects wafting freely in the air, in seeming contravention of the laws of gravity), *apports* (mustering of objects without human hands), and *materializations* ('embodiments' of, especially, the dead) that they were able to produce. The production of voices, tones, apparitions, and disturbances in the air accompanying the presentations appealed to the senses in a certain synaesthetic manner, and together with the half-light of the scene and the tingling proximity of the other gender, contributed to the appeal of these cultic presentations. Supported in particular by messages from the beyond that the mediums could impart (by speaking in trances, through 'automatic' notation of reports, by 'talking tables,' etc.), a spiritistic world image was promptly produced.

Further organization appeared as well, among middle-class 'scientific' spiritists in associations, as among 'religious' spiritists in 'churches.' Educated spiritists rejected religious spiritism as 'revelation spiritism,' and the Christian churches rejected spiritism in its entirety, on account of its concepts of self-redemption. Spiritists' attitude toward authorities and government varied. Besides an affirmative spiritism maintained by the respectable citizenry and nobility, there even emerged, in England and France, with its origin in America, a liberal social-reform direction (Andrew Jackson Davis,

1826–1910). This phenomenon led the heritage of a utopian socialism (Fourier, Saint-Simon, Owen; → Commune) even further. The politically failed notions of equality and liberty were then projected into the world beyond of a paradisaic 'summerland.' These ideas included equal rights for women and 'free love.'

Spiritism in Europe took on entirely national characteristics, not least of all on grounds of the countries' respective religious colorations. In France, it was determined more in a Catholic hue (Allan Kardec, 1804–1869), in Germany more in a Protestant tone. In Germany, unlike France and England, the *petit bourgeois*, authoritarian 'popular' (*Volk-*) spiritism of Josef Weissenberg (1855–1941) carried the day, with a membership in the tens of thousands ("Evangelical-Joannine Church") after the First World War. Davis's "harmonial philosophy," paired with a Christian spiritist piety, found German support only during the era of Bismarck, especially among textile workers and miners in Saxony.[1]

Taken as a whole, the spiritism of the nineteenth century can be understood as an attempt to afford a scientific guarantee of components of traditional Christian religion regarded as indispensable. This effort would oppose the age of materialism and science. Included among these components were, especially, belief in the immortality of the soul, and a continued life in the beyond, after death ('everlasting life'). The methods employed to offer this guarantee would be empirically verifiable. Then the guarantee would be reconciled with the secular *Zeitgeist*, the 'spirit' signed by individualism and a belief in progress. By way of the 'spiritist method,' those who took part in the séances and circles could defeat death, by extending the existence of their intimate community of devoted 'siblings' and friends in a 'revolt against mourning.'

External Effects and Reception

4. The 'outside effects' of spiritism are meaningful and important. The mediums and their 'spirit-' manifestations became a favorite field of studies in the 1880s, for new "societies for psychical research"—research entities interested in 'experimental psychology.' This early research in → 'parapsychology' contributed decisively to a popularization of the concept and doctrine of the unconscious. True, the sketches created by German spiritists of an experimental-'transcendental' doctrine of the soul regarded that doctrine as a mere transitional phenomenon. The ultimate goal was an experimental psychology of the sub-/unconscious that would be delivered from metaphysics. At the same time, spiritism was a great attraction for the arts. Authors such as Victor Hugo were fascinated by the recently opened look at mental border regions. Modern sculpture, in particular, received powerful impulses from the spiritist unlocking of the unconscious and the supra-sensory, for example with Wassily Kandinsky. Further, with its preponderantly female mediums, spiritism played a role in the historical movement for women's liberation (→ Women's Movement/Spiritual Feminism).

Spiritism Today

5. In Europe and North America, spiritism as a mass phenomenon, as well as in its quality as a world-view has 'closed down' since the First World War—by contrast with Brazil especially, where it has been transformed, and integrated into the Umbanda cult. Here, spiritism has become a national religion. Its spirit-healing fascinates Europeans as well, in their quest for new forms of therapy (→ Afro-American Religions). In Europe and North America, spiritism lives on solely its techniques for receiving 'messages

from beyond.' It persists as a 'secularized' form of social interplay, as well as a spiritual practice of listening to audiotapes and voices on the radio, or of glass-moving (in 'youth occultism'). Transmitted in part by theosophy, spiritism has continued to have its effects, in the → New Age movement and in modern → esotericism, by way of concern with death and dying (thanatology), or through reception of mediated messages (→ Channeling).

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→ *Afro-American Religions, Channeling, Communication, Death and Dying, Esotericism, Occultism, Parapsychology, Psyche, Soul, Specialists (Religious), Spirits/Ghosts/Revenants, Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society*

Ulrich Linse

Spirits / Ghosts / Revenants

1. Spirits are supernatural beings of neither unambiguously human nor divine origin. It is difficult to distinguish spirits, ghosts, and → demons, and their concepts are usually employed synonymously. The concept of spirit has a broad spectrum of meaning. Under the concept of 'spirits,' for instance, fall super-sensory beings and departed persons who tarry yet in the world of the living. A related notion is that of the 'revenant' (Fr., 'coming back'), which names a person who has died an unjust, wicked death, and is now attempting to return (→ Soul). The word 'ghost' (from Old English, orig. 'spirit' or 'demon') is a synonym for spirit, but with a more 'threatening' connotation.

European Conceptualizations of the 'Spirit'

2. The development of the European conceptualizations of the 'spirit' demonstrates how apparitions of spirits are variously deduced and explained. Classical Greeks expressed fear of the souls of the dead, especially when a death had been early or unnatural. Reports have been handed down of spirits that imparted counsel to the living, or reproached them. As in other ancient reports of spirits, they were concerned for their memorial, and begged for appropriate rituals of transition.

Christian Europe adopted many of the ancient conceptions of spirits that inform, instruct, and persecute, appearing in aspect fearful or terrible, or else in a form similar to that of their life on earth. Christian teachers cite them, in order to afford the saints an opportunity to demonstrate their supernatural capacities vis-à-vis the malevolent spirits of the dead. Accounts of wandering spirits, who complain that they have not been buried according to Christian funeral rites, reinforce the reality of purgatory, and the value of prayers and offerings for the dead. Thus, the reports that give us information on the notions of spirits are not simply the expression of a 'folk mentality' but come from the pens of educated clerics, who are seeking to instruct persons, and to convince them of the truth of Christian teaching. Spirits of the dead appear in many types: veiled in white garments, as an animal, or as an orb of light. Frequently they draw attention to themselves by knocking, shuffling, or scratching ('poltergeists'). Often, their wounds and mutilations offer testimonial of their sojourn in purgatory. Especially the spirits of those who have been executed or have fallen in battle, or of women dying in childbirth, awaken the sympathies of the living, in part because the resurrection of those dying in such ways is placed in question, in part because their terrible, cruel death both frightens and fascinates. Spirits are frequently encountered at cemeteries, gallows hills, and crossroads. Reports tell of spirits who beg forgiveness, or who seek justice. A story may tell of a dying knight who asks a relative to give his mount and his other possessions to the poor; but out of greed, the latter keeps the horse. On the eighth day, the spirit of the knight appears, protesting that this transgression is postponing his deliverance from purgatory, and demanding that the miscreant be punished. On the next day, the evil-doer dies in unnatural circumstances. This story illustrates the fact that conceptualizations of spirits reinforce social norms of behavior.

Since the Reformation, many Protestants have rejected the idea of wandering spirits of the dead, and hold the apparitions in question to be manifestations of the Devil. Despite theological confrontations over the nature of apparitions, faith in spirits, phantoms, and ghosts remains active. In the seventeenth century, European spirits had a stronger orientation to the 'here' than they did to the 'hereafter,' and behaved in a more human fashion. Thus, they no longer came through the wall, but politely knocked. In the eighteenth century, skepticism grew concerning the idea of spirits as the wandering dead. In the nineteenth century, spirits won new followers in 'black Romanticism,' along the field of tension between reason and faith, especially in → spiritism. With the help of mediums, or certain technological apparatus, the spiritist movement attempted to come in contact with the spirits.

Spirits in Asia

3. Kindred notions of spirits, in our sense, are found in all cultures. In Asian traditions, the spirit of the fox appears in popular lore. Japanese sources speak of the departed who have had no offspring, and thus no one to perform the correct obsequies for them, so that they wander unredeemed

through the world of the living and inflict injury on them. Unredeemed spirits of the dead are held to be capable of taking → possession of living persons; in the contrary direction, religious → specialists conduct rituals of expulsion (→ Exorcism). Ideas concerning apparitions of the dead have produced images of succoring, protective spirits, as well as of spirits that play practical jokes.

Psychological Interpretations

4. → Parapsychology often holds spirit apparitions to be real, and researches them with scientific methods. On the contrary, → Freud deems the creation of spirits to be human beings' first theoretical achievement. Freud explains them as projections of the living upon the dead, in which contradictory feelings like dread and awe come to expression. Aside from the question of the reality of spirits, the latter do express something about the feelings and fantasies of the person to whom they appear. Thus, fear of spirits can be interpreted as a bad conscience, and their appearance as the expression of a powerful wish.

The merry 'creepiness' of a ghost train, the materialization of spirits in films like "Ghostbusters" or "Poltergeist," serves for more than entertainment. In the present, spirits come into play, once more, in → occultism and → channeling, working as assistant decision-makers and guides through life. In a modern society of information and media, from which all good spirits are expelled, the quest for spirits seems endless.

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→ *Ancestors, Channeling, Death and Dying, Fantasy, Funeral/Burial, Hereafter, Magic, Occultism, Possession, Shamanism, Spiritism, Veneration of the Saints, Voodoo*

Inken Prohl

Spirituality

'Spirituality' is a fashionable word, used in contemporary religious discourse for a spiritual attitude toward life, a style of piety. It occurs in the Christian and the non-Christian areas alike. This diffuse application is connected with a twin history. From the French (*spiritualité*), the word has been taken over into other languages, especially so since the 1960s, by Catholic theologians, who wished to describe certain forms of piety actively lived: from

a contemplative monastic life (for laity, as well, who occasionally share this life, and integrate it into their daily lives), to a political and social engagement from Christian motives, for example in the 'spirituality of liberation' (G. Gutiérrez; → Liberation Theology). Behind all of this stands the Latin adjective *spiritualis*, which in the Middle Ages meant 'pertaining to monasticism.' In this sense, then, spirituality is a modern form of active Christian piety that applies itself in the direction contrary to that by which religion withdraws from the world, and/or holds contemplative elements to be important. Similarly, the category has been adopted in the Evangelical area as well.

From Anglo-Saxon linguistic space comes a second, independent line of tradition. As early as the close of the nineteenth century, 'spirituality' began to denote a free-spirited attitude that appealed to inner experience in religious things, by contrast with Christian tradition's 'blind belief in dogma.' Unitarians and other free religious movements molded the word in this sense. Others transferred it to non-Christian religions, as for example, at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, Swami Vivekananda applied it to Hinduism. In this application, it denotes a 'mystical' nucleus of potentially any religion, which—unlike its theological or dogmatic formations—is experienced preponderantly, or only, in the individual, private religious practice of the 'God-seeker.' In the West, the → New Age movement has been among the agents propagating this meaning, adopting it as a self-description of 'unchurched religiosity,' 'nature-based spirituality,' etc.

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→ *Emotions/Feelings, Esalen Institute, Mysticism, New Age, Private Religion*

Christoph Bochinger

Sports

Sports as Pleasure and Contest

1. Since the nineteenth century, the term 'sports' (from 'disport'; 'to amuse oneself.' 'to frolic')—to busy the body by play, and in pleasure, but, at the same time, in fair competition, and according to strict rules—has become an umbrella concept for all kinds of corporeal motion and playing (with or without the character of a competition). In the connection of the two components, a normative meaning resonates, influencing the ordering and acknowledgment of sports in modern society.

The origin of all sports activity on the part of the human being is the natural impulse to movement. 'Bodily exercises' have served for the configuration of physical potentials such as speed, strength, agility, or endurance, of which that body stands in need in order to dominate the original conditions of life: running made hunting easier. The intentional training of these abilities awakened joy in the control of the body, independently of the original purpose. A new pleasure came to expression in physical comparison



How difficult it is, especially in the modern age, to distinguish religious characteristics from profane, entertainment from bestowal of meaning! This similarity is seen in many examples from today's team sports. The rituals of the opening and closing ceremonies of great presentations such as the → Olympic Games, or world championships, provide productive material. At the kickoff celebration of the world soccer championships in France, on June 9, 1998, four twenty-meter-tall "ethnofuturistic giants" (German Press Association dpa) float in a star march to Place de la Concorde in Paris, intended to symbolize the (soccer) cultures of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe. The figures were escorted to their destination by balloon figures of (in order) musicians, dancers, in-line skaters, and speaking soccer-players. Hundreds of thousands of attendees lined the processional route. The closing ceremonies, to be seen here, remind those reared as Christians, of the 'dance around the golden calf' (the stylized soccer-ball goblet in the middle). A less critical sort can identify the spectacle with the motto *Seid umschlungen, Millionen!* (Ger., "Embrace, ye millions!"—Schiller, in the "Ode to Joy" of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony). That the scene is not simply to be divided into 'sacred' and 'profane,' but that it presents a multi-layered *civic ritual*, is suggested by a glance at the giants: they stand in the tradition of Baroque continent-allegories, as well as in the folkloristic magical festive custom of over-sized dolls, the *mannequins* (for example, in the Tarascon in Southern France). Third and finally, they can be ascribed among the figures of a modern hero-cult—after all, the ritual exaltation of sports stars into superhuman demigods is known from Greek antiquity. But does this now make them 'soccer gods'— → idols of a 'religion of the masses'? (Hubert Mohr)

with others. The physical competition to be observed in nature peoples is a sportiveness that behavioral scientists interpret as the expression of a natural drive to play. Bodily and sportive playing was integrated into the respective traditions of cultic rituals among the various peoples (especially nature and seasonal festivals, celebrations of the dead, fertility cults).

Sports in Antiquity

2. a) European antiquity, which, from the perspective of sporting history, reaches from the first → Olympic Games (presumably in 776 BCE) to their prohibition in 394, is characterized by two continuous sporting motifs. For one, sports served for the training of the body in its military abilities. We may take Sparta as an example. Here, sportive upbringing was a collective military upbringing. With the consolidation of the ancient community, education aimed less at the military function than at complex moral and behavioral upbringing. Over and above positive corporeal experience, sportive upbringing (gymnasium) was necessarily completed by a spiritual education aiming at individual perfection. A concept of competition was added (*agón*). Now the 'Olympic Games' had become a sporting event. Independently of any ideal functional ascription, such events made sports popular with audiences.

Middle Ages

b) This situation remained in the European Middle Ages, a period marked, vis-à-vis the sportive, both by a Christian skepticism and by a (pagan) openness to enjoyment of the body and sensory activity. Human desire for play scarcely contested the latter. Thus, for example, entire villages took part in ball play, which was subject to no temporal or ordinal limitations, and became out-and-out 'fun,' hosting a drive almost in the spirit of a public festival. In their ritualized form, the chivalric tourneys of medieval society were more theater, or even cult, than they were sport. In form (costuming, ornament, and scenery), and course of events, the actual tourney was part of a drama of latent eros, in whose course the 'sportive' knight adopted a ritualized role in a rapturous chivalric drama of romantic love (J. Huizinga).

English Sporting Movement

As early as the sixteenth century, England had horse racing, foot racing, wrestling, and boxing, for the leisure-time occupation of 'sportsmen' (the nobility). Part of the ideal of this 'disport' was that the contests be held according to rules of fairness, and in that spirit. This understanding of sports harmonized with the norms of the industrial society forming from the beginning of the eighteenth century onward. Formally equal chances, competition, achievement, and comparison were tested in sports. Sports became a messenger of modern industrial society. As 'schools of Christian character,' typically English sporting games were transplanted to the colonies. Here, indeed, they attained unanticipated 'success': the new 'sports' became veritably identifying 'national sports' (e.g., hockey in India).

Tourney Movement and Workers' Sporting Movement

As soon as these collective effects entered the scene—if not, indeed, before—they made sports available for appropriation in the interest of sociopolitical goals (ideologization). In Germany, this led to a doughty struggle between the middle-class tourneys and the workers' sporting movement. Beginning with Guthsmuth's 1793 *Gymnastik für die Jugend* (Ger., "Gymnastics for Youth"), German gymnastics, called to life by Ludwig Jahn (*Turnvater Jahn*—"Gymnastics-Father Jahn"), bodily training was understood as

improvement of the *Volkskörper* ("people's/nation's body"). This regimen meant purely and simply a universal pre-military training under nationalistic auspices. By contrast, the workers' sporting movement formulated the task of sports and games as part of a discovery of identity in the class struggle. Both movements kept their distance from the spirit of the individualistic contests of the English sporting movement.

Cult of the Body in National Socialism

c) The anthropological aspect, as well as the cultural side, indicates the original universality of sports. A European or Hellenocentric view, however, shaped an idealized, goal-free understanding of competition, after the Greek model ('agonal attitude'—Jacob Burckhardt), from which the modern Olympic movement was able to extract and further a new universality of sports. But Hellenocentrism actually belittled foreign sporting traditions as 'unagonal.' This pattern of limitation configured bigotries that, in the Nazis' anti-Semitic propaganda, ultimately occasioned the cliché of the nonsportive, 'physically debilitated' Jew. Conversely, it installed the ideal of a sportive striving for success, achievement, and bodily presence: the powerful (naked) → hero.

Differentiation—Sports as 'Event'

4. Under such auspices, and still in high tones, the connection between sports and personality development (ethical, or moral, and social) is easy to emphasize. But actually, structures that dominated societies, and whose effects are lasting, such as, for example, male groups, then become marginalized. In sports, 'successful' virtues, such as strength, endurance, speed, achievement, and competition are first and foremost masculine virtues, the gaining of which becomes a modern initiation rite into maleness.

To be sure, acknowledgments of this kind remain vague, as long as their point of reference is still a comprehensive, unitary understanding of sports. Actually, sports today are more and more differentiated according to motive and use. Everyone defines her and his 'own' sport. While, for some, it is a kind of identifying 'substitute religion,' which they, for instance, practice as fans of a soccer team, for others it is spare-time 'fun'—something 'on the side.' If sports for school and health oblige one to pursue educational or therapeutic purposes, in high-achievement sports the motive that dominates is that of promoting and enhancing the commercial value of products for the market (e.g., Basketball Kids). If on the one hand, by way of differentiation, sports participation withdraws one from appropriation by ideologies, on the other hand this 'gain in autonomy' has a tendency to ground respective particular normative systems, which occasionally are frankly corrupt (performance-enhancing drugs).

Referred to itself, for individual self-perfection, sport does offer its own promises of happiness. Physical fitness is elevated to the norm. But a new external appropriation threatens sports. A world fixated on media and advertising already dominates the symbols accounted as hallmarks of self-perfection. There is no jogging without the right outfit. In the uniformity of the 'body cult,' the erstwhile sports practitioner becomes a lonely figure.

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→ *Body, Hero/Heroism, Luck/Happiness, Olympic Games, Popular Culture, Publicity*

H. Georg Lützenkirchen

Stigmata / Stigmatics

'Stigma' (Gk., 'brand,' 'tattoo'), generally denotes a mark artificially made on the body as ornament, proprietary sign (slaves, animals), or mark of criminality. In antiquity, slaves who attempted escape or theft were 'branded,' usually with a mark on the forehead.

The phenomenon of stigmatization became important as a corporeal concomitant of Christian → mysticism. What is meant is the spontaneous, usually periodic, emergence of the bleeding wounds of Jesus crucified—on the palms of the hands, on the feet, and on the breast ('wound of his heart,' or of his 'side')—on the bodies of living persons without organic cause. In connection with stigmatization, other corporeal phenomena usually appear as well, such as a bloody sweat, tears of blood, living without nourishment, blindness, and → ecstasy. The first and most famous stigmatic is → Francis of Assisi (1181/82–1226). In his succession, we have descriptions of the wounds of some hundreds of persons. Remarkably, despite the male identification figures of Jesus and Francis, stigmatization appears preponderantly with women. The cause, here, is ordinarily of a psychopathological nature, often attributable to a dissociative disturbance. An extreme intensity in the veneration of the Passion of Christ, as practiced in the Christian mystique of suffering, can, by way of auto- or external suggestion, lead to the psychosomatic emergence of the wounds. Self-wounding and simulation have also been evidenced in many cases. An example that concerned the public for decades may be cited in Therese Neumann of Konnersreuth (1898–1962; see illus.). After various illnesses, and supposed cures, it was in 1926 that the wounds first appeared on her body. From this time forward, she is supposed to have lived—in the tradition of medieval female mystics—entirely without food or drink. Her stigmatization appeared regularly on Fridays, the day of Christ's death on the cross, and entailed ecstasies, during which she re-lived that salvific event. A number of medical testimonials refer to her 'severe hysteria.' Therese Neumann was the object of extensive veneration



Therese Neumann is shown during one of her so-called 'passion ecstasies,' around 1950. Her body bears the Five Wounds of Christ, and she weeps blood. This phenomenon, occurring mainly on Fridays, and in the Passion Weeks, regularly drew hundreds of the faithful and the curious to Konnersreuth. Despite the large number of visitors, no one ever observed the onset of the stigmatization. Neumann always declined an examination. A sober observation must come to the conclusion that Therese Neumann maneuvered herself into a situation in which her piety, combined with expectations from without, were the components permitting her intentional simulation.

in her very lifetime, on the part of a great multitude of devotees, whose expectations she declined to disappoint, so that, alongside the documented psychosomatic reactions, simulation (especially with her 'no food or drink' regimen) has also been cited.

Clear parallels to Konnersreuth are to be observed in the case of the most celebrated male stigmatic since Francis, Padre Pio, of Pietralcina in Apulia (1887–1968). The Capuchin father had surrendered to the mysticism of suffering, and, beginning in 1918, bore the wounds of Christ, which, in a wondrous manner, disappeared after his death in 1968. Church authorities most energetically collected 'evidence' of a deceitful behavior on Pio's part. Only Pope John Paul II disallowed the doubts of his predecessors, and in May 1999, in the presence of 300,000 of his devotees, pronounced the beatification of the Padre.

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→ *Body, Ecstasy, Mysticism, Pain, Psychopathology, Suffering, Tattoo*

Guido Schmid

Suffering

Basic Human Experience

1. a) Suffering can be defined as the experience of situations interpreted and felt psychically, physically, and/or socially (e.g., poverty) as painful. Frequently, these longer or shorter periods are accompanied by the conscious and/or unconscious perception of loss, frustration, fear, sadness, and vulnerability. As with pain, suffering as well has both a physical and a psychic dimension. Only the entity of suffering, however, broadens the preponderantly individual character of pain, and binds individuals with their fellows, in a more or less highly developed capacity for empathy.

b) Grief represents a universally present phenomenon, even apart from the human species. Suffering, however, ranks as a typically human experience. Thus, suffering is a key theme in the religions, although not necessarily the central theme, as it is, for example, in Buddhism. Suffering is primarily a personal experience, but is also a social phenomenon: sharing suffering unburdens the individual, and can strengthen the community. The religions offer rituals to channel the 'working through' of personal experiences and community crises.

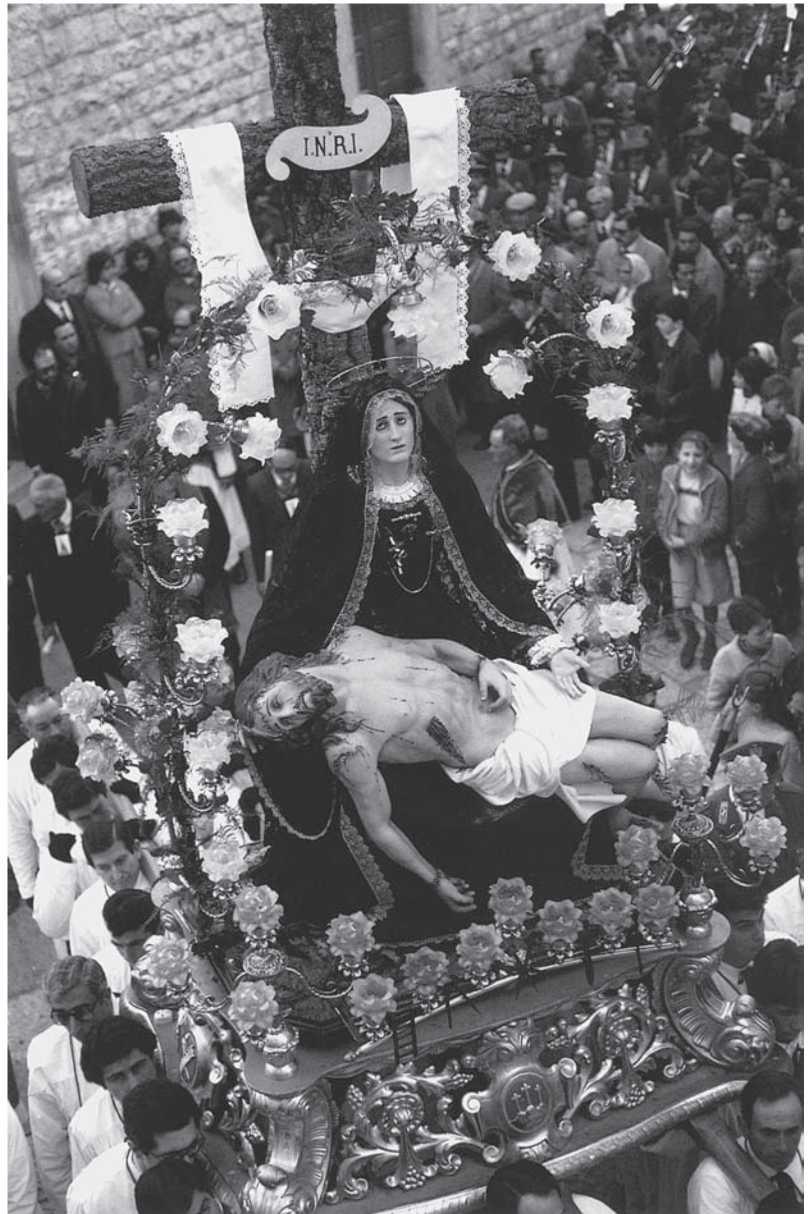
On the level of the understanding and interpretation of suffering, which is experienced as negative, the representatives of religion, philosophy, politics, as well as the sciences, have two complexes of questions to confront: Why is there suffering, what causes suffering, does suffering make sense—have meaning (cf. § 2)? And: can individuals and/or the community avert suffering? If so, then how (cf. § 3)?

Sense of Suffering?

2. *Why is there suffering, what causes suffering, does suffering make sense?* a) Suffering is a fact. It is experienced every day, although not at every time by everyone. *Monotheistic religions* have the problem of theodicy: why does God allow this (injustice)? That suffering is a punishment for personal transgressions or violation of norms obviously does not always hold true. For an explanation of the suffering of the 'innocent,' a sense must be attributed to suffering, for example suffering as purification, suffering as asceticism, suffering as desire, suffering as imitation of the passion of Christ, suffering as a consequence of the Fall. The classic image is in the biblical character of the pious Job, to whom the devil had God's leave to send the heaviest suffering, in order to test whether he would remain loyal to God. Or else the question of meaning is given up, and suffering is interpreted and accepted as the opaque will of a higher power. It is precisely the question of theodicy that challenges criticism of religion, especially of the monotheistic religions.

Deliverance from Suffering

b) Buddha the reformer elevated the question of the causes of suffering to the status of a major theme, attempting thus to transcend the Brahmanism of his time. The Four Noble Truths have always constituted the foundations of Buddhism, from its origin until this very day. To express them in abbreviated fashion: (1) there is no life without suffering (in Pali: *dukkha*); (2) the cause of suffering is avidity and desire (literally: 'thirst'); (3) suffering is removed through the annihilation of avidity; (4) the annihilation of avidity is reached by traversing the noble eightfold path. Suffering, in Buddhism, counts as a natural part of life, conditioned by transgressions committed in previous incarnations: the idea of karma. By following determinate rules, it is possible, usually through several rebirths, to release oneself from the



At the focus of the Christian religion stands the death of a human being: the execution of Jesus of Nazareth on the → cross. The grief that it has aroused occasions an ecstatic mystique of suffering, and has led to the creation of crucifixes and the Pietà. The body hanging on the cross, and the man on his mother's lap for whom that mother weeps, are profound 'pathos formulae' (Aby Warburg) of religious mentality. The liturgical occasions of such emphatic presentation of suffering include the processions of Holy Week in the Roman Catholic Mediterranean region, as here in Ruvo di Puglia in Apulia, Italy. This procession is held on Holy Saturday, and is organized by a special fraternity, the *Confraternità di S. Maria del Suffragio*; it is an honor for the bearers to carry the heavy burden of the "Image of Suffering" (*Mistero*), an honor often handed down from generation to generation. The images themselves are from the seventeenth century, and were created by sculptor Giuseppe Manzo, of Lecce. The 'compassion' (in Ital., *pietà*) of a mother for her dead son belongs to those basic human moments that are valid even beyond the purview of the religious; but it is in the religious framework that it has its mighty social place. (Hubert Mohr)

cycle of living and dying (*samsara*)—and thereby release oneself from suffering—and effect nirvana.

c) Although the basic orientation of Christianity and Buddhism vis-à-vis life could not be more opposed (the name here: everlasting life; there: extinction), the capacity for compassion ('empathy') is of great importance in both. Doubtless the expressions of this compassion can be different: compassion, 'co-suffering,' is looked upon as a Christian virtue, and thereby as pleasing to God—and so, not altogether selfless; Buddhist teaching counsels the cultivation of benevolence and sympathy, but not 'co-suffering.' Because suffering is a most profound, universal human experience, monotheistic

and non-theistic 'religions' like Christianity and Buddhism invoke the succor of beings placed at one's side, who, as capable of pity, can bring alleviation to earthly suffering: in Christianity, the angels and saints, in (especially Mahayana) Buddhism the Bodhisattvas. However, in both religions, human beings are invoked for assistance, summoned to the active practice of mercy. In this context, Christian pastoral activity can be interpreted as a spiritual (sacred) assistance, to be bestowed upon living human beings—human beings such as, through this concrete experiencing of suffering, now respond to their previous understanding of God with increasing skepticism, or turn away from belief or faith in the good.

Consequently, we have numerous examples in Christianity of suffering actually being sought, whether by martyrs or ascetics or flagellants. Altogether plausibly, a 'craving for suffering' can be explained neuro-physiologically as a 'craving for pain' that, in certain circumstances, can be addictive. In Buddhism, the meaning of suffering is generally limited to the development of the consciousness that what is life is also suffering.

d) Meaning attaches to suffering in an atheistic system of meanings, as well, although here it is the social cause of suffering that is seen, and, in Marxism its defeat is the goal of the system. In his *Capital*, Marx discusses the cause of the suffering of the working class, which, first and foremost, is 'alienation.' But ultimately it is a craving (for profit) on the part of individuals. Thus, suffering can even be defined mathematically, in a comparison: the amount of 'surplus value' is proportional to the degree of the exploitation that correlates directly with the suffering (and pressure of suffering) of the exploited.

Coping with Suffering

e) Since Descartes, and certainly since Darwin, discussion on the concept of 'suffering' in the sciences has been dominated by a (genetic) pragmatism. Suffering is 'pain as the phenomenon of a conscious or unconscious perception,' and constitutes a natural part of life. Anything beyond the perception of pain is deemed subjective interpretation—influenced by environment and genetics—of neurological processes. Various psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic approaches ascribe a necessary function to the experience known as suffering. At present, suffering is gradually shifting into focus in the field of medical ethics, as demonstrated by intensified interdisciplinary dialogue. (Headings of this dialogue: intensive therapy, active/passive → euthanasia, → genetic engineering, → abortion.)

Soul/Body

3. For the purpose of resistance to suffering, of the individual as of the community, Christianity and Buddhism each have their 'ways.' 'Right activity' can afford redemption (heaven or nirvana). Differences in the way to that redemption can be identified. The Christian is the object of the grace and the will of God; the Buddhist, instead, is subject to his or her own capacity for knowledge. In Christianity, pastoral activity is ascribed an important function in the alleviation of suffering; indeed, together with medicine and psychology, pastoral work can show routes to a better handling of suffering.

Marx insisted that the suffering human being should recognize the fact of her or his suffering, analyze its causes, and actively alter the status quo. It is not only in the hereafter that everything should take a turn for the better. Joining the battle (revolution) is a 'preliminary,' not only to the diminution, but—depending on the phase of the battle—also to the increase of suffering.

In the sciences—and here in a special way in contemporary medicine, which is certainly more than merely scientific—the prevention and reduction of suffering assumes one of the major roles (if indeed not *the* major role): the lessening of, especially, physical (psychological, as well, however) pain that can be attained through various procedures, ranging from drugs to behavioral therapy. Also, living 'healthily' is sure to minimize suffering. Particularly with terminal or life-threatening diseases, a rapprochement of medicine and religion can be attained.

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→ *Atheism, Charitable Organizations, Criticism of Religion, Feelings/Emotions, Flagellants, Illness/Health, God/Gods/The Sacred, Mysticism, Pain, Stigmata/Stigmatics*

Peter Kaiser

Sufism

Sufism and 'Mysticism'

In traditional scholarship as well as in conventional usage, Sufism is commonly referred to as the 'mystical tradition of Islam' (→ Mysticism). This ascription is problematic for three reasons. First, it divides → Islam artificially into two traditions presumably separable from each other; secondly, not all manifestations of Sufism are 'mystical';[1] and thirdly, the idea of a universally valid category of Mysticism manifesting itself in particular interpretations of different 'world religions' is itself increasingly disputed.[2]

Orientalist scholarship coined the term 'Sufism' in the late eighteenth century within the context of European → colonialism. Particular to the early European conceptualizations of Sufism was the attempt to describe it as a phenomenon distinct or only superficially attached to Islam. In this view, the deep personal spirituality discovered among the 'Sufis' was incompatible with the prevalent stereotypes of a legalist and spiritually superficial Islam. Rather, it fit into the romantic category of Mysticism that was understood—and still is—as essentially transgressing the boundaries of religion.[3]

The Concept

The Arabic epithet *as-Sūfī* appears already in the eighth century. It is most likely a derivative of *sūf*, 'wool,' a reference to the woolen garb these early Sufis used to wear. They were pious ascetics, like Hasan al-Basrī (d. 728), and Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham (d. 770?), fiercely criticizing immersion in the false

splendors of 'the world' (*dunya*). The first Sufis were vigorous reformers, urging a return to the pure faith of the Qur'an, which they perceived as having been lost in the context of the territorial and material gains of the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750).

The Muslim term for Sufism is *tasawwuf*, literally meaning 'becoming a Sufi.' Soon it became a common name for the practice and philosophy of the Sufi movement. Abstinence of worldly pleasures was the remedy they prescribed, and it was achieved through practices of prayer, meditation, fasting, seclusion, and sleep deprivation. Sufis themselves sometimes prefer to derive *tasawwuf* from *safā*, 'purity.' This etymology would render *tasawwuf* 'the process of becoming pure,' and the Sufi would accordingly be the one embarked on this process—an interpretation very much in line with the initial character of the Sufi movement and Sufi self-understanding.

Early History of Sufism

While otherworldly orientation and asceticism remained important features of Sufism until today, they were tempered and sometimes countered with more positive attitudes towards the creation and especially the creator. Still in the tradition of the ascetic movement that regarded the world as mere illusion, Rābia al-Adawīya (d. 801) is the woman credited for introducing the theme of mystical love into Sufism. For her, absolute devotion to the Beloved (a Sufi metaphor for God) was the means to achieve a state of mystical union with God. In fact, the poems ascribed to Rābia make for some of the earliest examples of 'mystical' themes within the Sufi movement. For the first two Muslim centuries it is, however, very difficult to limit mystical interpretations of Islam—which can be found from early on, arguably already in the Qur'an—to a distinguishable social group within the Muslim community.[4]

A gradual institutionalization of Sufism occurred from the ninth century onwards. It found its expression in Dhū al-Nūn al-Misrī's (d. 859) attempt to systematize the nature of the Sufi path (*tarīqa*), conceptualized as a sequence of stages of mystical maturity (*maqām*, pl. *maqāmāt*) to which particular psychological states (*hāl*, pl. *ahwāl*) were attributed. This basic categorization became a cornerstone of Sufi discourse, subsequently refined by later Sufi authors, who developed sophisticated roadmaps of the mystical path—mostly divided into the four *maqāmāt sharīa*, *tarīqa, marīfa* ('esoteric knowledge'; → Esotericism), and *haqīqa* ('truth'). Advancing from stage to stage, the seeker (*murīd*) has to confront and gradually overcome his lower soul, or ego-self (*nafs*) that binds him to the world, in order to eventually achieve its annihilation (*fanā*). The ultimate goal of the path is to achieve unity with the Divine in the realization of absolute truth (*haqīqa*), sometimes also referred to as *baqā*, i.e. 'abiding' (in union with God).

Systematization and Growth

The systematization of Sufi thought and practice went along with Sufism's growth as a social movement, a first expression of which was the development of master-disciple relationships. Early examples of small circles around eminent Sufi teachers can be dated back to the eighth century. These informal circles used to dissolve with the master's passing. The earliest examples of Sufi manuals, small guidebooks designed for the core exercise of conscience examination for Sufi novices, date from the ninth century. From the twelfth century onwards, Sufi circles began to transform into traditions; revolving around the personalities and teachings of venerated past Sufi masters, distinct Sufi orders (*tarīqa*, pl. *turuq*) emerged, led by Sheikhs (Ar., *shaykh*; Pers., *pīr*) believed to carry the spiritual knowledge and authority of

a unbroken chain of holy men reaching back to the prophet → Muhammad himself. This sacred chain (*silsila*) embodies the legitimacy of a Sufi master (→ Master/Pupil). The Sufi orders spread quickly, and established their branches virtually everywhere Muslims lived.

In its earlier stages, Sufism had been the domain of a religious elite, i.e. ascetic, poetic, and philosophical virtuosi. Some of the greatest masters of Sufi poetry such as Farīduddīn Attār (d. 1131?) and Mawlānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī (d. 1273), and major theoreticians of Sufism such as Ibn Arabī (d. 1240) were not initiated into Sufi orders.[5] The emergence and rapid development of the Sufi order as a new Muslim institution, and the Sufi lodges and convents (Ar., *zawīya*; Pers., *khānqā*, *dergāh*; Turk., *tekke*) as new Muslim spaces, contributed to a popularization of Sufism, which then became accessible to a much broader audience. Different degrees of → initiation and different levels of sophistication in the study of the Sufi path allowed for more or less commitment. Organized hierarchically—ideally in accordance with the individual stages of spiritual maturity—Sufi orders became efficient socio-religious networks with often considerable political influence. They distinguish themselves from each other mainly through their lineages, the religious rules they subscribe to, and the practices they follow.

Dhikr *and the "Whirling Dervishes"*

The practice most characteristic of Sufism is the *dhikr*, literally 'remembrance' (of God). *Dhikr* is a meditation on the names of God and selected Qur'anic sequences, often inducing ecstatic states (*wajd*). It can be done individually or in community, silently or aloud; which formulas are used for the invocation, as well as the outer form a *dhikr*, differs from order to order. Audible *dhikr* often involves particular breathing techniques, and rhythmic body movements. Some Sufi orders have their *dhikr* accompanied by music and/or dance ceremonies such as e.g. the Turkish Mevlevis, widely known as the order of the 'Whirling Dervishes.'

Sufism and Modernity

Until the nineteenth century, the Sufi orders were in almost all Muslim societies well accredited institutions with often considerable social, political, and economic powers.[6] Since then, however, Sufism became increasingly marginalized within Muslim discourse, and sometimes even declared un-Islamic. In the last two centuries, secular nationalists and Westernist modernizers (such as e.g. Kemal Ataturk from Turkey) have targeted Sufism as a major obstacle for modernization and rationalization. They regarded Sufism as a seed of irrationality and superstition, and thus as an obstacle on the road to modernity; they mistrusted the networks and authority structures of the Sufi orders, which were based on close personal allegiances, as a potential threat to the centralizing measures a nation state required.[7] Today, anti-Sufi sentiments are mostly fed by revivalist movements (such as the Wahhābiyya and the Salafiyya), which aim to restore an idealized pure form of Islam by cleansing it from all traditions and customs not sanctioned by → Qur'an or *hadīth* (authorized collections of the sayings and deeds of Muhammad).

Both secular and religious propaganda have contributed to the declining significance of Sufism as a major form of social organization in Muslim societies, even if there are still some orders with considerable social and political influence (e.g. the Muridiyya in Senegal). Artistic manifestations of Sufism, however, especially the amazing beauty and diversity of Sufi poetry and → music, are still an integral part of Muslim culture. With capitalism's discovery of → 'new age' and 'well-being,' Sufi commodities also entered the West European and North American markets, where Sufi poetry, music,

and practices are advertised and sold under the labels of esoteric globalization such as 'Eastern spirituality,' 'world music,' 'world literature,' and 'Islamic Mysticism.' This market sometimes overlaps, but mostly contrasts, with the presence of Sufi Muslims in Western countries, where branches of many orders were established in the second half of the twentieth century.[8] As in most Muslim majority lands, these Sufi communities in the West lead a marginal existence at the edge of Muslim communities and are hardly noticed by the non-Muslim public. Nevertheless, they have proved to be in many instances very successful in the adaptation to new environments, often attracting considerable numbers of converts.

Sufism is today in a defensive position, often having to justify its very location within Muslim discourse. Nevertheless, the Sufi tradition within Islam is still very much alive, responding to needs for charismatic guidance and close personal relationships in small-sized communities, as well as strong religious experiences.

1. See Chittick, W. C., Faith and Practice of Islam: Three Thirteenth Century Sufi Texts, Albany 1992, 168-173.
2. Cf. King, R, Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and 'The Mystic East,' London 1999, 7-34; Schmidt, L. E., "The Making of Modern 'Mysticism,'" in: Journal of the American Academy of Religion 71 (2003), 273-302.
3. The Orientalist interpretation of Sufism as a movement of freethinking ecstatic mystics had—and has—little to do with the average outlook and behavior of the Sufis, also called 'dervishes' (lit. 'poor ones'), who for the most part subscribe to the practical and legal prescriptions of Islam (*sharīa*). Libertarian and antinomian strands in Sufism certainly exist, but have always been in the minority. Cf. Ernst, C. W., The Shambhala Guide to Sufism, Boston 1997, 8-16.
4. In fact, the gradual objectification of both 'Sufism' and 'Islam' as signifying categories was not completed before the nineteenth century; ibid., XIVf.
5. For examples of their work see Chittick, W. C., The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi, Albany 1983; Farīd al-Dīn Attār, The Conference of the Birds, trans. D. Davis et al., Harmondsworth et al. 1984; Chittick, W. C., The Self-Disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn al-'Arabī's Cosmology, Albany 1998.
6. For a closer look at some selected Sufi orders see Gaborieau, M. et al., Naqshbandis: cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman. Actes de la Table ronde de Sèvres (Varia Turcica 18), Istanbul et al. 1990; Popovic, A./Veinstein, G., Bektachiyya. Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach, Istanbul 1995; Popovic, A./Veinstein, G., Les voies d'Allah. Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam des origines á aujourd'hui, [Paris] 1996.
7. A good example for a Sufi order becoming the organizational platform for a resistance movement against the secular nation state is the Sheykh Said uprising in Turkey (1925); see v Bruinessen, M., Agha, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan, London et al. 1992, esp. chapters 4-5.
8. See e.g. Hermansen, M., "Hybrid Identity Formations in Muslim America. The Case of American Sufi Movements," in: Muslim World 90 (2000), 158-197; Schlessmann, L., Sufismus in Deutschland. Deutsche auf dem Weg des mystischen Islam, Cologne etc. 2003.
9. For anthropological accounts of contemporary Sufism see e.g. Frembgen, J., Derwische. Gelebter Sufismus, wandernde Mystiker und Asketen im islamischen Orient, Cologne 1993; Gilsenan, M., Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion, Oxford 1973; Lings, M. A., Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century: Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawī. His Spiritual Heritage and Legacy, Cambridge 1993; Werbner, P./Basu, H. (eds.), Embodying Charisma: Modernity, Locality, and Performance of Emotion in Sufi Cults, London et al. 1998; Werbner, P., Pilgrims of Love: The Anthropology of a Global Sufi Cult, Bloomington 2003.

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→ *Dance, Esotericism, Islam, Kabbalah, Monasticism, Music, Mysticism, Order/Brotherhoods, Orientalism/Exotism, Qur'an, Rhythm, Trance*

Markus Dressler

Suicide

Concept

1. a) For the intentional termination of one's own life, there are a number of synonymous expressions in English: suicide, self-destruction, free death. Some of these expressions have been coined by religion, philosophy, and law, so that they are powerfully suggestive of moral value, often with the connotation of 'murder of oneself' (as in German *Selbstmord*, Dutch *zelfmoord*, etc.). Condemned by both religion and law, Latin *sui cidium* or *sui caedere* means 'killing of oneself'; 'suicide' was used for the first time in 1177.

Shrouding of Suicide

b) The problems to be associated with the statistics of suicide are of basic importance in all countries in which religion and law attach a strong moral (ethical) value to, and strong sanctions against, this act. With respect to the statistical data, it must be kept in mind that the killing of oneself—even with official data—is strongly influenced by the country's religious confession, and the penalization of the act of suicide. Thus, in Catholic countries (e.g., Italy, Spain, Brazil), the cause of death by suicide is frequently disguised, which conceals its actual numbers. On the other hand, in Protestant countries, such as in Sweden, Denmark, and Finland, the statistical estimate is likely to be more precise. Likewise questionable are the statistical findings in places with a conservative religious attitude, as in some states of the United States, in Northern Ireland, and in Scotland. However, in general, Protestants manifest a stronger tendency to suicide than do Catholics.

Theories

c) Among the theories of suicide most often cited are the following. (a) The *sociological* that was proposed by Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) in the year 1897, in his *Le Suicide* (Fr., "Suicide"), sees suicide rates as connected with the degree of the integration of individuals into society. Here, the condition

that can be called rootlessness, and that involves the absence of norm or rule, plays an important role. (b) The *psychoanalytic* view is based on Sigmund → Freud's theory of aggression, according to which the aggressive drive takes an unconscious turn against the subject. (c) The *psychiatric* theories handle suicide in terms of a psychic illness (e.g., depression, or psychoses; → psychopathology).

Religious Perspectives

2. Of all human acts, suicide is the object of the most divergent assessments. For some, suicide is a transgression of the fifth commandment, a sacrilege or sin that is never forgiven, as it surely goes unrepented. For others, it means greatness of soul, contempt for death, or an act of human autonomy. Each varying position is the result of a particular culture, as seen in the mirror of its various standpoints on religion, ethics, *Weltanschauung*, and social relationships. Suicide is not a phenomenon of modern civilization only. It occurs—if less frequently—in other cultures and eras, as, for example, with the 'nature peoples,'[1] or with the Aztecs and Mayas, who actually had gods of suicide.

From the religious perspective, it can be said that most theistic religions take an expressly negative attitude toward suicide. This valuation could also be the reason for the complete refusal to handle the subject in relevant Christian theological dictionaries.

Christianity

In ancient Christianity, many believers sought to provoke their own martyrdom, as they saw it as a guarantee of their entry into Paradise. In the Bible itself, no explicit prohibition of suicide is to be found. Only with the Church Fathers, and in the conciliar decisions (Arles, 452; Orleans, 533; Prague, 563; Auxerre, 613; Toledo, 693; Nimes, 1184), and papal encyclicals (e.g., that of Pope Nicholas I, c. 860, in which suicide was declared mortally sinful), was suicide, or its attempt, negatively evaluated, and more and more severely punished. Writings that defend suicide went on the Index.

The medieval Christian Church battled suicide determinedly, especially under the terms of its denuncication by Thomas Aquinas (1225/6–1274), who, in his *Summa Theologiae* (II-II, q. 64, art. 5), sees it as a sin against the Creator, nature, and society. Thus, persons who commit suicide are condemned to eternal damnation as a spiritual punishment; the legal consequence is the confiscation of property (in England until 1873; and there, the unlawful quality of an attempt at suicide held until 1961). Suicidal persons were categorized as transgressors, and punishment was carried out on the corpse. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the Church refused suicidal persons church burial and determined that the place of burial must lie outside the cemetery, and that the burial times must be early morning, late evening, or night (and with the exclusion of the public).

Protestants very largely adopted the Catholic notions. But Martin → Luther modified the main focus: he condemned the act of suicide, but not the persons committing it, regarding suicide as a work of the devil (*furor diabolicus*—Lat., 'diabolical frenzy').

Judaism

Basing itself on the Talmud, Judaism takes an unambiguous position against suicide. In the case of one's own intentionally provoked death (and not the product of a confused spirit), there were no mourning prescriptions, until into the twentieth century. It is, however, for Jewish believers, a moral obligation to commit suicide as the only alternative to the commission of murder,

incest, or idolatry (conceptualized as *qiddush ha-shem*, Heb. 'sanctification of the (divine) Name' vis-à-vis the medieval crusades).

At present, the Christian churches, as well as Judaism, interpret suicide as the act of a pathological state of mind on the part of the person committing it. Here they accept the medical interpretation of suicide as the product of an 'illness compelling one to choose death,' such as a profound depression. This explanation attenuates a negative moral evaluation, without prejudice to the churches' basic positions: suicides may now receive a religious burial, and survivors may be offered support. Nevertheless, to this very day, there is no immunity from punishment for attempted suicide in canonical Christian law.

Islam

Islam, too, rejects suicide. Some Muslims support this rejection with an appeal to the Qur'an (sura 4.29), although the pronouncement here is not unambiguous, and can be understood in the reciprocal sense. However, the prohibition of suicide in the oral tradition of the Prophet → Muhammad's messages (Hadith) is unambiguous. Here, we read: "Who kills himself, will suffer in the fires of hell [. . .] Everlastingly will he be shut out of heaven."[2] Muslims' worldview is scored with the premise that the course of life, as well as the manner and moment of death, is predetermined by God, and suicide in Islamic countries is rare. The special case of suicide bombers is a very recent phenomenon, and against the background of Islamic traditions it needs a network of spiritual authorities to legitimate this suicidal act—to turn the 'sin' of committing suicide into an act of 'martyrdom' (→ Martyr).

Hinduism and Buddhism

India has many forms of institutionalized suicide: they are recommended in the holy scriptures, and in the epics are presented as exemplary. Buddhism, like Hinduism, regards suicide as ethically neutral, although in Hinduism a divided attitude frequently prevails: according to the teaching of karma, the annihilation of the body does not mean the annihilation of one's karma. Accordingly, one cannot escape one's destiny through suicide. In Buddhism and Hinduism, suicide is accounted a negative influence on the prospects of one's next rebirth, since, through it, a living being is killed. Suicide, then, means an extension of the soul's wandering.

Special Social Forms

3. In addition to the self-sacrifice (martyrdom), special social forms of suicide include ritualized forms, such as those in sympathy with the dead, hara-kiri, suicide as a protest, or collective suicide.

Institutional religious suicide of women as a form of accompaniment of, or loyalty to, deceased men was practiced in, for example, the tradition of the Indian burning of widows (*Sati*) until well into the twentieth century. Here, the voluntary character of such acts of killing was usually only conditionally present, as religious and societal sanctions allowed women little room for other action.

The *hara-kiri* of the Japanese (that of men being called *seppuku*, that of women *jigai*) was historically celebrated, and intensely suffused with aesthetic and other motives. It was a prerogative of the Samurai—thus, originating with the military ethic—and had a profound religious meaning.[3]

Political and socially motivated suicide, which seeks to have its act and attitude accepted, and/or elucidated, is a form of social → protest. As an example, we may cite the suicide of Catholic Bishop John Joseph, who shot himself to death in a courtroom in Pakistan, in May 1998, to protest the capital sentence of a young Catholic.[4]

The tragic collective suicide in Guayana of members of the People's Temple, who had moved from the United States, in which 914 members of the community obeyed the command of their religious leader Jim Jones to kill themselves, as well as the suicide of members of the Solar Temple, in Canada, France, and Switzerland (74 cases in three years), seem to suggest that the level of the capacity for violence to be committed upon one's own person in the 'new religious movements' (→ New Religions) is sharply higher. Apocalyptic prophecies, longings for a blissful hereafter, aggression against an enemy before whom one believes oneself impotent, and the panic of a threat 'from without,' lead religious groups to commit violent deeds against their own members and themselves.

4. Currently, suicide is no longer to be found as a culturally obligatory institution, and even ritual suicide has become an infrequent individual case. But other occasions are developing, on the basis of new circumstances: the loneliness of, in particular, older persons favors the increase of 'suicide of the elderly,' while the growth of intolerable burdens even in early years, causes more and more children and youth to seek a 'final escape.' Religious persons often undertake corresponding preventive measures (even in the framework of the rite of confession) or institutions (telephone counseling, pastoral psychology, attention to and care for persons wearied of life). But the greatest obstacle to an efficient prophylaxis remains the taboo of and denial of the existence of the threat.

1. Stubbe, Hannes, "Suizidforschung im Kulturvergleich," in: Kölner Beiträge zur Ethnopsychologie & Transkulturellen Psychologie 1 (1995), 57-77; Rost, Hans, Bibliographie des Selbstmords (1927), Regensburg 1992; Pfeiffer, Wolfgang, Transkulturelle Psychiatrie, Stuttgart 1994.
2. Cf. Khoury, Adel Theodor, Der Koran, Gütersloh 1988, 297.
3. Cf. Pinguet 1993.
4. O Público, May 14, 1998, p. 11.

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→ *Ars Moriendi, Death and Dying, Ethics/Morals, Euthanasia/Assisted Suicide, Martyr, Psychopathology*

Chirly dos Santos-Stubbe

Sunday / Sabbath

1. a) In most Western societies where Christianity has been the dominant religion for a long time, Sunday has a special place as a 'day off.' As a day of rest and pause from labor, however, Sunday is not very old. In societies defined by the sowing, cultivating, and reaping of nutrients, season and weather govern the rhythm of work and rest. Animals must always be cared for: feeding, milking, and carrying out the dung must be seen to. The farm family cannot take a 'day off.' The dyers had their 'blue Monday,' when they dried and oxidized the wool that had been steeped in dye on Sunday.

The Sabbath, a Day without Work

b) It was altogether unusual, then, to specify a day of God, which, with the Third Commandment (Exod 20:8-11) in Judaism became a basic rule. The mythological foundation was that God himself had made the world in six days, but rested (*shabat*) on the seventh (*shebi'i*), as in Gen 2:2, the day on which, later (Exod 40), the temple was used for the Sabbath divine service. In the Commandment, there is nothing about a divine service, but only about rest. Not only the people of God, but non-Jewish neighbors, or foreign slaves, even oxen were to rest. With the loss of political self-determination, and of a homeland, the observance of the Sabbath became especially important. Strictly speaking, nothing might be done that was not unconditionally necessary for the maintenance of God's creation, and therefore, for saving life. A literal interpretation, for example, of the proposition that no fire was to be lighted—lighted for cooking—means that, in today's Israel, air traffic is prohibited, since neither may a motor be 'lighted.'

c) The Jewish Shabbat begins on Friday evening—'as soon as three stars are to be seen'—with a supper in the family, often with guests. Candlelight, a blessing of the children, and the solemn drinking of wine makes it a holiday meal. In the morning, the family goes to synagogue, and eats cold cuts from what has been prepared the day before, or a soufflé. Sabbath ends when darkness falls. Beginning a holiday the evening of the previous day is also the usage in the Christian calendar, when Christmas begins with the Christmas Eve or Easter with the 'New Fire.' The reason for this practice is simply that the Genesis story says that "it became evening and morning—the second/third etc. day."

Sunday

2. a) *The religious quality of the day of rest:* In order to distinguish itself from the Jewish communities, Christians celebrated their 'Sabbath' on the following day, the first of the 'working' week. It became the Lord's Day (in Gk., *Kyriaké*; in Lat., [*Dies*] *Dominica*), since, according to the Gospels, it was the day on which Christ rose from the dead. Only when Christianity became the Roman religion did the Christian day of rest become exclusive—the *Dies Solis*, 'sun's day,' adopting the name of the Roman Sun God. Like the other days of the week, Sunday too bore the name of a planetary god—such as *Lunae Dies*, 'Moon's Day,' and *Veneris Dies*, 'Venus' Day,' (later 'Freya Day')—but the rising sun came to be explained as a symbol of the risen Christ. The Sabbath, on the other hand, can be explained as the anti-Christ day, the day on which, for example, the witches gather to celebrate their diabolical sacred service.

b) The Christian Sunday is the day of the common divine service, originally in the early morning, if not actually on the eve. Before or after, work

was permitted. In the medieval Church, assistance at Mass in church, and not recreation, became the Sunday duty. The frequent reiteration of the rule shows the difficulty of imposing its regular observation. Only in the city could it be assured that Sunday, and as a rule only the morning thereof, was actually without work—particularly, without work being done by one's avaricious neighbors—and as well as just the evening of the holiday, or the time during which shops were closed. A work-free day is an economic disadvantage that one is happy to share with others.

c) In Germany for instance, only from 1878 onward was Sunday a general day of rest. Industry was loath to surrender the (half) workday, but workers became ever more rebellious, and sermons on obedience, suffering, and the order willed by God, kept recommending suggested improvement. This intent of the holiday bore no fruit, of course, and Emperor Wilhelm would have been glad to rescind it. Citizens were using Sunday-morning Mass time more and more for profane gatherings, or cultural meetings, instead of religious ones. Unions called meetings at which workers could be educated, and could come to know their political rights, right while the church bells were pealing.

Names

3. The Sundays in the calendar each have their own names and character (their *proprium*), grouped around Christmas, then around Easter. The names come from the particular psalms, gospels, or epistles read at Mass on these days, or are merely counted: *Septuagesima* Sunday means seventy days until Easter; *Quasimodogeniti* means 'As-just-born [infants']' Sunday (the first reading on the First Sunday after Easter, 1 Pet 2:2), when children are admitted to the Eucharist (to Confirmation on the following Sunday, *Dominica in Albis*, White-Vestment Sunday); Palm Sunday celebrates Jesus's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, as the citizens of that city strewed palm branches before him; *Cantate* (i.e., *Domino*, Lat., "Sing to the Lord"; Ps 98:1) Sunday is the 'choir's Sunday.'

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→ *Calendar, Feasts and Celebrations, Time*

Christoph Auffarth

Superstition

The designation is a polemical one, connoting a distance taken from the acts of persons, other than oneself, which must be called religious, but which either seem exaggerated (*super*stition), or are forbidden by official religion. Pastors, especially, and (other) intellectuals use it to disparage the piety of the 'uneducated folk.' From an atheistic viewpoint, any religion can be called superstition.

→ *Atheism, Polemics, Religion*

Christoph Auffarth

Symbol / Sign / Gesture

Introduction

1. a) Religions are complex and culturally conditioned systems of interpretation, symbol, and communication, with varying stores of signs. Through signs, in their respective ways and manners, these systems interpret ('code') perceived reality. Here the potential repertory, and broad spectrum, of religious signs or symbols includes, besides 'audible' sounds, words, and propositions of → language, also all other forms of sensory → perception. These forms are, variously, spatially orienting, smell-(olfactory) or taste-specific, and visual signs, as well as 'haptic' or tactile 'signs of touch.' Thus, for example, the spatially ordering principles of breadth, height, and depth, as well as of proximity and distance, define the simplest coordinates of human environments, as well as more or less elaborate cosmographies and cosmologies. Examples of highly differentiated and unambiguously shaped forms of olfactory signing are found in antiquity, among other venues, where every sacrificial act was attended with a sequence of different odors. The particularly expansive palette of the visual elements of religious communication extends from objects, pictures, statues, and edifices, on to the most varied forms of conventionalized courses of bodily movement, among which, besides gestures, ritualized movements, too, and dances, are to be numbered. Religious acts, in this connection, can be defined as symbolical acting in a sign-determined field, by which individual signs or symbols, always occurring and interconnecting in chains, take their reference—and extract their foundation and existence—from their respective systems of meaning, interpretation, and belief.

b) The special accomplishment of systems of religious signs lies, above all, in the fact that they generate, steer and guide, and place in mutual relationship, the entire array of cognitive, emotional, normative, social, and cultural processes. Thus, for instance, → art can be assigned a function within religious communication, according to which, as in medieval Christianity, it is constrained to make the contents of belief and doctrine visible in symbolism. The differentiation of an independent sign-system of 'art,' already present in antiquity, came back to life within Europe in the → Renaissance, and can easily be followed by pursuing, among other choices, developments in the medium of the pictorial image. Unlike those who employ other systems of signs, users of a religious one never fail to refer the validity of their

Communication



A priestess in Bodhanilkanta, north of Katmandu, in Nepal, gives a pilgrim the *tika* after the Ceremony of Veneration. A mark is made on the forehead with sandalwood resin or cinnabar, to signal believers' participation in the divine service. The priest/priestess is remunerated with a contribution of money. For a woman to give the *tika* is unusual: the gesture of blessing indicates the high ritual rank and social status of the one bestowing it. Thus, a layperson receives the *tika* from a priest, a junior person from an elder, and, conventionally, a woman from a man. Believers who are clients of a lower-ranking priest impose the forehead marking themselves. In the case illustrated, the pilgrim receives the *tika* after he has offered his veneration to the statue of Vishnu of Bodhanilkanta. Here, Vishnu reposes on the serpent Ananta, in a pool symbolizing the primeval ocean. The King of Nepal need not visit Bodhanilkanta, as he is himself regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu. The King, in an annual celebration, receives the *tika* from a girl residing in the Kumari Bahai Temple in Katmandu as the living Virgin Goddess, and thus has his authority certified. (Benita von Behr / Kirsten Holzapfel)

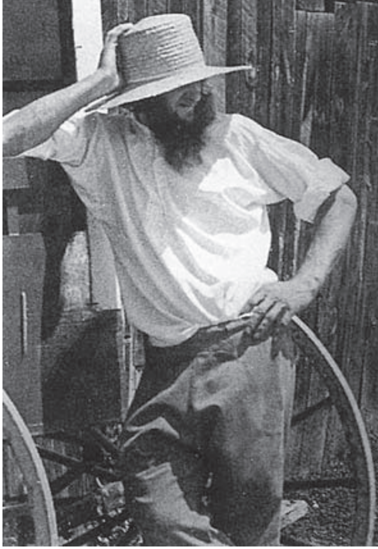
system of interpretation to certain structures of rule and principle. The rules and principles in question are indubitable, obligatory for the community, and authoritatively present. Structures of rules can, as in Christianity and Islam, be established by founding personalities, or be established by age and tradition. Foundational principles can be supported by narrative sign-codes, such as myths or symbolical acts (→ Sacrifice). In all of these cases, a supreme principle (God, Fate, the All-One) can serve as a communicative anchor. Just so can an all-embracing plenitude of signification of world and nature ("pansemiotic metaphysics"—Umberto Eco) get in solid communicative 'touch.' Again, a universal accord with a cosmic order can be a similar anchor, as can a 'world law,' or simply a proclaimed connection between doing and prospering, between conformity and success. In monotheistic religions, in this regard, the character of obligation attaching to the system of signs in question is usually fastened to another obligation—that of its content, as well as to the programmatic exclusion of other interpretational systems. Polytheistic religions, on the other hand, show that a systematic pluralism can be admitted, and can belong to the repertory of signs, and that a division of labor in terms of the cults is possible, at least as long as no fundamental social and political consensus seems to have gotten under way. Then, of course, a danger to 'sign identity' within the community may threaten. Then as well, as in the times of Plato, in the Greek city-states, it will be regarded as a crime to introduce new gods, and it will seem in order to prohibit private cults.

c) Another possibility for control over a religious sign-system consists in religious → specialists receiving a monopoly over interpretation. The establishment of religious signs as omen, or as signs or judgments of the gods (whether they rest on phenomena in nature, → dreams, → visions, monsters, or miraculous actions), then lies in the hands of priests, shamans, prophets, monks, nuns, preachers, singers, or storytellers. Control over correct interpretation likewise rests with these specialists. In their hands lie exposition, transmission of interpretation, and normative evaluation, and they separate 'coincidental' events or psychic experiences from 'messages' containing signs (presages and portents). As a rule, these specialists are

elevated above the rest of the community even outwardly, by → clothing, → hair style, or → tattooing. In scriptural religions, such as Christianity or Judaism, collections of signs and their interpretations are stored, and the principles of their exposition fixed, in the medium of → writing (→ Text/ Textual Criticism; Exegesis; Hermeneutics). Thus, the question of how the sign (in Lat., *signum*) is connected with the 'signed' (*signatum*) was especially important in the Jewish and Christian tradition of belief—whether by participation (partial identity), by similarity (*similitudo*), or by analogy (substitution or representation, reflection). What is the relationship between God (the Emperor) and his statue (his → image)? Are they identical, does God only dwell in it, or is God's likeness a sensible sign of God's invisible power? What is the relationship between God the Father and his Son, the Redeemer? How ought one to conceive the relationship between bread, and the body of Christ? An explanation and classification of these matters, in terms of meaning and pattern of interpretation, is part of the (self-) interpretation undertaken by religious specialists, in the systematizing inner perspective of a religious system of meaning. Together with the forms of 'simple,' everyday ritual acts, and their logic, the theologies (→ Theology), canonical texts (→ Canon), and theological dogmatics (→ Dogma) arising in consequence of their discourse, constitute important elements, members, and building blocks of religious symbolic systems. Further, they must be ascribed a controlling function that will exclude other gods and patterns of interpretation (→ Polemics).

Emblems and Symbolics: The Emergence of the Christian Repertory of Signs

2. During its emergence, Christianity's religious system of meaning and interpretation found itself in a direct relation of competition with a series of other, already established, religious systems of sign and interpretation. There were the Greek and Roman cults, the Eastern religions, and not least of all, Judaism. Christian theologians like → Augustine assumed and absorbed numerous principles of order, and complexes of signs, especially after Christianity had entered a symbiosis with the political structures of domination after the 'Constantinian turn' of the fourth century, and had established itself as the dominant system of meaning (→ Late Antiquity). It was above all the imperial representations of supremacy, the court ceremonial, the Mysteries, and the system of norms for intercourse with clients, that were available to Christianity as primary systems of reference. They helped the young religious communities to produce and mold a sign-system of cultic actions, together with an independent repertory of group symbols, mythic images (Dionysian symbolism of the Bacchus sarcophagus), and theological representations. In the sequel, existing presentation *modi* were taken and applied: both of transcendence (Christus Pantocrator; → Epiphany), and of the religious specialists, the clergy, and the arsenal of representations of the Roman Emperor. In the Middle Ages, ritual adoption by the body of specialists, or by the ordained priestly class, once more imitated entry into the status of vassal. The universal revaluation of existing negative signs to group emblems representing bestowal of identity, such as the fish or the → cross, is a noteworthy process. Thus, for instance, the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth was reinterpreted by religious specialists, at high semantic expense, from stigma to sign of redemption, readiness for suffering, and capacity for the same. In the further course of things, there came an increasing accumulation, multiplication, and inflationary presence of Christian symbols: miracles, relics, sacramental signs, and cultic actions. In contrariety with

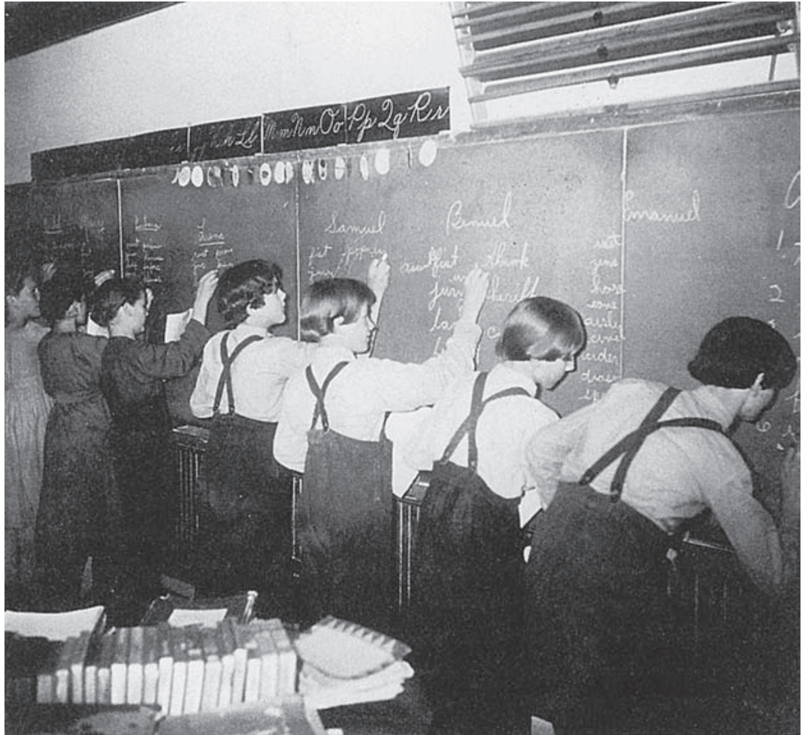




The Amish Brethren in the United States and Canada posit a sign with their clothing. Simple and old-fashioned, it is the expression of a collective delineation from the world, decisiveness, and the subordination of individual preferences to the group code. Uniform clothing, as the expression of a common duty, signifies the Amish twenty-four-hours-a-day service of God. With so many communalities, there are nevertheless fine differences, through which the individual denominations are distinguished. Each possesses its own forms of hat, shirt, stockings, and not least of all, suspenders. When suspenders came into style at the close of the seventeenth century, they were at first rejected by the Amish. Later, however, having become a symbol of awareness of rural traditions, they found their way into the catalogue of Amish clothing. Thus, in Pennsylvania, men of Lancaster County wear two suspenders, crossed in the back (in the form of an "X"), while members of the Renno Group in Mifflin County prefer to go without suspenders. The question, too, of whether the suspenders may be buttoned, is variously answered from group to group—and in any case, many Amish taboo belts as a sportive vanity. (Benita von Behr)

this process stands an increasing tendency to the reduction of signs, and to the theological construction of dogma, as, for example, the reduction of the number of the sacraments to the number of seven, and its fixation there (see under § 4).

3. a) The theological hierarchization of meanings—effected in the framework of a Christian establishment of signs, which framework is also that of the exegetical politics of sign—subordinates both the sign of gesture, and the material sign that is a component of cultic activity, to the primacy of the verbal sign. This sign finds its loftiest correspondence in the incarnation of the Logos, Christ, the Word Incarnate. In Christian faith then, in the field of tension between acoustical and visual media, the spoken word enjoys a privileged status vis-à-vis the gesture. That is also the reason why, with the help of sign language, the members of certain monastic orders that maintain a vow of silence (Trappists, Carthusians), can understand one another without violating the monastic rule of silence. During church history, the physical sign was repeatedly exposed to internal ecclesial criticism: it was said to go counter to the 'hierarchy' of meaning, and to 'switch,' or otherwise distort, the duties of the several parts of the body. The control of this theologically suspect sensory expression of the body was now undertaken by way of a process of assignment of meaning ('semantization'). The latter now divided temperate, chaste, and virtuous 'gesturing' (in Lat., *gestus*) from prolix, exaggerated, and wicked 'gesticulation' (*gesticulatio*). Bound to the ideal of a rigid, stationary, and curtailed spirit of celebration, 'gesturing' was positively evaluated. The theological ascription of meaning here was that of an ordering, healing effect on the soul. By contrast, 'wild, unbridled, and monstrous' gesticulating is ascribed a negative, harmful meaning. Here we see a 'puritanical' tendency in Christianity to place limits on corporeal gesture in cult, or in everyday religious practice. Convulsive, ecstatic motions or expressions of the body are interpreted either as demoniacal possession, calling for exorcism, or as a condition of mystical enthusiasm and excitement (in Lat., *raptus*; → Mysticism). In theological discourse,



these are referred to as two distinct forms of 'border-crossing' (one to be prohibited and the other permitted). 'Tamed' gestures—the hand for blessing and prayer, kneeling, the carrying of cultic objects—of course, belong to the basic stock of Christian ritualism, and determined especially the cult of post-Reformation → Catholicism.

Cultic Dance Gesture I: Hawaii

b) Thus, Christianity, and its rules for signs, tamed, and precisely de-eroticized, the body as its 'sign-bearer.' In many religions, on the other hand, expressive bodily techniques enjoyed reception as means of expression in cult and ritual. The Christian procedure—until recent times, in scattered efforts—altogether excludes dance as a mode of religious communication, while Native American (East and West) or Circum-Pacific religions exhibit an extremely elaborate code for the same. In the religious symbolic system of the original Polynesian inhabitants of Hawaii, for example, the rhythmic types of bodily expression held an important place. One significant ritual expression of divine veneration was the Hula dance, in whose flowing movements myths and powers of nature were visibly presented, communicated, preserved, and transmitted adown the generations. In our own day, in Hawaii, dances expressing the mythical histories of the world's creation—cosmogonies—have been given an important place as a consciously perceived, intentionally introduced means to the raising of Hawaiians' awareness of their own identity. Simultaneously, the Hula also represents one of the most important tourist attractions of the region, a late example of the adaptation of the (secular) exotic, and of the exploitation of non-European religions (→ Orientalism/Exotism; South Sea/Australia; Tourism).

Cultic Dance Gesture II: India

c) Along with expressive gestures, many religions use sophisticated linguistic signs, as we have already mentioned in reference to certain Christian monastic orders. With the help of such signs, entire narratives, particularly myths, can be presented nonverbally. As an example of systems of religious interpretation that have produced an especially broad palette of symbolical gestures—hand and finger positions, as well as bodily postures—we may cite Hindu religions, likewise by contrast with Christian reticence with regard to signs. The Sanskrit word *mudra* ('seal,' 'mark') refers to a multiplicity of meaningful hand and finger positions—to which, among others, belong the gesture for teaching (*dharmacakra mudra*), the gesture for greeting and for compassion (*varada mudra*), the gesture for meditation (*samadhi mudra*), the gesture for fearlessness and renunciation (*abbaya mudra*), and the gesture for argumentation (*vitarka mudra*). The *mudras* are complemented by a wide variety of positions of the body, each having its own particular meaning.

Religious Signs in the Modern Age

4. a) The current situation with regard to religious systems of symbol or sign is well illustrated by the situation of the Roman Catholic Church. In the course of the twentieth century, the Catholic system of belief was characterized by an increasing loss of the connection between its own interpretation, and the understanding of its signs throughout broad parts of the Church. In other words, knowledge concerning the approach to and correct interpretation of religious signs—especially, interpretation of the Latin language—has become limited in increasing measure to specialists or members of the clergy. It was a matter of a development that harbored within itself the danger of a gradual routinization, petrification, and general endangerment of the individual symbols and their superordinate connections of meaning. The liturgical reform of the Second Council of the Vatican (1962–1965) therefore brought a long-awaited deliverance from the abundant Baroque and post-Baroque overgrowth of the old cultic store of the Roman Catholic confession. Many groups welcomed the Vatican II reforms with open arms. Fifteen years later, the periodical *Concilium*[1] observed a remarkable void and penury within modern Catholicism in its store of sensible appeals and attractions. Catholic development was said to stand in crass contradiction to the stormy advance of the audiovisual media in society. Cultural anthropologists corroborated this finding. In her study of the Irish Catholic community in London, and with respect to the 1967 dismantling of obligatory Friday abstinence from meat, Mary Douglas[2] saw in the Catholic episcopate a blindness to the meaning-content of nonverbal symbols. Thus, modern Western culture of information constantly creates new opportunities for modern rituals of interaction, and for 'sign worlds.' But, in the framework of religious communication and theological signing, what occurs is an intensifying curtailment, restriction, and "destruction of the sensory" (A. Lorenzer).

Using hindsight, this finding can be listed in the ever more firmly established tendency of European history of religion, in a 'process of civilization' (N. Elias), to regulate, and as far as possible to exclude, bodily excesses, extravagances, or any dismantling of boundaries. Only in the 'tumultuous plebeian forms' of corporeal expression, such as those of → carnival, do we still find any 'sensual anarchy' (disciplined, to be sure, in the spirit of the middle class). The 'de-sensualization' of religious communication at the present time, as we have briefly shown by the example of the

Roman Catholic Church, marches on. Meanwhile, the task of the extreme appeal of the sensory organs, including that of an 'overload of attraction,' has been assumed by a multiplicity of other cultural institutions, and partial systems of society, such as the media and modern art (e.g., in performances of Hermann Nitsch's "Theater of Orgies and Mysteries"; → Blasphemy, with ill.).

Polyvalence

b) The marketing situation, plurality, and variety of choice constantly available in past and present, is especially great and well-defined in the modern 'society of information.' This appraisal is verified not only among various religious sign-systems (imprinted with meaning and culture) and their cults, but with individual ones, as well. Conflicts and competitions are fixed and delivered by way of individual religious symbols or signs, that, in the discourse of the media, are charged with still more meaning, and with numerous emotions. To cite two regional examples of such a 'battle over the symbols,' reference can be made to the display of the cross in Bavarian classrooms (→ Cross/Crucifixion), or the prohibition of Muslim girls' wearing headscarves in French schools (→ Laicism; Veil).

At the same time, the new, and secularized, meaning-systems of the post-modern present shape our perception and signs in the same manner and mode as did the 'old,' and religious, patterns of interpretation. What enters the scene here, in the theory of signs, is the characteristic of *polyvalence*. Signs, whether gestures, images, or words, possess several 'reference indicators' (indices): they can refer to several areas of meaning or object at once. Thus, for example, in the framework of an attribution of meaning whose orientation is ecological, any dying tree of the tropical rainforest, a hole in the ozone layer, or whaling, can be a symbol of a universal (apocalyptic) end time (→ Environmentalism). But these signs can indicate not only the ecological movement, but religious myths, as well (world-tree, animal peace, destruction of the world), and can be part of a political position, or of a system of interpretation in the sense of the destruction of the world. It is this polyvalence, in the sense of value, and thus ambivalence, of signs, that makes communication in today's societies so rich, but also so complex, and often ambiguous: religion is often but one more 'sign index' among so many others, multiplied and concealed in the snowstorm of images of the world and patterns of orientation.

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→ *Body, Communication, Dance, Exegesis, Materiality, Media, Miracles, Oral Tradition, Perception, Polytheism, Proskynesis, Specialists (Religious), Veneration of Relics, Veneration of the Saints*

Andrea Kaserer

Taboo

1. The word 'taboo' comes from the Polynesian *tápu* and denotes, on one hand, a prohibition by which an object is withdrawn from everyday use, and on the other, the object itself.

A taboo can pertain to gods, human beings, bodily parts, objects, types of relationship, words, areas or regions, or, for example, a tribe. Depending on who prescribes it—for example a chief or a transcendent power—the nature of the obligation, and in case of transgression the severity of the punishment, can oscillate. A taboo can also be removed.

2. At first, conceptions of the taboo were researched regionally in Polynesian cultures, as, for example, with the Maori. Then, by way of expansion and abstraction, a history developed that was particularly rich in its effects on the scientific study of religion. In the anthropological evolutionary theories of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, 'taboo,' alongside totemism and magic, became an embodiment of the 'primitive thought' of 'uncivilized peoples' (Frazer). Freud stands in this tradition, seeing taboo as a regulation of the drive-satisfaction. In terms of religious science, marriage regulations, the 'incest taboo,' and dietary prescriptions were investigated in particular.

In a very general sense today, 'taboo' designates anything which has its thematization in society suppressed by unwritten rules; thus, one can speak of a taboo on sexuality, death, or sometimes even religion.

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→ *Religion, Holy, South Sea/Australia*

Ansgar Jödicke

Talmud

The Talmud as a Compendium of Jewish Life and Teaching

1. "The Talmud and all of its expansions form the backbone of Jewish tradition."[1] The Talmud (Heb., *talmud*, 'study,' 'instruction,' 'doctrine') is appropriately described as *the* compendium of the life and teaching of Judaism since the end of ancient times. More narrowly, this is true only of the *Babylonian* Talmud, so called from the place of its emergence in the Jewish academies of Sura and Pumbedita in Babylonia, from the fifth to the early eighth century. This text is what "*the* Talmud" usually indicates. The Jerusalem, or Palestinian, Talmud (the *Yerushalmi*, as it is often called), received its final configuration from Jewish scholars in Tiberias, and has a much smaller popular function in the history of piety than the *Babli*, or Babylonian Talmud. Only the Jewish resettlement of Palestine, and the agriculture of the country of Israel, generated inquiries into religious law, for which only the Yerushalmi supplied the traditional historical material. This circumstance occasioned an upward religious evaluation in parts of Israeli Judaism.

Common to both *Talmudim* (the Hebrew plural form) is their character as commentaries on the *Mishna*, or 63-tractate compendium of religious law (or 'halachic' compendium)—more specifically, of the written and oral Torah in the form in which the latter was available at the beginning of the third century CE. The Yerushalmi includes thirty-nine tractates handed down as the *Gemara*, while the Babli has thirty-seven. The tractates of the *Mishna* are divided, according to content, into six 'Orders' (in Heb., *seder*; pl., *sedarim*), upon which the *Talmudim*, as well, are based. The Orders can be described in brief as follows.

The First Order (*Zer'aim*, "Seeds") consists of eleven tractates, in which especially the laws pertaining to agriculture are collected. The first tractate, the *Berakhot* ("Blessings"), which are *hors série*, contains the specifications for regular daily prayers, and has the laudations to be prayed for the consumption of particular foods, or in certain situations. Every single one of the remaining ten tractates bears on the religious taxes (the 'tithes') or on field specifications (Sabbath year). The harvest taxes are levied exhaustively only on harvests reaped in the country of Israel.

The Second Order (*Mo'ed*, "Festive Times"), in twelve tractates, deals with the feast days of Israel bidden in the Hebrew Bible. Somewhat *hors série* stand the *Sheqalim* ("Shekel") and *Taanit* tractates, concerned with the Temple taxes, or with the special fast days and their prayers.

The Third Order (*Nashim*, "Women"), in seven tractates, is devoted primarily to engagement, marriage contracts, marriages of duty, adultery, divorce, and remarriage. Two additional tractates are concerned with 'vows' (*nedarim*) in general, or (the *Nazir* tractate) with special 'Nazir' vows (cf. Num 6:1-21).

עין משפט נר מצוה | כה | הקורא עומד פרק שלישי מגילה | מסורת הש״ס

מתני׳ האומר יברכוך טובים הרי זו דרך המינות על קן צפור יגיעו רחמיך ועל טוב יזכר שמך מודים מודים משתקין אותו המכנה בעריות משתקין אותו האומר ומזרעך לא תתן להעביר למולך לא תתן לאעברא בארמיותא משתקין אותו בנזיפה:

גמ׳ בשלמא מודים מודים דמיחזי כשתי רשויות ועל טוב יזכר שמך נמי דמשמע על טוב אין ועל רע לא ותנן חייב אדם לברך על הרעה כשם שהוא מברך על הטובה אלא על קן צפור יגיעו רחמיך מ״ט (א) פליגי בה תרי אמוראי במערבא ר׳ יוסי בר אבין ור׳ יוסי בר זבידא חד אמר מפני שמטיל קנאה במעשה בראשית וחד אמר מפני שעושה מדותיו של הקב״ה רחמים ואינן אלא גזירות ההוא דנחית קמיה דרבה אמר אתה חסת על קן צפור אתה חוס ורחם עלינו (אתה חסת על אותו ואת בנו אתה חוס ורחם עלינו) אמר רבה כמה ידע האי מרבנן לרצויי למריה א״ל אביי והא משתקין אותו תנן ורבה לחדודי לאביי הוא דבעא ההוא דנחית קמיה דרבי חנינא אמר האל הגדול הגבור והנורא האדיר והחזק והאמיץ אמר ליה סיימתינהו לשבחיה דמרך השתא הני תלתא אי לאו דכתבינהו משה באורייתא ואתו (ג) אנשי כנסת הגדולה ותקנינהו אנן לא אמרינן להו ואת אמרת כולי האי משל לאדם שהיו לו אלפי אלפים דינרי זהב והיו מקלסין אותו (באלף) דינרי כסף לא גנאי הוא לו אמר רבי חנינא הכל בידי שמים חוץ מיראת שמים שנאמר ועתה ישראל מה ה׳ אלהיך שואל מעמך כי אם ליראה מכלל דיראה מילתא זוטרתי היא אין לגבי משה רבינו מילתא זוטרתי היא משל לאדם שמבקשין הימנו כלי גדול ויש לו דומה עליו ככלי קטן קטן ואין לו דומה עליו ככלי גדול אמר רבי זירא האומר שמע שמע כאומר מודים מודים דמי מיתיבי הקורא את שמע וכופלה הרי זה מגונה מגונה הוא דהוי שתוקי לא משתקינן ליה לא קשיא הא דאמר מילתא מילתא ותני לה הא דאמר פסוקא פסוקא ותני לה א״ל רב פפא לרבא ודלמא מעיקרא לא כיון דעתיה והשתא כיון דעתיה אמר ליה חברותא כלפי שמיא אי לא מכוין דעתיה מחינא ליה בארזפתא דנפחא עד דמכוין דעתיה: המכנה בעריות משתקין אותו: תנא רב יוסף קלון אביו וקלון אמו: האומר ומזרעך לא תתן להעביר וכו׳: תנא דבי רבי ישמעאל בישראל הבא על הכותית והוליד ממנה בן לע״ז הכתוב מדבר:

מתני׳ מעשה ראובן נקרא ולא מתרגם מעשה תמר נקרא ומתרגם מעשה העגל הראשון נקרא ומתרגם והשני נקרא ולא מתרגם ברכת כהנים מעשה דוד ואמנון (ג) נקראין ולא מתרגמין אין מפטירין במרכבה ורבי יהודה מתיר ר׳ אליעזר אומר אין מפטירין בהודע את ירושלם:

גמ׳ תנו רבנן יש נקרין ומתרגמין ויש נקרין ולא מתרגמין [א] ויש לא נקרין ולא מתרגמין אלו נקרין ומתרגמין ב״ל ת עק״ן גשפ״ה סימן: מעשה בראשית נקרא ומתרגם פשיטא מהו דתימא אתו לשיולי מה למעלה מה למטה ומה

אין מפטירין במרכבה ורבי יהודה מתיר · וקיימא לן כר׳ יהודה:

This layout of a traditional page of the Talmud is that of a page of the Bomberg edition, printed in Venice in 1520–1523. The format and pagination were adopted by nearly all later editions. The additions of a basic overview of the text and further commentaries and apparatus followed, between 1880 and 1886, in the edition of the Widow and Brothers Romm, in Vilnius. The commonly appearing editions are photomechanical reprints of this edition. The citation of the Talmud by tractate name and page (recto/verso = a/b), is made accordingly: the page represented would be cited as bMegilla 25a (b = Babylonian Talmud). A vocalized (pointed) edition—in which the traditional Rashi script (see below) is replaced by the conventional Hebrew 'square script,' and in which only a part of the usual commentaries (including Rashi) and apparatus are supplied—has been published by Adin Steinsaltz, beginning in 1967 (as the "Steinsaltz Edition," now a standard text; an English translation and a corresponding edition of the Jerusalem Talmud are also in preparation).

A. Aids to Orientation ('Paratext')

(1) Page number: Always in the upper left-hand corner of the recto of a leaf; in Hebrew letters (which are also numerals). On the verso, in the upper right, is the pagination in Roman numerals. The Hebrew letter indicates the leaf with recto (a) and verso (b), although the Roman numeral is always twice as tall as the Hebrew. Citations, however, are according to the Hebrew numeral.

(2) The page superscript/title consists of three parts: *Right:* chapter name, usually the first or first two words of the chapter (here: *Ha-Qoreh omed,* "The Reader stands"; *Center:* chapter number (here: *Pereq shlishi,* "Third chapter"); *Left:* name of the Mishna tractate presented (here: *Megillah,* "Scroll"; the scroll that is meant is the scroll of Esther, which is read on the festival of Purim); according to the usual numeration, it is a matter, in the text reproduced here, of the Mishna tractate Megillah, chapter 4, section 1, abbreviated as mMeg 4,1. Before printed editions, the citation was usually by chapter name.

B. (Main) Text: Mishna and Gemara (= the Talmud itself)

The actual text of the Talmud consists of the *Mishna* (3) as the text to be laid out (printed in its entirety) and the *Gemara* (4), which, to be sure, is far more than a simple layout. Associatively, or by aligning captions, *Gemara* incorporates traditional material that can adopt the form of anything from short excursuses to lengthier treatments.

(3) On the first 5½ lines of this page (side), the Mishna to be laid out is cited. The text reads, in translation: "If anyone says: 'Let the good praise you,' this is the way of heresy. [If anyone says:] 'Over the birds' nests your mercy stretches' [or] 'For good, praised be your name' [or] 'Thanks! Thanks!' let him be silenced [i.e., he may read [aloud] no further from the text of the Bible]. If anyone paraphrases the incest [prohibitions], let him be silenced. If anyone translates [the following verse of the Bible:] 'And of your progeny, you shall not accede [to their being] given over to the Moloch' [for example, in this fashion:] 'And of your progeny you shall not accede [to their being] given over to paganism,' let him be silenced with a rebuke."

In the seventh-to-last line below, the next Mishna citation begins.

(4) The Gemara (as a commentary of the first rank) supplies the explanation why the manners of expression cited in the Mishna are prohibited. They are in danger of being misinterpreted dualistically: "It is presumed [with the prohibition of] 'Thanks! Thanks!' that [the reader has] two powers in view, [and thereby a dualistic conceptualization of God]; and correspondingly, 'For good, praised be your name,' because it implies, 'For good, yes, [but] for evil, no.' But we have learned [= introductory formula for the transmittal of an older tradition]: a person is obligated to praise [God] concerning evil just as he praises him for good. But what is the basis for which 'Over the birds' nests your mercy stretches'? There is a difference of opinion concerning this with two Explainers in the West [in Palestine], [namely, between] Rabbi Jose ben Abin and Rabbi Jose ben Zebira. One says[, . . .]and the other says[, . . .]"

The Gemara for the second section of the Mishna on this page begins at the end of the fourth-last line, indicated by the two enlarged letters (see 5).

(5) Indicators in large type, referring to the Mishna or the Gemara: the abbreviation *MTNJ* stands for *Matnitin*, "Our Mishna," and introduces a citation from the Mishna; the abbreviation *GM* stands for *Gemara.*

(6) Indications for sections and sentences: A colon divides meaning-sections; while within a section, units are divided by a point. With the translation into English, further subdivisions are frequently necessary.

(7) Textual conjectures or variants: Parentheses enclose doubtful readings, and in the opinion or the editor, are to be omitted, or replaced by another reading, which often follows in brackets. Brackets indicate additions to the text according to other manuscripts or sources. They indicate a comparison, not of scholarly textual readings and criticism, but of different traditional readings.

C. Marginal Commentaries (commentaries of the Second and Third Order)

(8) The Commentary of Rashi is always in the inside margin, the margin at the gutter. According to A. J. Heschel (see Lit. for §3), the ascent of the Babli to the status of Jewish popular book can be ascribed to the short commentary on it, which R. Shlomo ben Jizhaki (1040–1105), called Rashi, had composed. It is printed in its own, semi-cursive, script, called the Rashi script.

This makes the distinction between commentary and layout a visual one, as well. The division of the commentary is by citation: the expression of the Mishna or Gemara to be explained is cited (the end of which is indicated as in the text; see above, 6); then follows the explanation. A raised point marks the division between the two parts. The explanations are not thorough, but are limited to the necessary, and to explanations of difficult elements. A colon indicates the end of each explanation. In the case of a few tractates, the text attributed to Rashi is not by himself, but by a pupil, or his son-in-law and grandchild.

On the page reproduced here, Rashi begins on the upper right, with the commentary on the Mishna: "'May the good praise you,' this is the manner of heresy" (is a citation of the text; then, by way of explanation:) "For the evil are not included there, that they should praise God, while the wise (i.e., rabbinical scholars), instead, taught [. . .]." (This typical introduction to a citation is followed, in parentheses, by the location of the citation that now follows: *Keritot* [another Talmud tractate], page 6): "The odor of galbanum [a plant] is unpleasant, and yet is it prescribed among the roots for the smoke offering, and its use is prescribed in order to indicate being in a community" [meaning: Even the wicked should praise God, for their wickedness is as little as the slight odor of the galbanum that the divine service excludes; the colon ends this explanation).

(9) The Tosafot ("Complements") to Rashi's commentary: thus, commentaries of the Third Order vis-à-vis the Mishna, usually by Rashi's pupils and successors (often designated Tosafists, 'complementers'). The Tosafot are set in the Rashi script, as is this one, and are always on the outside of the page (in the outside margin). They represent the Talmudic discussion in France (and, in part, in Germany) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The separation of the text and commentary is likewise presented visually: the word printed in larger, square type is the first word of the Mishna or the Gemara that is laid out in what follows. A point and a colon are used as described under no. 8, above.

On the page before us, the commentary is limited to four short loci. The first explanation goes with: "'Let the good praise you': an explanation that extracts the workers of wickedness [as Rashi understood it] or [alternatively] because it looks as though there were two powers, that is, a God [only] for the good (the Gemara, then)."

(10) Commentary of the Rabbenu Hananel (990–1055). The author lived in North Africa, and is nearer than Rashi to the traditional Babylonian elucidation. Its indications are usually concerned with whole sections, and concentrate on the principal content. Its commentary here bears on a later passage in the text.

D. System of References (to biblical, intra-Talmudic, and other rabbinical parallel loci)

(11) Parenthetical observations in the text of Rashi and in the Tosafot: Reference to the parallel or supporting loci; not originally a part of the commentaries, but inserted by later redactors.

(12) *Ayn Mishpat* ("Source of Law"): a reference system, instituted in Italy by Rabbi Yehoshua Boaz, to the three classic compendia of religious law: Maimonides (1135–1204), *Mishne Torah*; Moshe von Coucy (13th cent.), *Sefer Mizvot Gadol*; and Yosef Karo (1488–1575), *Shulkhan Arukh.* In the actual text of the Talmud, superscript in square script serves to indicate this marginal commentary.

(13) *Torah Or* ("Light-Torah"): Reference system (as marginalia, on the right, next to the core text) to the biblical loci cited or mentioned in the text of the Talmud. Likewise begun by Jehoshua Boaz (see 12), and completed by later writers. A superscript circle (°) in the text indicates that the reference is to be found at the same height in the break between the text and Rashi. The locus cited in the Mishna is Leviticus 18 (verse 21; only chapter numbers are indicated).

(14) *Masoret Ha-Schas* (i.e. "Transmission [or Tradition] of the Six Orders" [meaning of the Mishna or Talmud]): Reference system, in the main text, to Talmudic parallels. Begun, as with 12 and 13, by Yehoshua Boaz, and repeatedly supplemented (supplements indicated with brackets). In the text of the Talmud, references are made to these propositions, which are to be found at the same line-height, at the innermost marginal split. The first reference is to the tractate *Berakhot*, leaf 34a. The abbreviation following means "See in that place," and indicates that further parallels are listed at the locus cited.

(15) *Gilyon Ha-Shas* ("Column of the Six Orders"): Reference system (outside left) to intra-Talmudic or other rabbinical parallels not given in 14; frequently, indications to material thematically akin are given, as well. The author is Aqiba Eger (1761–1837), celebrated as Rabbi of Posen. A superscript circle with a slash follows the indication.

E. Critical Apparatus (to Text): Critical indications and emendations (= Haggahot)

(16) *Haggahot Ha-Bakh* ("Emendations of Ha-Bakh" [acronym for Joel Sirqes]): Critical commentary (outside left) to the Gemara, Rashi, and the Tosafists, composed by Joel Sirqes, a Polish rabbi of the seventeenth century. In the text of the Talmud, a Hebrew letter in Rashi script (in parentheses) reads as a numeral. As to the first locus, it notes as a variant a reading that dissolves and does 'not' complete the abbreviation, i.e., it reads: "*No* difference of opinion [. . .]."

(17) Haggahot Ha-Gra (“*Emendations of Ha-Gra*” [acronym for the Vilnius Gaon]). The indication follows in the main text by way of a superscript Hebrew letter in square script, set in a single left-hand bracket, to make a distinction from 12.

Other than these standard commentaries and apparatus, further commentaries are found in individual tractates in the Vilnius edition, either in the margin, or as an appendix. They also span the time from the tenth to the nineteenth century.

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The Fourth Order, the *Neziqin* (“Injuries”): Of the ten tractates here, the first six are devoted to the laws of punishment, jurisdiction, and punitive decrees, as well as to oaths. The remaining four tractates are of a varying character: *Eduyot* (“Testimonies”) is a collection of one hundred instructional declarations on halachic pronunciations of earlier rabbis. In *Aboda Zara* (“Idolatry”), it is a matter, especially, of daily contact and commerce with non-Jews, as well as with dealing with pagan cults. *Abot* (“Fathers”) is doubtless the best-known tractate of the Mishna, a kind of spiritual vade mecum of ethics, which has also become part of the Prayer Book. It is the sole ‘haggadic’ (‘recounting’) tractate of the Mishna. The last tractate of the fourth order, *Horayot* (“Teachings/Decisions”) handles halachic decisions erroneously pronounced.

The Fifth Order, *Qodashim* (“Holy,” “Sacred”), in eleven tractates, takes up the various kinds of sacrifices. It also contains the order of further tractates connected with Temple worship and taxes. The tractate *Keritot* (the “Extirpating Punishment”) is a special case; with this notion, the rabbis described the transgressor’s premature death, decreed by God himself.

The Sixth Order (*Toharot*, “Purifications”), the most comprehensive Order of the Mishna, is divided into twelve tractates. It is concerned with the contamination of things and persons, and the various possibilities for the reconstitution of purity. Especially important are the tractates on the uncleanness of the dead, and on the impurity of women pursuant to menstruation, birthgiving, or diseases of the underbody (*nidda*, ‘uncleanness’).

The explanatory *Gemara* has always been far more ample than the text of the religious prescriptions (Mishna) itself. Approximately one-third of it consists of haggadic traditions, and it is of an encyclopedic character. Everything taught in the rabbinical schools and deemed worthy of preservation was included. Numerous Jewish legends, folklore, and narratives are transmitted here, besides scientific material from medicine, biology, mathematics, astronomy, and so on. The other two-thirds presents halachic discussions. There the positions of approximately 2,500 instructors are presented, and confronted with one another, without always concluding to a conformity of opinions. In the Middle Ages, the immensity of this material led to systematic presentations of religious law.

The Talmud in Christian Perception

2. Since the thirteenth century, there has been a Christian perception of and confrontation with the Talmud expressing itself in two contrasting manners of relationship: (a) opposition and extermination, or (b) use of the Talmud as a testimonial tool of Christian truth, and thereby as a means to mission. A late effect of the first approach is (c) the Talmud-baiting of racist anti-Semitism since the nineteenth century. Anti-Jewish stereotypes acquired their specious verisimilitude by way of the fact that, unlike the Bible, Talmud

had not been translated into European languages until the modern age. Such translations would have been all the more desiderated by reason of the fact that the great composition was written in a difficult Middle Hebrew, or Babylonian Aramaic—expressed in a peculiar, frequently abbreviated diction, and obviously extending far beyond the scope of the Bible—whose linguistics therefore kindled defensive attitudes, calculated to stir up alarm and calumniation.

Opposition and Extermination

(a) From 1242 on, in Paris, at the instigation of the Church (usually in local form), Talmud burnings were held, on the basis of the notion that the Talmud was responsible for Jews' contempt of Christ and Christian teaching, and their refusal to acknowledge the truth of Christianity. Instigators were often Jewish converts, wishing to demonstrate their new faith by calling the attention of the church to the alleged threat posed by the Talmud. The designation 'Talmud' repeatedly stood, *pars pro toto*, for Judaism's entire rabbinical (and Kabbalistic) tradition, as it had taken form in various collections since the third century CE. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Moravian convert Johannes Pfefferkorn (1469–c. 1524) sought to mount a burning of the Talmud and the rabbinical writings in the German Empire, but he was foiled by the opposition of humanist Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522). A consequence of this controversy was Pope Leo X's imprimatur for the Babylonian (1520) and Palestinian (1523) Talmud (which, however, was withdrawn by his successor, Julius III) The printings by Daniel Bomberg at that time in Venice are the first complete editions of the Talmud, and stand to present as the exemplar for the printing of the Talmud. Only two decades later, even Luther, in his late composition *The Jews and Their Lies*, in which the entire arsenal of popular-culture late-medieval anti-Jewish polemics was permeated with earnest theological ratiocination, recommended that the Jewish schools be burned, the rabbis be prohibited from teaching, and these latter be deprived of their prayer books and the Talmud. While the ruling princes did not convert Luther's suggestions into law in his time, there were Talmud burnings at papal behest, for example in 1553 in Rome, and in the cities of the ecclesiastical state. The last burning motivated by religious considerations took place in Poland in 1757. Likewise, in connection with the destruction of Jewish culture in broad parts of Europe by the Nazi government, on the basis of a racist ideology, in 1938–1945 numerous Jewish libraries were destroyed or misused as objects of spectacle and research in the National Socialist institutes for their fight against Judaism.

Instrumentalization

(b) Together with the battle against the Talmud, beginning in the thirteenth century there were also attempts to 'prove' the Christian truth to the Jews through appeal to the Talmud, and thus to gain them for the faith without the application of violence. A basic source for many authors into the eighteenth century was Dominican Raimundus Martini's *Pugio Fidei* (Lat., "Dagger of the Faith"), appearing in the second half of the thirteenth century (first printing in Paris, 1651). Protestant theologians' positions oscillated between hard polemics (Johann Benedikt Carpzov II, 1629–1699) and serious research (Johann Buxtorf the Elder and the Younger: *Lexikon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, Basel 1639). Here as well, two purposes predominated: the explanation of the New Testament on grounds of the Jewish, and that meant, especially, Talmudic sources; and a demonstration that the Christian messianic teaching is contained in the Jewish sources

(e.g., Christian Schöttgen, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Theologiam Judaeorum Dogmaticam Antiquam et Orthodoxam de Messia;* Lat., “Hebrew and Talmudic Instances against the Jews’ Ancient and Orthodox Dogmatic Theology of the Messiah”; 1742).

These studies were taken up once more in the second half of the nineteenth century in a context of the missionary work among the Jews. Here lie the beginnings of Christian Judaic studies, as it was established in the twentieth century, first in a framework of the *Instituta Judaica*, at individual Evangelical theology faculties in the German universities. Since the end of the nineteenth century, translations of the Talmud and related texts have appeared in the most important European languages. These have replaced the frequently very faulty and, to a certain extent, tendentious, partial translations of individual sections or tractates of the Talmud into Latin and numerous other languages—translations that, in consequence of the burnings of the Talmud at Paris, had appeared since the thirteenth century.

‘Talmudism’: The Anti-Semitic Polemics against the Talmud

(c) The extensive Christian ignorance with regard to the content of the Talmud, and to Jewish approaches to it (‘Jewish learning’), was fertile soil, in times of hostility toward Jews, for the most absurd suspicions (legends of ritual murder, profanation of the Host, exemption from law in contact with non-Jews, etc.; → Anti-Semitism). The same ignorance explains the phenomenon of ‘Talmud,’ ‘Talmudism,’ and ‘Talmudic Jew’ becoming anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic expressions since the nineteenth century. In the Talmud, non-Jews, and enemies of the Jews, saw (and see today, in extremist circles of the right) the source, as it were, of everything strange and foreign, everything offensive, and everything perilous about Judaism. *Der Talmudjude. Zur Beherzigung für Juden und Christen aller Stände* (Ger., “The Talmudic Jew: For Reflection on the Part of Jews and Christians of All Classes”), by Catholic Old Testament scholar August Rohling (1839–1931), a book first appearing in Münster in 1871, became an important source of the anti-Semitic reception of the Talmud. It came out in twenty-two editions in all, and was translated into several other languages. Rohling sought to offer a scholarly demonstration of the thesis that, by virtue of their religion, Jews have the capacity to corrupt, physically and morally, secretly or openly, those of other beliefs. This view was refuted in a number of juridical proceedings, and in numerous books and decrees by Jewish and Christian scholars,[2] but such refutations proved to be no hindrance to the wide popularity of the Rohling work. A source appealed to by Rohling (and by many of his imitators) was the older work of Heidelberg orientalist Johann Andreas Eisenmenger (1654–1704), *Entdecktes Judentum* (Ger., “Judaism Discovered”), 2 vols., 1st ed. 1700, 2nd ed. 1711. Also, in *Handbuch der Judenfrage. Die wichtigsten Tatsachen zur Beurteilung des jüdischen Volkes* (Ger., “Manual of the Jewish Question: Most Important Facts for an Assessment of the Jewish People”), which emerged from Theodor Fritsch’s (1852–1933) *Antisemiten-Catechismus* (Ger., “Catechism for Anti-Semites”; originally appearing in 1887); an extensive section was included containing relevant known citations of the Talmud, with calumniations. In the “Department for Research on the Jewish Question,” founded in Munich in 1936, the National Socialist regime attempted to supply these populist distortions with a scholarly legitimization. Here, the Talmud served, first and foremost, not as a source of religious history, but as an expression of the racist, distorted image of the essence of the Jew. Favorite loci were those that handle relationships with non-Jews in the

area of business and commerce, or else the occasionally detailed descriptions of sexual episodes in the Talmud in a context of purity or of marriage law. Here the traditional clichés, and pictures of Jews as usurers or swindlers, or sexual perverts, were speciously 'evidenced' from their own sources. The results page for "Talmudism" in an Internet search engine is instructive with respect to how extreme rightist circles paint anew the specter of a Talmudic 'secret teaching.' One of the efforts of books like *Talmud ohne Maske* (Ger., "The Talmud without Disguise"), by Jürgen Graf, is the denial of the Shoah, and an explanation of why there can be no peace in the Middle East: the 'Talmud as the Zionist law book.'

The Talmud in Eastern Europe, and Jewish Dealing with the Talmud

3. Jewish religious philosopher Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–1972), who came from Eastern European Judaism, called 'the democratization of Talmudic study' the most important achievement of the Judaism of that area.[3] The precondition had been the dissemination of the Talmud and related writings through the newly invented printing press, which Judaism pressed into the service of learning from the very beginning. Famous rabbis taught in numerous Talmudic schools in Poland, composing commentaries that, even today, as marginal commentaries, are a lasting component of traditional editions of the Talmud. This caused the appearance of different traditions in its presentation, depending on whether it was the Talmud itself, or the biblical tradition underlying it, that made for the point of departure.

Hasidism

By the dawn of the eighteenth century, the traditional Talmudic piety of rabbinical orthodox Jews had become a religiosity of the elite. Now it gained a contrary vector: a nonintellectual, interiorized faith practice gave Talmudic studies new impetus. At the center stood Lithuanian rabbi Elijahu ben Solomon Salman Kremer, better known under his honorific title, the Vilnius Gaon (1720–1797). His commentary is the most recent to have found a place as a marginal commentary. → Hasidism today has an important place in the United States and in Israel, having succeeded in joining traditional Talmudic scholarship with personal piety.

Talmudic Criticism at the Hands of Jewish Enlightenment

Beginning in the eighteenth century, a common intra-Judaic adversary flourished in both currents: the Jewish Enlightenment (Heb., *Haskala*), which itself waged a bitter battle against the Talmud. The *maskalim* ('Enlightenment persons') saw the 'ghetto walls' as the element preventing the Jews from becoming citizens, with equal rights, of the nations in which they lived. But the roots of the Enlightenment criticism of the Talmud reach further back. After the Careans' medieval criticism of Judaic tradition (→ Judaism), the Netherlands in the seventeenth century had been the scene of confrontations over the divine origin (and, thus, over the validity) of the rabbinical traditions, as these latter now found their reflection in the Talmud. Protagonists of this criticism had been Uriel da Costa (1585–1640) and Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677). These altercations still define Judaism today. In terms of organization, we see this in the fact, among others, that since the nineteenth century in all Jewish centers foundations have incorporated higher education—as alternatives to the classic Talmudic schools (*Yeshivot*)—including instructional institutions, seminaries, and universities in which the rabbinical documents are researched on fundamental principles of historical criticism. The contrast between Yeshiva and university abides. The

confrontation in Israel is especially sharp, where orthodox and secular Judaism, especially, stand in opposition, without liberal or conservative Judaism functioning as a link between the extremes, as they do in the United States (and as they did in Germany before 1933). How important the Talmud is for Jewish self-understanding even in the universities, however, is illustrated by the fact that a course in the Talmud is obligatory for all Israelis studying for the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the Faculty for Sciences of Judaism. Popular, inexpensive editions of the Talmud (even, in some cases, in translation), with simple explanation, often based on Rashi, make up an important component of religious publishing in Israel even today. There is, besides, an entire series of editions on CD-Rom, intended to appeal to children and youth as well. In the public discussion, a particularly virulent question is how far the prescriptions of the Talmud, which so deeply concern private and public life, may be rendered binding for secular Jews, indeed for the state, by the rabbinate.

1. Thus KROCHMALNIK in his entry on → Judaism.
2. WIESE 1999, 88-99 and 112-123.
3. HESCHEL, Abraham Joshua, Die Erde ist des Herrn. Die innere Welt des Juden in Osteuropa, Neukirchen 1985, 33 (see HESCHEL 1978).

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→ *Bible, Book, Hermeneutics, Kabbalah, Judaism, Hasidism*

Roland Deines

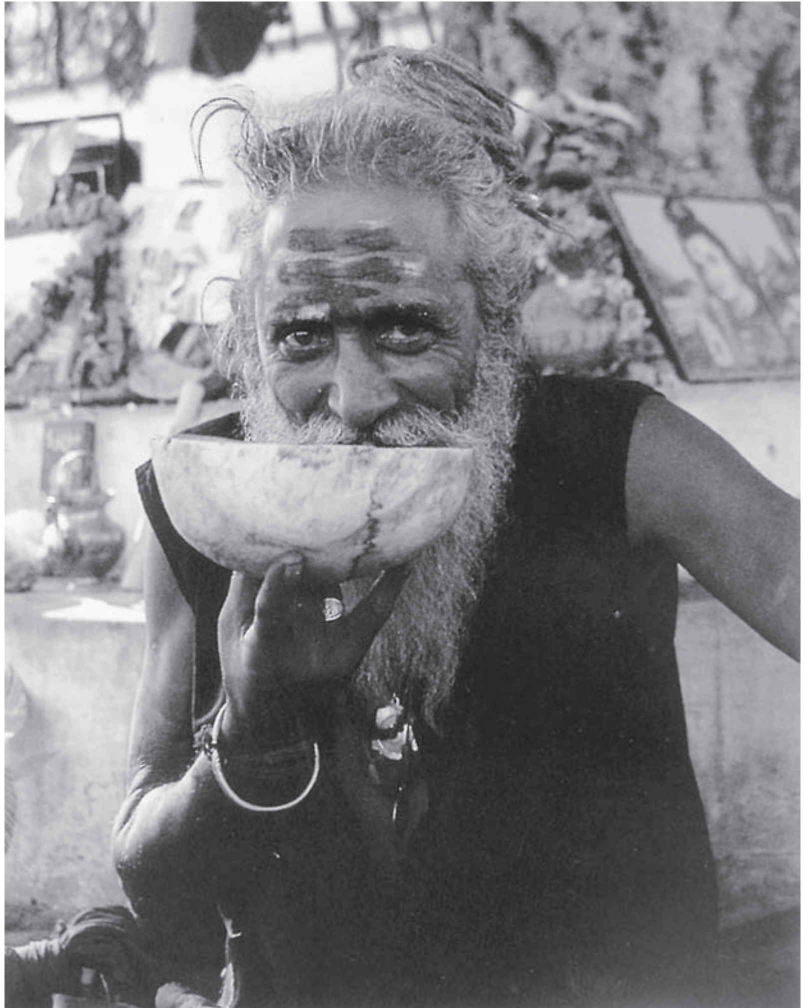
Tantra I: Hindu

Concept

1. *Tantra* (Skt., 'woven chain,' 'web,' 'instruction book') denotes, in general, a pathway of practices along which ritual, corporeal, and mental techniques are applied, in order to obtain, in one's lifetime, extraordinary capacities (*siddhi*) or deliverance from all worldly conditions (*mukti*). Elements of the Tantra are found in various religions, as in the Hindu systems of Shivaism, Vishnuism, and Shaktism, as well as in → Buddhism (→ Tantra II). The Tantra, then, is not an independent religion, but an articulation, usually sectarian, of various religious symbolic systems. The origins of the Tantra lie in the Indian cultural sphere. There, Tantra means, first, a literary genre, which includes, along with instructional texts in religious philosophy, a literature of revelation. The revelation in question is that of particular instructional traditions. In the ritual context, the adjective 'Tantric' (*tāntrika*) serves, on the other hand, to establish a demarcation and distinction from 'Vedic' (*vaidika*) ritual schools (for 'Veda,' → Hinduism). However, there is no unitary metaphysics or philosophy of the Tantra. One of the things evincing this diversity is that Tantric systems have developed both within the Hindu tradition and in the Buddhist: in both varieties, elements of the classic philosophical systems are adopted, reinterpreted, and further developed in terms of each of these religious environments, each in reciprocal effect with ritual practice. But the relationships between Buddhist and Hindu Tantras have thus far been little researched.[1] The doctrines of the Hindu Tantras formed between approximately the sixth and eleventh centuries CE. The first Buddhist Tantras appeared around 400 CE. The heyday of Tantric Buddhism in Northern India was followed by its spread in Tibet and Mongolia (eighth, eleventh centuries, respectively). The current application of the designation 'Tantrism' has plainly been withdrawn from the original context. The horizon of meaning today was impacted by the Western reception of the Tantra in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Ritual Adoption and Esoteric Practice

2. Tantric teachings and rituals, in their Hindu and Buddhist configurations alike, are esoteric. The special traditions of each are the object of → secrecy. An essential mark of the Tantra is the ritual adoption and initiation (*dīkṣā*) into the respective religious tradition by a Tantric master (→ Guru), who incorporates a specific doctrinal succession. The ritual initiation is usually connected with the surrender of one's worldly name, a communication of specific Tantric mantras, and introduction into the secret teachings and ritual practices of the Tantric community in question. This → initiation is determinative of the religious identity of the competing Tantric groups. Depending on the context, the Tantric initiation can be performed as an appendix to initiation as a monk or nun, as admittance into a community of ascetics, or as a reception of lay followers into a religious community. Frequently, the esoteric character of the doctrines transmitted is emphasized by the use of a secret language, accessible only to the initiated. The particular way of salvation (*sādhana*), and ritual practice, are imprinted, among other things, by the application of ritual diagrams (*yantra*, → Mandala), finger gestures (*mudrā*, → Symbol/Sign/Gesture), and by the recitation of Tantric → mantras. The inscribing of mantras on the body (*nyāsa*), and the latter's cleansing and transformation, is often regarded as a prerequisite for the cultic veneration of a given deity.



A Shivaite ascetic, and member of the group of the Aghorīs, uses a human skull as a drinking bowl. This practice is part of the antinomian behavior of Tantric ascetics. Daubed with the unclean ashes of a crematorium, berating people in a mixture of unintelligible, insulting, and obscene language, with a preference for impure substances like alcohol, meat, and allegedly human flesh as well, the Aghorīs intentionally expose themselves to societal condemnation. But the heterodox Tantric practice is not exclusively, or even preferably, shaped by the individual. Rather, it is the product of a vow (*vrata*), and marks a stage on the ascetic's salvific path. Ascetics gain religious merit precisely on grounds of their rejection by the social order.

Anthropology and Speculative Psychophysiology

A feature of Tantric teaching is a sophisticated anthropology, especially speculations on the psychophysiology, and macrocosmic correspondences, of the body. The channels (*nāḍī*) peculiar to the body, the centers (*cakra*), energy currents (*kuṇḍalini*), and breathing and recitation techniques, all known from the Tantric → yoga, are important for the esoteric levels of Tantric ritual and yogic practice. The value attributed to the pleasure (*bhukti*) of the extraordinary capacities thus acquired, on the one side, and the effort for ultimate liberation during one's lifetime, on the other, differs greatly from tradition to tradition.

Feminine and Masculine Principles

In the Tantra, especially in Shaktism, the goddess, or female power and energy (*shakti*), has an important place. The reciprocity between the masculine, static principle and the feminine, dynamic one is reflected in Tantric traditions in many ways, through their psycho-physiological practices, visualizations, and iconography. The presentation of the sexual union of god and goddess is the sensory image of the cosmic act of creation. Heterodox

practices, which, unlike the orthodox traditions, deny the duality of clean and unclean substances (*advaitācāra*), include ritual sexual intercourse. To be sure, Tantra teaches the equality of man and woman, but any textual perspective is almost exclusively masculine, so that there is no radical differentiation of woman in the Tantric milieu in which we might take our point of departure for an analysis of the principles of the feminine and the masculine.[2]

Antinomian Attitudes and Behavior

In sectarian Tantric traditions, there are antinomian attitudes and behavior, with which, in the framework of a vow (*vrata*), norms of attitude and behavior are deliberately spurned. This dismissal materializes precisely through attitudes of rejection of the environment, and of any acquisition of religious merit (Aghorī type, see illus.). Heterodox practices and veneration of the goddess are important aspects of the Tantra. But they are often overvalued in reception: there are Tantric currents, attested in India even before the year 1000, that—perhaps under social pressure—renounced all heterodox practice, and celebrated a liturgy to a male god.

Tantra in the West: On the History of Its Reception

3. Two media have decisively influenced reception of the Tantra in the West, and have established distinct chains of reception: textual translations, as well as popular volumes of pictures and images. In the first half of the twentieth century, a British judge on the Supreme Court in Calcutta, Sir John Woodroffe (1865–1936), published numerous textual editions and translations of Hindu Tantras, as well as essays concerned with them. Part of his work was done under the pseudonym of Arthur Avalon, and in close collaboration with an Indian assistant Atal Behari Ghosh.[3] Woodroffe's important pioneering labor made Tantric works accessible to a wide public for the first time, and definitively shaped the reception and understanding of 'Tantrism' in the West. Because of his choice of sources, however, his fundamentally apologetical approach, and his sometimes erroneous ordering of the texts, Woodroffe's work must today be regarded as extensively outdated, despite the relatively recent vintage of some of his publications.

The image—and exploitation—of the Tantra as an 'exotic form of pornography,'[4] has, in turn, been influenced by the publication of numerous volumes of pictures and images of erotic Indian art, which give the impression of a coherent religious system of sex, indeed, somewhat, as a 'religion of sex' (B. Soulié). Thus, the Tantra is received in parts of the esoteric movement as an Oriental, holistic sexual therapy (→ New Age; Esalen Institute). The → Osho movement and its environment keenly shaped this phenomenon. The combination of Tantric elements with modern psychotherapeutic methods leaves the context of a Tantric practice of religious ritual almost entirely out of the picture.

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4. Hardy, Friedhelm, The Religious Culture of India: Power, Love, and Wisdom, Cambridge 1994, 165.

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→ *Buddhism, Esalen Institute, Guru, Hinduism, Lamaism, Mandala, Mantra, New Age, Orientalism/Exotism, Osho Movement, Sexuality, Tantra II, Yoga*

Jörg Gengnagel

Tantra II: Buddhist

1. As it does in Hinduism, 'Tantra' in Buddhism denotes a system of texts that appeared in India in the second half of the first millennium, and that represent the groundwork of 'esoteric Buddhism.' The oldest texts date from around the fifth century CE. According to Buddhist Tantric tradition, the Tantras date back to the historical → Buddha or his pupils. Not all Buddhist schools acknowledge the Tantras, however. The texts are based on the foundation of the Mahayana philosophy (esp. *Mādhyamika*), and integrate an elaborate ritualistics, magical practices, and elements of → yoga. In addition, they contain a cosmology, the key proposition of which is the correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm. The Tantras make use of a language and symbolism of their own, which renders them accessible only to initiates. Initiation is indispensable for an understanding and application of the texts, and requires a teacher (in Skt., *guru*; in Tibetan, *lama*). In Buddhist art, the pictorial presentation of a complex didactic content depicts an elaborate Tibetan Buddhist pantheon. In a multi-faceted sexual symbolism, what comes to expression is the concept of the defeat of polarities.

Tantric Classes

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the texts were systematized in four hierarchically ordered Tantric classes.

(1) *Kriyā Tantra* ("Action"): On this level, the ritual actions and sacrifices predominate. What is important here is the legacy of karmic merit and demerit, but especially the purification of one's individual actions, the emotions connected with them, and their translation to a means of enlightenment.

(2) *Charyā Tantra* ("Exercise and Implementation"): Ritual actions and interior concentration or composure are of equal value. These first two classes emphasize the exterior aspects of Buddhist practice.

(3) *Yoga Tantra* ("Yoga"): With the help of a purposeful visualization of certain mandalas, one's own spirit is identified with its Buddha aspect.

(4) *Anuttarayoga Tantra* ("Supreme Yoga") represents the highest step of spiritualization. Spiritual (mental) capacities and effectiveness increase at each stage; at the same time, physical actions recede (gradually) into the background. On the way to the highest knowledge, not all of the steps need necessarily be taken in order.

Goal of Tantric Practice

2. Tantra, within Buddhism, is a system of ritual techniques and meditation practices, in combination with magical abilities. The Tantra belongs to the *Vajrayāna* ('Diamond Vehicle') school. Its purpose is the defeat of the three fundamental evils: greed, hatred, and delusion. The Buddhist concept of redemption—deliverance from the cycle of existence—is attainable on an accelerated path, by means of 'dexterous means' (Skt., *upāya*): the Tantric methods of yoga, meditation, and exercises in visualization. In common with the *Mahāyāna* ('Greater Vehicle') school, Tantric Buddhism begins with a potential enlightenment (the Buddha nature) interior to all living beings, and sees its realization in the ('existential,' as it were) understanding or knowledge of emptiness (Skt., *śūnyatā*). In order to attain this goal, an active confrontation with the content of Buddhist doctrine is given precedence over purely textual study. A spiritual teacher is essential for the celebration of the complex rituals, and for an understanding of the text, especially since Tantric practice on a basis of the introduction and application of psychogenic methods is not regarded as entirely without risk. The inaccessibility of the texts leads to the observance of a hierarchy between clergy and lay members that is not explicit in the doctrines of Tantric Buddhism.

The religious dimension of Tantric Buddhism contains practices and conceptualizations of popular religion. Tantric ritual indicates parallels to the death process, analogies between the unconscious developmental and maturational processes of human life, and the consciously traversed stages of meditation. The emphasis is on the transformation of body and consciousness, in a process of understanding through quasi-physical sensation and experience. An example would be the transitions detailed in the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*. These transitions are called 'bardo,' of which six are distinguished. Here it is not only the condition between death and rebirth that is comprehended as a transition/bardo. Tantric Buddhism is characterized by the interlocking of transcendent Buddhas, with elements, celestial directions, colors, sounds/syllables, and aspects or wisdom, all of which exhibit a web of micro- and macro-cosmic levels. Occasionally, a distinction is posited between a right-handed and a left-handed Tantra. The right-handed Tantra stresses the sublimation of human cravings, and the conquest of the dualities, on a visualized level. The left-handed Tantra stresses the feminine principle, and the experience of the unification of the polarities on a corporeal level.

Esoteric Tantric Buddhism in Japan

3. Secret, or esoteric, Buddhism (in Jap., *Mikkyō*), with roots in Indian Tantrism, came to Japan at the beginning of the ninth century, where it was introduced by Saichō (767–822 CE), a monk of the 'Tendai' school (a Chinese Buddhist school on Mount T'ien-t'ai), and by Kūkai (774–835), the monk from whom the 'Shingon' school descends (after the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit mantra *chen-yen*, 'true word'). Both had studied in China, where, in the eighth century, Tantric Buddhism had appeared under the T'ang dynasty. Meditative practices and visualizations, as well as magical

procedures (especially the summoning of rain and rites for the lengthening of life) helped the two teachers to great success among the nobility, and later with the uneducated populace. Their religiosity was characterized by the elaborate ritual system that stands in connection with the art of *mikkyō*. In this art, constructions of images were understood both as the temporary seat of spiritual energies and as an illustration of specific qualities like, for example, wisdom and compassion—the acquisition of which is regarded as indispensable along the way to Buddhahood. After initiation by a teacher, practitioners aim, by means of meditation and ritual actions, at the goal of unification with the Buddha, or with another figure of the broad Buddhist pantheon, in their present existence (*zokushin jōbutsu*). This attainment occurs through the translation or application of the three secrets or mysteries (*sammitsu*): (1) bodily acts, especially the execution of symbolical positions of the hands (Skt., *mudrā* → Symbol/Sign/Gesture), (2) the recitation of magical formulas (Skt., *mantra*, application in language and aloud), and (3) meditative visualization (mental and spiritual application), through which cultic practice (*jisō*), in complement, forms a unity with speculative doctrine (*kyosō*).

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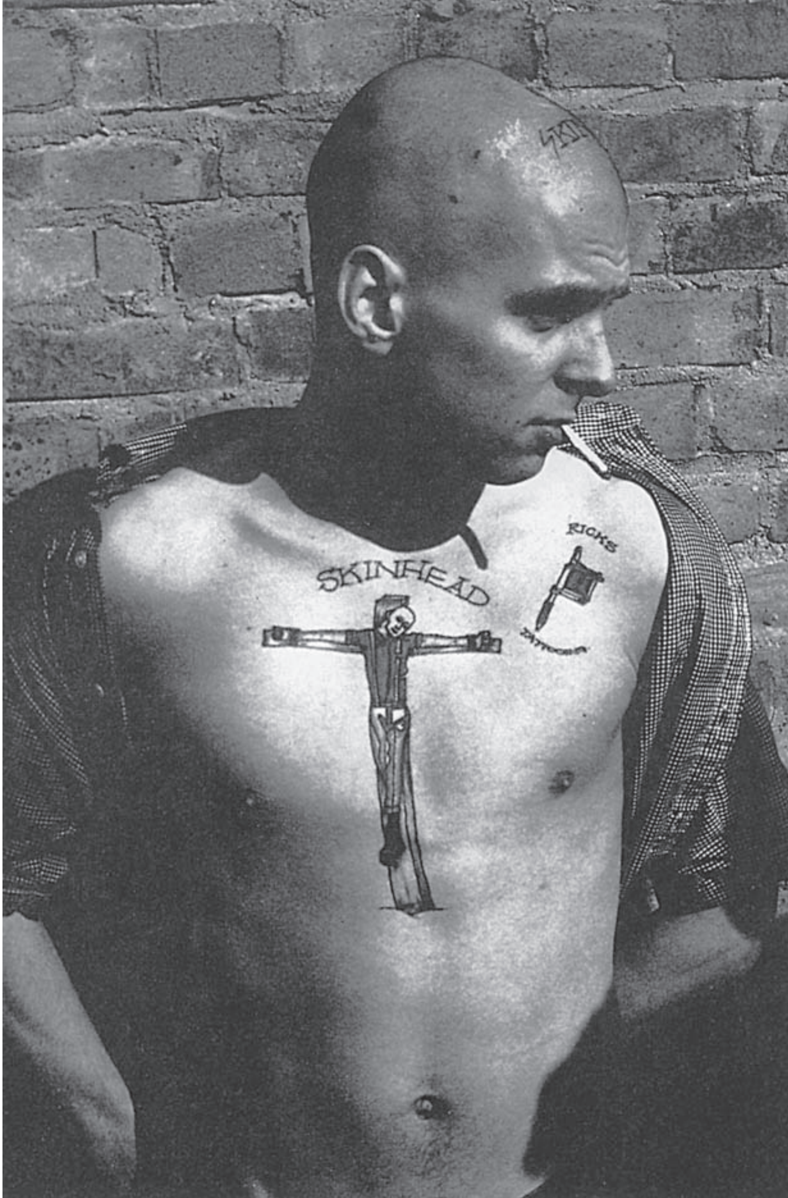
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→ *Buddhism, Mandala, Mantra, Mysticism, Sexuality, Tantra I*

Stephanie Lovász (§§1, 2) and Ursula Hüge

Tattoo

1. 'Tattoo,' from the East Polynesian *tatau*, to 'strike correctly,' denotes a pattern, image, or ornament, scratched, pricked, or struck through the human epidermis. With *scar tattooing*, used especially with darker skin, the skin is seared or scratched with an instrument (fragment of stone, bamboo or bone knife, razor-blade). Healing is delayed (rubbing in of ashes, clay), in order that a pattern of swelling may emerge. With *color or pricking tattooing* (used especially with fair skin), dyed material is brought in contact with, and introduced under, the epidermis through the use of toothed wooden hammers (today usually an electric tattooing needle). Unlike body-painting, tattooing leaves an enduring mark on the body, changing it in a lasting way. The word *tatau* was imported to Europe from Tahiti by English seafarer James Cook. The connection between nudity and ornament on the body among the inhabitants of the South Sea told Europeans of 'wildness,'



Even in Western industrial societies, tattoos can be for more than just aesthetic and decorative purposes. In youth subcultures, tattooing confers identity (in the sense of a demarcation), and denotes initiation into a 'tribal alliance.' The blood that flows during the imposition of the tattoo emphasizes the transmutation. Thus, the body image of Jesus's Crucifixion attached by skinheads to their bodies is fraught with religious conceptions of Christian sacrificial ideology—the skinhead as misunderstood 'sacrifice,' as 'scapegoat' of a society against whose values he rebels—and he wears his tattoo in protest.

and awakened a certain longing (erotic, to some extent), but also provoked a revulsion before the naked cannibal. Meanwhile, the tattoo has spread worldwide since the Paleolithic Age.

Occasions and Functions

2. The occasions in life for the tattoo are as varied as the signs themselves. In the South Sea, persons have their tongues tattooed out of grief and pain over the departed. Then there is the 'revenge tattoo,' which threatens repayment after the murder of a relative. The facial tattoos of the Maori (New Zealand), again, document the bearer's social rank, origin, and descendancy, so that they constitute a 'visible visiting card.' Further, the tattoo can serve

for protection against misfortune and disease. Unlike the art of tattooing in the West, frequently performed for the purpose of aesthetic decoration alone, tattooing in traditional societies interweaves this purpose with socio-religious connections. Western tattoos express individuality, or → protest against prevailing social norms. In tribal societies, by way of an aesthetic code of skin ornamentation, tattooing expresses a society's central values, and conceptualizations of belief.

Tribal Religions

3. In a mythic and cultic connection, tattooing is used primarily with → initiation. Thus, the searing of pubertal men by the Iatmul of New Guinea, is referred to the story of creation. The scar sign, sensible image of reception into the society of adult men, produces an equivalency with the mythical crocodile of primordial times, from which the tribe draws its descendancy. In a framework of culturally specific conceptualizations concerning death and rebirth, scar patterns can be interpreted as wounds received from the bites and blows of the mythical 'greedy one' (Straube 1964). A further purpose of scar tattooing among the Iatmul consists in the spilling of the impure blood of his mother by the male initiand: novices' bodies are transformed from that of a child to that of an adult male. Ritual tattooing can permanently etch cosmological conceptualizations and powers in the body: thus, at the climax of their sun ritual, the Omaha (North America) tattoo marriageable girls with a dish (sensible image of the cosmic deity of the sun) and a star (feminine cosmic power of the night). The signs instill the girl with fertility and life energy. Initiands bear the pain in silence—a test not only of their courage, endurance, and physical strength, but also of their silent agreement to their society's social charter, that brooks no dialogue, nor any contradiction. Thus the individual body becomes the social body—the 'cultural linen' on which this society enduringly inscribes its social and religious concepts: the "body is memorial" (P. Clastres). The tattoo has a memory-bolstering function: it 'inscribes' the individual with the laws and privileges of society.

In private rituals as well, tattoos can refer to religious conceptualizations. Thus, in the view of the Sarawak Kaya (Borneo), disease appears through loss of the soul. After the ritual expert has recalled the soul into the patient's body, he tattoos it with signs, to prevent the soul from being lost in perspiration once more.

Book Religions

4. The three book religions, Judaism (Lev 19:28; Deut 14:1), Christianity (2 Nicaea 787 CE), and Islam (e.g., according to a Hadith of the Prophet's companion Abd Allah ibn Umar)[1] forbid tattooing. Concepts of the integrity of the human body as the 'image of God,' or the intent to distinguish one's own cultic practice from that of pagans, may have been the basis for this prohibition. Still, Christians and Muslims alike wore tattoos as visible documents, for example, of their participation in pilgrimages (crusades, pilgrimages to Mecca). In other societies with an aversion to tattoo, it was sometimes performed with marginal groups and outsiders, such as criminals (Japanese, *yakuza*), or homosexual persons, for identification and retribution. Only in

Subcultural Tattooing

recent years has tattoo become the fashion in the West: subcultures have adopted it across broad classes of the population, usually in a secular context. (In the countercultures, tattoos with a religious reference are common; see illus.).

Revitalization of Indigenous Traditions

Indeed the Western trend has occasioned the revival of forgotten traditions of the South Sea. Consequently upon the Western mission, South Sea Islanders had frequently given up the tattoo. Now, however, it has been

revived, partly as a symbol of a distance taken from Western modernity. It also, of course, emphasizes cultural independence and ethnic membership.

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→ *Body, Initiation, Symbol/Sign/Gesture*

Josef Drexler

Teleology

The word 'teleology,' formed from the Greek *télos* ('end,' 'goal,' 'purpose,' 'completion') and *lógos* ('word,' 'reason,' 'teaching'), was originally a coinage by philosopher Christian Wolff (1679–1754). His neologism was based on the thought of the 'purpose,' or 'final cause' of a thing, which Aristotle had conceptualized in a framework of his doctrine of the four causes. Accordingly, the point of departure of teleological thought is the goal-directedness, or purposefulness, of changes or processes. As early as Homer's *Iliad*, a similar motif is to be found in the form of belief in an overall order of the world, connected with the thought of divine providence (in Gk., *prónoia*). By contrast, Democritus and Leucippus developed an atomistic conception of reality, governed by causal laws other than, and without, purpose or teleology.

Areas of the application of teleological thought are, especially, the field of behavioral theory or ethics, the philosophy of history, and cosmology or nature theory. In the field of → ethics, teleological thought is, as a rule, presupposed, since responsibility for acts can only be posited from a starting point in the notion that agents pursue a freely chosen intent in their activity. Thus, it is in the other two areas cited above that teleology is more frequently exposed to criticism. In particular, in terms of the 'end' of really existing socialism, it has become the norm to refer to concepts of a philosophy of history grounded in a scientifically predictable, goal-directed historical process (→ Utopia). Even earlier, Karl Löwith and Karl Popper, from different perspectives, made important contributions to the construction of a genealogy, or epistemology, of thought in the area of a philosophy of history.

Philosophy of History

Cosmology

In the astrophysics or cosmology of the present, a renaissance of teleological thought is to be observed with the 'strong anthropic principle.' Simplified,

this principle states that the universe is 'the way it is' in order that there be human life. Beginning in the 1980s or so, especially in → New Age thinking, references have reappeared to the model of the succession of ages, building on classical Greek models, the doctrine of yugas in Hindu thought, and astrological circular thinking. An indirect influence may perhaps also be ascribed to the ideas of mystic Joachim of Fiore (1145–1202).

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→ *End/Eschaton, Evolutionism, History, Millenarianism/Chiliasm, Origin, Salvation/Redemption*

Georg Hartmann

Televangelism

Elements of Televangelism

1. 'Tele-church,' or 'electronic church,' designates a North American phenomenon, and denotes the evangelization of believers, with the assistance of the medium of television, by preachers who are usually from the conservative Protestant camp. This programming is the basis of another term, 'televangelism.'

Various elements are presupposed for this special form of interior missionizing, or, better, 'awakening.' The principal elements in question are:

- A special *religious tradition* is supported by a particular conceptualization of salvation history (America as 'God's own country'; a special sense of mission)—a tradition that has traversed several phases of the awakening movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The religious tradition in question is sometimes characterized by a radical individualization of 'religion,' which, in turn, frequently goes hand in hand with patriotism, anti-Semitism, anti-modernism, and anti-state tendencies. Nevertheless, televangelism can be regarded only with reservations as a tendency to the privatization of religion (→ Private Religion).
- A *new form of the mediation of religion* is introduced, through the use of mass media, such as → television or radio. Despite televangelism's conservative stance and basis, it surrenders its reservations vis-à-vis modern technology, which is so useful in preparing for the 'Second Coming of Christ.' According to B. Bretthauer, conservative Protestants in the United States have a well-nigh unlimited monopoly on religious television, and control three-fourths of all religious radio programming.[1] This dominance explains why evangelical movements of awakening have been so successful in the last twenty-five years.
- A *more limited institutionalization and 'doctrinalization' of religion* is posited as a presupposition for personal religious experience—for the 'grace of a personal rebirth,' shifts to the center of religious life. Such an experience of grace is supposed to be reached through the special form of 'religious experience in the divine service.' This service is offered in the form of a well-presented television show, with gospel choir, entry of

the preacher, healing of the sick, and spontaneous conversion. Here the community of believers gradually becomes an 'audience cult' or even 'fan club,' supporting their special preacher with financial contributions, and intermeshed with other such audiences worldwide, by way of 'mega-' or 'para-churches.' This involvement does not necessarily mean the abandonment of local church communities: often, support of a tele-church and an active community life apart from it go hand in hand.

The Television Preacher as a Star

2. Billy Graham (born 1918) is an internationally famous awakening preacher. Graham recognized the enormous potential of the new mass medium of television for the spread of his message as early as 1950. Just as prompt to seize on televised communication was Jerry Falwell, founder of the 'new Christian right' and the 'Moral Majority' (→ Fundamentalism). The medium often contributes to the popularity of the messenger, as in the case of Pat Robertson, founder of the Christian Coalition, who campaigned for the Republican presidential nomination in 1988. Currently his organization numbers more than one million committed members.

Today it is calculated that the audience of these religious programs comprises between 13 and 60 million viewers, mostly white Protestants. Moral questions constitute the main themes, such as that of → abortion, or of pre- or extra-marital sexual intercourse (in the 2004 presidential election, the issue of homosexuality played an important role as well, and helped the Bush campaign to win the race). But the conviction is propagated also that devout prayer, along with financial contributions, guarantees happiness, wealth, and professional success—the whole often coupled with a simplification of the facts at issue, and a populist anti-intellectualism. One premise for success—besides the topics of the preaching—is the professional planning and organization of the programming. Religious presentations are prepared as professional entertainment, with technical perfection, sensational showmanship, and frequently a powerful emotional charge (→ Charismatic Movement). The television preacher becomes a television star, who presents his audience with other stars as well.

The appeal for contributions is an important element. It is this mechanism that primarily sustains the tele-churches. More than ten percent of program time is spent on such appeals. Further sources of income are 'gifts' sold to the audiences, in the form of videos, books, cassettes, stickers, and so on. The format persists, despite the fact that a multi-religious research group in England took a poll in 1994, concluding that an amount of time devoted to self-advertising was undesirable (→ Television). The moneys serve mostly for the construction of churches, social institutions such as hospitals or kindergartens, as well as schools and universities, which form a further point of attraction for members and their relatives and friends.

The 'Fan Club'

Over and against the propaganda and announced intention of the TV preachers, whose goal is the conversion of unbelievers and the awakening of those fallen from the faith, the audience of these broadcasts possesses a special affinity for the themes presented, and is highly selective. Viewers often already belong to the fundamentalist, charismatic, or evangelical spectrum, are usually associated with a particular religious group, or even are already members of the 'born again' (polls reveal that in 2004 thirty percent of the American people described themselves as 'Born Again Christians'). These observations support the assumption that, from the side of believers, what

is sought from these broadcasts is a confirmation of their already confirmed faith position. This motive would also explain why the TV church cannot, or does not wish to, offer any replacement for an active community life, but rather must be interpreted as an additional variety of religious experience.

1. Bretthauer 1998, 232.

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→ *Charismatic Movement, Civil Religion, Endowment/Foundation, Fundamentalism, Media, Mission, Private Religion, Sermon, Television*

Jutta Bernard

Television

Religion and Television

1. *Between appropriation and criticism*: The Christian churches have always made use of the various means available to them for the extension of their concerns, in every phase of the development of cultural techniques. They have not failed to participate in the emergence of television as the principal transmitter of social and cultural identity, and vehicle of everyday culture. In Germany, it was only six months after the first experimental radio broadcast of a popular concert on October 29, 1929 that the first church proclamations were received in the new medium. And in the wake of the development of television after the Second World War, the first church service was broadcast on December 4, 1952 during experimental television in West-Germany (1950–1953).

Parallel to the employment of the media, an intra-church discussion was held on the use of television as an 'instrument of proclamation.' The most problematic area seemed to be the new medium's focus on images. What was presented on television—so went the criticism—constructed an independent reality. From this point of view, the visually constructed television generates new frameworks of meaning that, for the viewers, on grounds of their seeming authenticity, are unimpeachably valid. If at all, then, the medium of film and television could only be an aid to the proclamation of the message, and might only possess a supporting character in the 'search for truth' and 'communication of truth.' This view had two results: (1) the postulate, emerging from their task of proclamation, that the churches possessed a genuine right to share in the use of the new medium; (2) the duty of the churches to set up fundamental propositions for the correct application of the new medium.[1] After 1945, these results practically meant a co-construction of, and co-responsibility for, public and legally controlled



A monument erected 1996 by the Afghani Taliban in their former capital Kandahar serves as a gallows. Here, bound to a steel scaffolding, old televisions and videos are pilloried. For the Taliban, a Pashtun militia of 'students of the Qur'an,' supported in the Afghan civil war by the United States and Pakistan (before they were attacked by the same allies), television and videos are 'idolaters,' that contravene the Islamic proscription of images by showing representations of living beings. The rigid measure can be explained only in terms of the general introduction and imposition of basic fundamentalist elements of Islam, such as that of the Sharia here being enforced by the Taliban.

television in West Germany. In order to avoid problems and minimize conflict, a distinction has always been made between 'proclamatory programs,' for whose content the churches have sole responsibility (in the Netherlands, Germany, etc.), and 'editorial programs,' for which the TV station's professional editorial staffs are co-responsible. The purposes pursued here are: (a) to report news in the areas of church, theology, and religion, (b) to promote the exchange of ideas and information concerning the church community, and (c) to promote a dialogue between church and world, and thereby to counteract societal splintering and polarization. The so-called 'third broadcast right' (the production of programs lying in the sole responsibility of the churches) is an exception in West Germany to which, otherwise, only governmental bodies or the parties are still entitled.

Criticism

An attitude toward the new medium of television, ranging from critical to altogether negative is observable in Islamic countries as well, especially in Iran and in Afghanistan. Here the most vociferous reproach is that of a 'cultural invasion by the West,' and this notion is part of the motivation for rigid prohibitions, ranging from the use of television for domestic programs, to the use of satellite antennae, with which 'un-Islamic broadcasts' from Hong Kong, Bombay, or the Arab Emirates could be received. To a certain extent, this process promotes an anticlerical attitude in the population, which feels increasingly threatened by the strict imposition of Islamic behavioral norms even in their private sphere.

3. a) *Religious Television and its audience*: It has become evident since the 1970s that not even the churches have succeeded in adapting the presentation of their content to the public taste. New approaches and contents are indicators here. Thus, an analytical type of religious program, along the lines of TV documentaries, replaces transmission of church services, and aesthetic, non-theological criteria prevail in films. The problem of a heterogeneous, and, especially, anonymous target audience actually compels an openness to a thematic multiplicity that sets frankly ethical, or generally socially relevant problems in the foreground. With contributions to subjects like abortion, genetic engineering, old age, and violence against women, it is guidance that takes center stage, rather than proclamation in the proper sense—unlike the topics and approaches of television's early days. This is also consistent with the observations of an English study from the year 1994.[4]

Audiences

The expectations of viewers of the multi-religious target group (Christians, Muslims, Jews, Hindus, Pentecostalists), with varying degrees of personal engagement, was not limited, vis-à-vis the theme of religion on television, to the presentation of television preachers or religious programming. An overwhelming proportion of those polled spoke in favor of having religion presented in other program forms, such as news, discussions, films, and 'soap operas' or talk shows. Of interest here would be not only information on, and insight into, other faiths and values, but also positions taken on ethical questions. According to the respondents, religious groups should use television less for advertising themselves, or as sales institutions (videos), than primarily for news about themselves, and, besides edification, also for guidance and problem-solving in the area of ethical or religious conflicts. Most of those polled were in agreement that, in any case, religion should be one of the topics of television, and assigned television an educational function here. The content would be: (a) material on religious minorities, or on one's own religion; (b) material presented in the role of an intermediary among religious groups.

'Entertainment'

b) *Competitors in the 'market of opportunities'*: Public and commercial television are beginning to move closer together, and to shape one another, both in respect of topics addressed, and in the manners of the presentation of those topics. Here the magic word is 'entertainment,' inasmuch as adequate market shares must be guaranteed, along with viewer rates. Entertaining forms of presentation, such as discussions, or hybrid forms like features, mingle documentary elements with sequences from feature films, and have long since conquered their audiences on all channels. But it is likewise evident that particular religious subjects—frequently innovative, to stay abreast of commercial approaches—are tumbling out like an avalanche, since they can count on a particular reaction among the viewers.

Conditions of Production

4. *Television and Reality—or Reality of Television*: Television is not limited to the classic tasks of news, education, and entertainment. Today, as a medium of social communication, it plays a key role in the construction and profiling of 'reality' and public thought. As 'storyteller,' on the most diversified levels, it creates new meaning-connections and myths, and thereby captures areas traditionally occupied by other institutions, such as the religions. In the form of an experience of immediacy ("I was there!"), it increasingly transports world 'views' and images of the world into the living rooms. These images also help to shape public awareness concerning religion and religions. Important here are special structures of production, on the one hand—along with the content presented by way of the medium—and then, on the other hand, the function of the medium as 'cultural form.' Television shows what is current and can be sold, which therefore is subject to journalistic principles. Simultaneously, it mounts a claim to present an image of 'reality,' to 'document' reality. This 'authenticity of the shown'—up to and including the fiction of the unstructured documentary film of the 1960s and 1970s, with its spare, and aloof, or missing, commentary—keeps silent about the fact that film has a reality of its own, an inherent and constructed one, and that, therefore, film does not simply reflect reality as it was before any filming. Only by revising and touching up that which has been 'registered,' for example by forming it into the montage, can the purely photographical image convey to viewers authenticity and sense. Nor, correspondingly, is there any difference on the level of production between documentation and fiction. Both convert 'pre-filmic' reality into 'filmic.'

Under these aspects—the journalistic as well as those pertaining to production technology—the question arises: to what extent can religion be conveyed over television? Or: how 'telegenic' is religion? On first impression, at least, the 'presentability' of the religious is mainly limited to the area of cult and ritual. Here the 'illustration drive' genuinely inherent in the medium has its escape valve. The presentation of subjects that promise exotic, mysterious, bizarre, or outlandish images can be concessions to the prevailing public taste, and reinforce trends, prejudices, or stereotypes. This dynamic holds especially when, in addition, the filmic means of metaphor or picture-distancing (by coloring, perspective-switch, 'worm's-eye view') is applied. Under these premises, films express more about our selves and our habits of seeing than they do about the object that they intend to picture. A further aspect of the medial transmission of strange cultures and religions is that the original meaning of religious signs loses its 'sense.' Loosed from the cultural context, the accent shifts from the religious experience of the 'believer' to pure information for the viewer. The presence of the camera, and the conditions of the 'shooting,' are not without influence on a cultic act, which in a given case becomes a pure presentation in terms of the premises of medial technique.

Content and Presentation

5. *Television as Storyteller*: On an entirely immediate level, television is first of all a teller of tales, taking up familiar myths or setting them in new meaning-connections. The topics of television productions, or of feature → films shown on television, include stories from the Judeo-Christian context (e.g., 'Bible films'; or stories from the life of Jesus), as well as from regions of Greco-Roman mythology (so that even a specific genre, the 'sandal film,' has developed). But television also goes back to forms of mythic thought and narrative in a more indirect way. Television stories are usually simple and

easy to understand, as well as socially acceptable. They are stories that contribute to the interpretation of life as it is lived, in a 'good and evil' schema (→ Dualism), combining the foreign with the familiar, and most often with a happy ending. At the same time, the complexity of life as it is actually lived is reduced to a minimum, and emotionally strengthened. Thus, on the one side, television is part of the familiar world of every day, taking up its relevant subjects, while, on the other, permitting 'side trips' into another, but, again, familiar, world, or 'reality,' in which the expectation of deliverance, of victory of good over evil, is usually met. The subjects of love and violence, life and death, success and failure, are recounted, over and over again, as existential bases of human life, in ever new 'garments'—whether in the form of → science fiction, or in the regular noon talk show.

Television Rituals

6. *The ritual dimension of television*: There has never been a pause in the discussion of whether television has taken over religious functions themselves, or is merely being used by religion(s) medially. Television seems to be possessed of quasi-divine qualities merely by the attributes attributed to it: omnipresence, ubiquity (global extension), as well as its seeming omniscience, that allows it to be assigned the import of a kind of 'last instance' (N. Schneider). To formulate it radically, 'reality' wins its existence ultimately by way of its presence on television: what is not conveyed here, has but a slight chance of being perceived at all. Further: television itself gains a ritual dimension, by (a) creating 'television rituals,' by (b) structuring and ritualizing the everyday, through the cyclic character of the presentation of its products, and by way of its use, and (c) 'transcending' the everyday, and—as with traditional religious rituals—creating a 'we-consciousness' (G. Thomas). Major events, such as sports presentations (e.g., the World Soccer Championship in France in 1998, which celebrated its 'soccer gods' altogether as such; → Sports), or the funeral of the British 'Queen of Hearts,' Lady Di, who died in 1997 in an automobile accident, are not only televised globally, but are first formed, or even first made possible by television. Television, then, on one hand, can be regarded as an inseparable part of the ritual event (the sports program corresponds to the sports presentation), and on the other, the 'TV ritual' in question can be also a ritual event on television itself. A further aspect is normative here: repeatability, which creates rites of memory. This dimension was shown, for example in the first days after the death of the British princess: on German national television twenty-five programs were aired on twelve channels between August 29 to September 1, not counting those showing the ceremony of mourning or stories from the life of the Princess of Wales. Then, in relatively short order, the first TV-films were produced, retelling, in modern terms, the ascent of Cinderella to 'High Society Queen.'

Furthermore, intrinsic to television itself, and to its use, are ritual moments directed, in principle, to periodic return. These moments structure the experience of time. Continuity results from the expectation of regular returning occurrences, such as the news, at a particular hour of the day, or the broadcast of a weekly installment of a series. Television thus offers fixed points, and order, in daily reality. Here, content is frequently secondary, and reception or choice of program comes by reason of particular viewing times (e.g. Saturday or Sunday evening), or the offer made by the individual channels. Once more the question arises, as to what function may television have for the individual. As part of a pluralistic society, television has

taken over the task of providing us with reflection on our culture. In reports, TV-films, plays, or talk shows, reality is not only transmitted, but newly constituted. The materials of the new constitution are conveyed in the media, and in daily reality. Sentiments like "I am there, and I feel that way too," are bounded by time but are surely globally 'networked.' I am part of a community of viewers, and this participation, for the moment, can determine my identity. Transitory communities are formed, along with the ritual structuring of everyday life, the satisfaction of the need for order, and the simplification of complex, immense connections. Aside from this, the question whether television can be an equal compensation for gratifying religious requirements of its audience is still unanswered.

1. Conciliar Decree on Social Communications Media *Inter Mirifica*, art. 3, issued December 4, 1963.
2. Gunter/Viney 1994.

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→ *Communication, Film, Media, Publicity, Televangelism*

Jutta Bernard

Terrorism

1. The word 'terror' (Lat., *terror*) designates fear and horror, whether or not intended. *Terrorism*, on the other hand, is a label for strategies that consciously introduce terror in order to reach goals extrinsic to it. It is a matter of a kind of 'symbolical violence' or 'force' (→ Conflict/Violence). The actual intended objects of terrorism are less the persons directly affected, or their pain, than those in whom the pain or fear of terror inspires its own terror; this result is an ulterior intent in the minds of the terrorists. Whether, in what measure, and in whom a given deed of violence will inspire fear and horror, depends on the collective fears, norms, and opportunities for communication that prevail in the cultures in which they are perceived. Nearly all known cultures accept certain forms of violence as legitimate, or at least as de facto normal. Thus, fear and paralyzing shock are to be expected only when and where violent deeds transcend the expected borders of inter-human violence. In ancient Eastern mythologies, the capacity and willingness for in- and super-human violence was especially ascribed to deities and



On November 4, 1995, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was murdered in Tel Aviv. In recognition of his work in negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, he had received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994, together with Yassir Arafat and Shimon Perez. During the weeks after the act of terror, persons, mainly youth, assembled at the square where he had been murdered, and they held protest vigils, carrying storm lanterns, flowers, and letters. The wall at the place of the crime was spontaneously filled with images and graffiti. The government offered its contribution only later, with a memorial plate in the soil and by officially naming the square "Rabin Place." The graffiti, of which the picture shows a section, were varnished, and kept as a historical memorial. In this time of terror, the graffiti writers adopted the Hebrew biblical expression, *Yakum Damo*—"His Blood Be Avenged!" Whether these words represent a petition to God or a challenge to human beings, remains ambiguous. The references to the Song of Moses (Deut 32:43), as well as that to Ps 79:10, indicate that the murder calls for the wrath of God, as it brought down a person who acted according to God's will, Yitzhak Rabin. The expression used at parting, *Shalom, Haver*—"Goodbye, Friend" (on the left, under the portrait)—originally an expression of sympathy, grief, and shock, has long since become a widespread saying. It was the last sentence in President Bill Clinton's address (otherwise in English) at the funeral ceremony. Meanwhile T-shirts and bumper stickers recall the deceased. Members of the Socialist Party use it to greet Rabin as a comrade. Partisans of the peace movement appeal to him as a person of like mind. And a fragment in the picture suggests the frequently applied verse *Ata Haser* ("We Miss You"). The greeting of peace has become a slogan, with which inhabitants of Israel express their support for the peace process. (A. Kleefeld and Kirsten Holzapfel)

divinities: the Hebrew Bible includes the Great Flood, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, punitive droughts. However, in societies with unstable hierarchies, conscious and unilateral contravention of social moral bounds has also repeatedly served as a means to the establishment or maintenance of everyday relations of power. The demonstrative transgression of the 'normal' horizon of expectancy of inter-human power relationships underscored the agents' pretensions, beyond or above the conventions of existing society. It could also serve to surround them with the halo of categorical, almighty power (→ Government/Rule/Politics/State). Frequently, there was also an 'emphatically public' presentation of symbolical acts of violence (public executions, murder of highly placed personalities in public places, destruction of public places of cult).

From the Terreur *to Terrorism*

2. In the political vocabulary of the modern age, the designation 'terror' has been linked principally to conceptualizations of tactics of terror and intimidation mounted by the state. Here the prime exemplar is the *Terreur* of the Jacobin revolutionary government in France (1792–1794), where the purpose was to intimidate the royalist opposition and establish a realm of 'virtue' (→ Revolution [French]). Just as, later, with the 'Red Terror' of the Bolshevist revolutionary government in Russia, the concept of 'terror' was utilized here by the agents themselves, namely, in the (positive) sense of a particularly reckless application of violence for the purpose of creating a perfect society in this world. Assaults of terrorism by anarchists on leading officials in the nineteenth century were frequently justified as 'creative' acts, for the construction of an ideal society, one without state or God.

In the twentieth century, the concept was transferred more and more to the work of *non-state* agents. In this connection, it sank to the status of an—often polemical—collective category for forms of illegitimate political violence that were to be spurned. The viewpoints as to what was to be regarded as illegitimate violence, of course, and what was not, diverge widely, as dictated by the position of the respective speaker. Hence the consecrated bon mot, “One man’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter.” Western mass media and governments today are overwhelmingly inclined to label politically motivated deeds of violence as 'terrorism' when they (seemingly) are perpetrated by non-state agents, and are directed against civilian, non-military targets.

Religion and Terrorism

3. Many religions endorse terrorism to a limited degree. For example, it has often been sanctioned as applied to lawbreakers or the heterodox. Nonetheless, mono-causal connections between religion and terrorism seem almost nonexistent. Organized religious terrorism generally presupposes a social environment that supports, or tolerates, the agents of terrorism. Here, the borderline between organized terrorism and the 'spontaneous' terror of individual agents is fleeting. Radical religious milieus and doctrines that justify violence promote militancy among their followers. The willingness of agents to risk their own lives in public assaults (as, for example, with 'suicide attacks' by Shia and Sunni extremists in Lebanon and Palestine) need not always be based only on religious considerations, of course. Agents' psychological and material problems as well, coercion, and coincidence can play a role. But, interpreted as a testimonial to the power of one's own belief, such assaults can produce a martyrial cult, or, in case a religious disposition to a martyrial cult already exists, can be stylized as models that inspire imitation (→ Martyr).

State Terrorism, Religious

(a) Massive terrorist violence has emerged in history especially where the means for it have been abundantly present, namely, with the state. Accordingly, religious state-terrorism has prevailed where particular religions have ranked as beneficial to state or community. Even the biblical Book of Deuteronomy provides for horrible deterrents against polytheistic cults in Israel. Prominent examples from recent times have been, in medieval Europe, the persecutions of the Albigenses and the pogroms against the Jews, or elsewhere, the violent Shiitization of → Iran in the sixteenth century under the Safawids, or Saint Bartholomew's Night (1572) in France. If Communism and Fascism can be conceptualized as secularized → 'political religions,' then the Anti-Semitic terror of the National Socialists, or of the Stalinist mass liquidation of 'class enemies' can be labeled as religious state-terrorism in the broadest sense.

Assassination and Tyrannicide

(b) As the principle of divine right in government was superseded by the evident supremacy of material might, the notion gained prominence that 'unrighteous' rulers might be violently removed, for purposes of the reestablishment of the divine order. In ancient Athens, the regicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton were honored with the first statues dedicated to humans rather than gods. Breaches of the unity of throne and altar in medieval Europe repeatedly led to the 'excommunication' of disobedient rulers by parts of the clergy, and, in case of conflict, could occasion a demonstrative justification of 'tyrannicide' by Catholic scholars. Standing as examples are the murders of Henry III (1589) and Henry IV (1610) of France. In the twentieth century, religiously motivated assassinations of politicians of one's own religious community reflected the pairing of religious fanaticism with nationalistic ambitions, as with the murder of Mahatma → Gandhi by a Hindu (1948), Anwar al-Sadat by Islamists (1981), or Yitzhak Rabin by a Jewish extremist in 1995.

Non-State Terror Groups

c) With non-state groups, the organized transition to terrorism has nearly always depended on the concurrence of certain conditions of society, politics, and historical attitude:

(1) A perception of prevailing society as basically unjust.
(2) An activist, world-altering ethic.
(3) A consciousness of one's own military weakness.
(4) The reasonable expectation that, through spectacular deeds of violence, publicly effective signs can be posited.
(5) The availability of adequate logistics.

Thus, in the first century, an especially militant group of Jewish zealots, called by the Romans *sicarii* (from Lat., *sica*, 'dagger'), would publicly stab to death Romans in Palestine, or prominent Jews who cooperated with them, in order to set off an eschatological conflict between Romans and Jews. The Shia sect of Nizari Ismaelites that became famous in Europe under the name of 'assassins' (from Ar., 'hashish-eaters'; → Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens) compensated for their political and military weakness by spectacular murders of highly placed personalities. In neither case was it only the killing of political adversaries that kindled fear and horror, but the impression of confronting a hidden power that attacked from out of the dark.

Nationalistic and National Religious Terror Groups

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a good many nationalistic movements took up terrorism. It is true that, until into the 1970s, religion was often an important component of the formation of a national tradition, for example in the case of Algerian, Armenian, Chechnian, Cypriot Greek, Hindu, Irish, Palestinian, Serbian, Tamil, or Zionist nationalism. But the transition to terrorism was accomplished predominantly by organizations in which secularists provided the tone—for instance, by the Zionist *Irgun Zeva'i le-Umi* ("National Military Organization"), the Algerian *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN), the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), or the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka.

Only since the 1980s has the attention of the international mass media been much more attracted to acts of terrorism with religious or national religious background. Of high symbolical meaning was the success of the Iranian Revolution (1978–1979; → Iran), which, with the four hundred forty-four day 'Teheran Scourge Affair' (1979–1981), humiliated a world power, the United States of America, and was able to challenge the consensus of the Western world, with the → Fatwa of Ayatollah → Khomeini against British writer Salman Rushdie (1989), which was tantamount to a death sentence. Then, further, the suicide attacks of Shia activists on American and Israeli troops in Lebanon (1983–1985) propagated the conviction that religious enthusiasm sparked less fear of death than readiness for sacrifice, and thereby superior power in battle. Relatively successful groups like the Lebanese Hizbulla, in the wake of their military consolidation, distinguished ever more clearly between attacks on military and civilian targets, while weaker religious militant groups, in quest of unprotected targets in the 1990s, have multiplied blood baths among civilians, front and foremost among these organizations being the Algerian *Groupe Islamique Armée* (GIA), the Egyptian *Jamaa Islamiyya,* and the Zionist *Kach* Party.

Apocalyptic Groups

Apocalyptic groups, awaiting a prompt end of the world (→ End/Eschaton), are especially inclined to activities of terrorism in terms of the world crises that they foresee. When they announce the crisis that, in many traditions (such as that of the Christian → Apocalypse of John) is to proclaim the approaching final struggle between good and evil, they not only long for it to come, but (a) try to hasten it by acts of violence that effect polarization (poison-gas attack in the Tokyo subway, March 1995; plans of Jewish extremists to destroy the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem), or (b) stockpile weapons in an attempt at least to prepare for it (Branch Davidian commune in Waco, Texas, 1993). At the opposite pole on the scale of violence stand introverted attempts to reach a new and better world by collective suicide (doubtless not always voluntary), for example the mass suicides of the members of the People's Temple under Jim Jones in Guyana (1978), of the Solar Temple in Switzerland and Canada (1995, 1997), or of Heaven's Gate in the United States (1997).

Social Religious Groups

Purposive terror against civilians emerges from movements with a religious coloring, as well, which struggle with social developments or particular state institutions, laws, or measures. These traditions early included the terror campaigns of the American → Ku Klux Klan against Afro-Americans after emancipation, as well as, in more recent times, lethal assaults on → abortion clinics by American 'defenders of life,' or, again, the bomb attack on

the United States Government office building in Oklahoma by a Christian 'patriotic militia' (1995), with which the government in Washington was supposed to have been struck a blow as a conspiratorial mythical symbol for foreign domination.

It is questionable whether the high numbers of victims registered in the 1990s, especially with attacks by religious groups, are to be referred mainly to the religious motivation of the agents. Equally important elements could be an ever more intense competition for the attention of the mass media, and improved defensive measures for military and state objects.

Literature

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→ *Anarchism, Conflict/Violence, End/Eschaton, Fanaticism, Fundamentalism, Political Religion, Revolution (French), Violence*

Thomas Scheffler

Teutons

Discovery of the Teutons in Romanticism

1. a) The early nineteenth century's emphasis on appreciating one's own people and history resulted in a rediscovery not only of the Middle Ages, but also Teutonic prehistory. Research into the folktale, popular sagas, and folk usages began during this time. Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) attempted to expose ancient, concealed folk material, and thereby, presumably, to meet with a plethora of pagan relics of pre-Christian times. This work, however, has been surpassed by today's scholarship. In the popularization of ancient Teutonic myths (*Walhall*, *Götterdämmerung* [Ger., 'Twilight of the Gods']), a special contribution has been Richard Wagner's musical dramatic cycle, *Der Ring der Nibelungen* (Ger., "The Ring of the Nibelungs"), an 'art myth' referring to the thirteenth-century epic, *Nibelungenlied* ("Song of the Nibelungs"). Wagner's work applies a variety of Nordic Teutonic poems. Religious elements, orbiting the questions of guilt and redemption, do arise here, but they exclude the philosophical, educating and educated, religion of the nineteenth century.

Ariosophy

After the founding of the Reich (Empire) in 1871, the political right appropriated the symbol of Teutonic spirituality (*Völkische* Religion), and shaped it, in varying fashion, into a Romantic popular, and anti-Semitic, 'art faith.' 'Ariosophy' preached redemption by a strict separation of races, and the subordination of presumably inferior races to the superior ones. This interest in

the Teutonic, which served certain currents in → National Socialism (Himmler's foundation *Ahnenerbe*, Ger., 'Ancestral Legacy'; Alfred Rosenberg), largely collapsed after 1945. Nevertheless, some groups of this circle (on the political and cultural right wing of postwar society) are still found today as continuations or revivals of their earlier forms.

'Neo-Teutonism'

b) Currently, on the one side, there are organized communities, resembling orders. They mount appeals to the organizational forms and content of the popular neo-paganism of the first half of the century (Armanic Order, *Godi*, *Germanische Glaubensgemeinschaft* ['Teutonic Faith Community'], *Treuekreis Artglaube Irminsul* ['Faithful *Irminsul* Circle of Race Belief']). On the other side, there appears a universalistic 'neo-Teutonism,' more consistent with the new nature piety of American origin, British neo-Celtism, and other Western and Eastern 'spiritual paths.' While the older neo-paganism evinced a racist piety (→ Race/Racism), the later 'esoteric' neo-paganism, under the application of the same myths, represents a variety of today's feminist ecological piety. This distinction says nothing as yet about reciprocal influencing and possible future developments.

Teutons, today, serve not only as the subject of their myths, but also as an object of the new myths of a racist or ecological spirituality, which in turn serves to proffer an alternative vis-à-vis Christian conceptualizations of God. Odin, then, according to a widespread interpretation, represents the shamanic archetype, and the Eddaic narratives serve to describe the spiritual effects of corresponding archetypes. There are no myths of old-Teutonic religion, but only narratives calculated to establish a cosmic-ecological and feministic-psychological spirituality of the close of the twentieth century.

Teutonic Religions

2. The history of the research shows how little we actually know about the life of the Teutons. Under 'Teutonic religions' are understood tribal religions of Northern, Central, and Eastern European peoples of related language and culture (→ Celts; Europe I), from their first mention by ancient writers (first century BCE) to the Christianization of Scandinavia, which had been accomplished by the eleventh century. Like all of Europe's pre-modern cultures, these peoples were agrarian societies (→ Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic). The subjects of their myths and cults are fertility, life and death, and defense from outside enemies. Along with vegetation festivals, we have reports of rites of transition for the life cycle. The custom of leaving burial gifts at gravesites, of building mounds or rune stones on the graves of princes, indicates that a life after death was held to differ from earthly life only in incidentals.

a) *Cult* was practiced at determinate places. There were also, among the Teutonic peoples, sacred functionaries, whose tasks included the celebration of public cult as well as the supervision of sacred law. Holy women served as seers, who could also bestow great power among peoples with whom oracle and omen were of high importance. A matriarchal societal structure, however, cannot be concluded from these facts. Religion focused on the existence of associations of kinship ('tribes'): thus, it was a public concern, which could also have a juridical character. Extremities such as famine or disease, and events of war, were accompanied by sacred acts. Among them were the war sacrifices in sacred glades, attested by literature and archaeology. Human beings were also sacrificed.

b) The *gods and goddesses* of the Teutons were figures of an agricultural world, who had to protect fertility and ward off evil. The three supreme gods, whom Roman historian Tacitus enumerates in his *Germania*, are colorless, and unspecific, and must by no means be identified with otherwise known gods Tivaz, Wodan/Odin, and Donar. Tacitus or his informant translates their function in Roman terms, giving their names as Jupiter, Mercury, and Hercules, responsible respectively for power, act/mobility, and strength. We have little concrete information about the veneration of these deities. But they were neither nature gods nor ethical ideals, but, as tribal divinities, are comparable to the original state gods of Rome.

The appeal of neo-Teutonic circles to medieval Nordic sources is problematic. Not only Icelandic sagas and Skalden songs, but also the two collections of myths under the name of *Edda* ("Songs of Edda," and the "Edda of Snorri Sturleson," both of the thirteenth century) have appeared only against a Christian background, and are therefore not unreservedly or unconditionally applicable as sources for pre-Christian religious history.

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→ *Celts, Europe I, National Socialism, Paganism/Neopaganism, Reception*

Jürgen Wolf

Text / Textual Criticism

1. The word 'text' derives from the Latin *textus*, 'tissue,' and then acquires the meaning, still familiar today, of a supply of linguistic signs written down and gathered in a 'work' or textual corpus—a manuscript, a novel, a sermon, a sacred writing such as the → Bible or the → Qur'an. The rhetorical concept of 'text' was coined by Roman orator Quintilian, first in the sense of

an 'address connection' (9, 4, 13), in his influential work *Institutio Oratoria* (c. 95 CE). Humanistic philology adopted this concept, and applied it to the object of its work: a 'text' became that to which a relation was articulated in the form of a commentary. The concept established itself only against the background of a philologically oriented culture of explication (→ Hermeneutics; Exegesis)—thus, in dealing with written statements whose direct understanding became problematic, due to their great age, or on other cultural grounds. Since humanism and the → Renaissance, an examination of the texts of ancient cultures has formed the field of activity where philological textual criticism has established the central importance of the concept of 'text' as 'work with texts.' In recent scholarship in the area of literature and linguistics, the concept of 'text' is preferably applied as a communicatively founded basic concept, vis-à-vis concepts of genre (Fr., *genera*) like 'poetry' and → 'literature.' It seems impossible to give a clear definition of a word whose denotation is as general as 'text,' which has entered everyday language. Still, one must keep in mind the fact that its application is not restricted to written fixations of linguist communication, but that, in today's semiotics compositions, there is a more generalized concept of text. The latter also includes other communicative statements based on systems of signs that are responsive to repetition and to the adoption of relationships, such as image-signs ('icons'), or ritual gestures (→ Symbol/Sign/Gesture).

Textual Media, Textual Constancy, and Canonization

2. Production of religious texts can occur orally or in writing. Religious communities may acknowledge a more or less broadly apprehended → canon as the set of binding religious statements. These then receive a specially legitimized rank and value vis-à-vis other religious texts. As a rule, canonized texts manifest an extremely narrow spectrum of variation, in the oral as in the written traditions. Thus, in the discoveries at → Qumran, an additional textual constancy for individual books of the Bible is evident over a millennium. In this connection, the concept 'book religion' is relevant. It denotes the peculiarity of a religious community in centering its identity on a sacred writing. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam were constantly aware of it, although, for example, it is also to be found in the religion of the Sikhs. It is striking, however, that, unless they are produced in special forms for sacred use (Torah scroll), canonized texts are not linked to a determinate medium of conveyance: the Bible, New Testament, or Qur'an are found today digitalized on CD-ROMs or on internet servers.

Form of the Text: Textual Loci (Genres) and Poetic/Rhetorical Quality

3. Texts consist of a core text, and a descriptive or disclosing 'paratext,' such as title, preface, notations, marginal material, subtitles, dividing signs (see diagrams at → Talmud). Even as 'sacred scripture,' they are artificial and artful linguistic images. These signs are artificial because, despite their frequent claim to divine inspiration and authorship (verbal inspiration, 'word of God' or 'message from the beyond'), scriptures are the result of an often complicated process of textual production and redaction, representing a multiplicity of textual 'genres' (genera), in which, as in the Gospels of the New Testament, similitudes (parables), sayings (in Gk., *logia*), prayers, hymns ("Magnificat"), miracle accounts, and so forth are gathered together. These same signs are artistic because they contain, or can be read as, literary texts, because they are composed by way of rhetorical ornament, and because they are rendered aesthetic by poetical, dramatic, or narrative means. Texts

in the Hebrew Bible that employ lyric art-forms, include, for instance, the Psalms, and the Song of Songs. The form of the short story is employed as in the arrangement of the material on Joseph. In the Bible, very heterogeneous material is presented literally, and, to an extent, is elaborated in multiple ways. In the Qur'an, instead, one observes that stylistic gestalt takes effect even in a religious textual corpus that essentially owes its existence to one person, and that this need by no means stand in contradiction with the subjective honesty of the presumed author. To an extent, the fact of a conscious conformity to the exemplar of other religious assertions can go hand in hand with spontaneous religious emotion. The all but constant employment of rhyming prose certainly stands under the influence of ancient Arab *Kahin* sayings, but is first of all an adequate medium of expression or proclamation especially of eschatological content. Later, as the regulation of the Muslim community system by way of juridical elements moved into the foreground for Muhammad, rhyming prose became an outward stylistic trait.

Authorship

The special → authority of religious texts, the claim to be indeed the word of God, offers various strategies of legitimatization that lay special claim to the concept of authorship. This authority is especially evident with the concrete authorship of a particular person, if, for example, the religious founder steps forward as personal author (Mani as author of the *Kephalaia*, Muhammad as author of the Qur'an, Hubbard as author of *Dianetics*). Anonymity, as in the case of the Bible, or with Vedic hymns, is often to be observable bearing high authority with religious writings. But false ascriptions (intentional or in good faith), as well, to persons of great authority, but frequently of doubtful historicity, are also often encountered ('pseudepigraphy,' e.g., Denis the Areopagite, or Hermes Trismegistus).

Intertextuality

Even with religious texts, as with fictional literary texts, various textual relations can be established. Of course, account must be taken of the fact that religious texts normally act outside purely literary validity, even in the area of religious practice. Intertextuality—the more or less broadly defined reciprocal relation among texts—is a very important phenomenon with religious texts. New texts emerge against the background of (and often in competition with) established religious structures and their texts. The meaning context of religious assertions is textual content, fixed in writing in the same degree as the social environment is fixed.

Dealing with the Text

4. The historical process of the forming of canonized sacred texts, when these are fixed 'to the last jot and tittle,' necessitates their exposition and commentary. The longer they have been fixed, the stronger this necessity will prove. In many religious organizations, in parallel with the canonization of the text corpus, there emerges a monopoly of interpretation on the part of religious → 'specialists,' who specify rules of exposition and establish dogmatic interpretations. This theological 'exegesis' enfolds the sacred text in an aura of commentaries, marginal glosses, or collections of excerpts ('catenae'), thereby producing further text. To its corpus corresponds everyday, practical propagation, then exposition and interpretive adaptation of the text in the life of religious communities.

Maintenance, Conveyance, Tradition of the Text—Example of the Qur'an

5. In the course of historical development, the strict establishment of the sacred text has led to the ever-growing challenge of the maintenance of the text—that is, of the perfectly accurate conveyance of the text, even in an oral form. A typical example of a religious culture at whose center stands a sacred text, is → Islam. The → Qur'an is the first book to appear in Arab literature. As the Prophet died, he did not leave the Qur'an as a book completely composed; rather, the individual parts of the revelatory text lay before its redactors, and they set to work on it some twenty years after → Muhammad's death. From the very beginning until today, with the conveyance of its exact text, an oral communication of the Qur'an, along with its written form, has played an important role. The textual accuracy of versions of the Qur'an had wide-reaching cultural consequences. A concern for the fixing of the sacred text, and for its propagation—concretely, for the copying of its manuscripts—promoted the development of Arab script (→ Writing), in whose connection a lexicography and grammar developed, as well. In parallel, out of the collections and critical judgments of the oral reports of the words and deeds of the Prophet and his contemporaries, a scholarship and historiography of the Qur'anic tradition appeared. The foundations of legal scholarship lay here, as well: the Qur'an, and the reports of the words and deeds of the Prophet were soon established as the most important sources for Islamic law. Beginning in the ninth century, translations of especially scientific texts from the Greek welded two cultures of textual tending and exposition: the Arabic exposition of the Qur'an, and the ancient tradition of—profane—textual commentary. This historical fact shows—over against fundamentalistic positions—that historical developments owing to foreign influences have an essential share in the whole culture, and thus in the interpretation regarded by a culture as valid for its sacred scripture.

Textual Analysis through Historical Criticism

6. Christianity established a special approach to dealing with the canonical text. There emerged a commitment to philological confrontation with original texts, in their original language, and this in the sense of the humanistic watchword, "Back to the sources" (*Ad fontes*), and of the Reformation slogan, *Sola Scriptura*, "by Scripture alone." The text of the Bible was then approached with the same philological toolbox with which, for example, the ancient pagan texts were examined, and an entirely new relation developed to traditional exegesis, which was now measured more and more by the touchstone of textual criticism. Pursued with consistency, this route led to an approach to the text of the Bible as one literary testimonial among others, and today the text of the Hebrew Bible is considered in close connection with other texts of the Ancient Near Eastern environment. The recognitions gained by such a procedure place the claims of the religious proclamation before a difficult challenge to their exclusivity. Thus, for example, Ugaritic research showed that psalms heretofore understood as referring to the one God of Israel—so that plural forms of the name of God have traditionally been interpreted as the 'majestic plural' of that name—exhibit close parallels with Ugaritic hymns that are addressed to several gods. A philological approach to the biblical text in terms of textual criticism first found acceptance in → Protestantism. At the roots of this acceptance stood Luther's efforts to make the text of the Bible accessible to every believer, by way of his translation of the Bible. A correct understanding of the biblical text was then seen as a duty, for whose performance concrete efforts must be undertaken, and in which it was perfectly possible to fail. In the course of the nineteenth

century, along with a traditional theological exegesis, there arose—against opposition that was sometimes robust—a textual scholarship and culture of interpretation in terms of scientific historical criticism. This approach, now used with the Christian Scriptures themselves, gradually succeeded in establishing itself in the institutional context of theological teaching.

Thus the situation was created that has split today's Christian theologies between a pretension to scholarship—hegemonic, rational, and secular—and the actual handing on and expounding of the faith. This development repeatedly leads to tensions, some of them powerful, even within the confessions, as, for example, in the case of the clash over modernism in the Catholic Church, or in the confrontations over → fundamentalism and the Evangelical movement.

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For further literature, see the entries "Bible, "Qur'an," "Writing."

→ *Bible, Book, Language, Literature, Qur'an, Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Oral Tradition, Qur'an, Talmud, Tradition, Translation, Writing*

Heidrun Eichner

Theater

1. Originally, 'theater' denotes a 'space for viewing' (in Gk., *théatron*, from *theásthai*, 'consider,' 'contemplate,' 'observe'). In this space, human beings and their acting (in Gk., *dráma*), are brought before an audience as a scene, whether in free, improvised performance, or on the basis of (poetical) narrative. To theater as an art form, then, belong players (actors), audience, and theater as a place where acting occurs. Depending on whether the presentation—or performance—prioritizes verbal or nonverbal means of communication, the term 'speaking theater' or 'body theater' is used. In sacred theater, expressive means of presentation are often preferred that emphasize the body: → masks, → dance, gestures of the body (→ Symbol/Sign/Gesture).

In sacred → drama, means or media are introduced as part of complex rituals. But in many cultural traditions, secular forms of theater have developed, from or together with, sacred forms. In turn, and in manifold wise, these are enriched with religious content and means of expression. Secular theater can be a place for the revitalization, aestheticization, and production of myths, as in the Western theater of modernity, where ancient myths have come to be presented out of 'pagan,' Greco-Roman tradition. As a 'moral arrangement,' it can reinforce, or call into question, the ethical demands of a religion; or it can itself seek to undertake ritual tasks that are equivalent to those of religion.



This Buddhist demon theater from Ambalangoda, in Sri Lanka, is to be found today in the puppet theater museum of the Alois A. K. Raab foundation, Kaufbeuren. It is a mechanical theater, with two-dimensional wooden figures on a three-level stage. The lower and upper levels are cut off by swathes of flame. The figures' parts are movable, to an extent, with ropes and pulleys. The theater originated in mid-twentieth century, and was set up for temple festivals. According to the museum founder, T. Wilson de Silva, the theater had a curtain in front, but was accessible to pilgrims. Buddhism has extensive and detailed depictions of hell, with long, cruel, and ingenious scourgings. The devil theater threatens pilgrims with other, similar punishments in the afterlife, to be executed by demons (branding, sawing to pieces, skewering) as sanctions for deviant behavior. In the background, on a throne on the upper level, is a 'chief demon.' The scene is flanked by a cluster of corpses, which can be moved by ropes like a jumping jack. (M. Herzog)

2. *Ancient theater* can be regarded as the actual cradle of Western drama. First came choral dances and songs, which, in connection with the sacred celebrations of Dionysus, developed forms that were ever more fixed. With the formation of the *polis*, around 500 BCE, these forms underwent a further differentiation. Tragedy, on one side, became the human being's tension in mythical dependency, between free will and an enthrallment by fate (in Gk., *moíra*; → Destiny/Fate). The hero's catastrophe was verification of the existence and activity of a superordinate power. On the other side, it attracted interest in real conflict among human beings. Aristotle described theater as *mimesis*—as the 'imitation' of reality. He designated the effect of tragedy as a → *catharsis*, a 'purging,' that delivered one from *hybris*, sacrilegious pride, and rendered one capable of sympathy, and of bearing one's fate. *Comedy*, by contrast, had developed from the sacred Dionysus tradition of merry, mocking songs (satyr plays), and delivered up the heroes of myth and politics to public hilarity.

Roman theater served at first to reflect the virtues of the state ideology. Burlesque comedies that attributed to the gods the passions of human beings, such as Plautus's (250–184 BCE) intricate "Amphitruo," brought pleasure to a wide audience. With the incipient imperial era came the age of state-financed spectacles, a sign of the power of rule: chariot races, gladiatorial combats, and rough popular improvisations, to serve the entertainment of a broad public. *Panis et circences*—'bread and circuses'—became the slogan for the employment of theater as social technology.

With the beginning of the Christian age, mimded burlesques of Christians and their rites were favorite presentations. The Church prohibited the frequenting of theaters. With their myths of the gods, or even their vulgar burlesque, theaters stood in the pagan tradition, and spectators were threatened with excommunication. In the fourth century, the renunciation of such *spectacula* actually became an article of the Christian baptismal creed. At the same time, the Church itself utilized the experiential sensory worlds of theatrical forms. In the area of symbolical actions, these forms frequently

supplemented liturgical celebrations (→ Liturgy/Dramaturgy), and in the Middle Ages, via the 'mystery plays,' developed into an independent Christian genre of sacred → drama.

3. During the *Counter-Reformation,* the spiritual play and the didactic piece presented for moral edification flourished for the last time in the Catholic Baroque theater. Calderon de la Barca's "Life Is a Dream" (premiering in 1635), exemplifies and explicates the proposition that the transitory quality of worldly values prevents anyone from finding life unless united with God and guided by faith. With the Enlightenment, however, and the triumphal campaign of the middle class, *modern theater* definitively established itself as a confessionally independent platform, from which to take up the conflictive existence of emancipated citizens responsible for themselves. The price of this new worldly affiliation is doubt and confusion. The secular person finds redemption by divine grace (Schiller, "Maria Stuart," 1801; Goethe, "Faust": part 1, 1806; part 2, 1832). The myth of the 'Faustian man,' with his double soul, who finds redemption only through 'love from on high,' has been a theme of currency for many a landmark presentation of "Faust," from Max Reinhardt (1909) to Christoph Marthaler (1993).

Twentieth Century

4. a) At about the turn of the twentieth century, in distinction from the naturalistic theater of illusion, an *avant-garde movement* developed that demanded a new intercourse with stage space, stage image, light, and even the actor's art. Representatives such as Adolphe Appia (1862–1928) and Edward Gordon Craig (*Toward a New Theater*, 1913) sought to free theater from the shackles of literature. Under the provocative slogan, "Theater of Cruelty," Antonin Artaud called for a theater of 'bodiliness,' a consciousness of the language of the body. He worked with indigenous traditions, such as that of Balinesian and Tibetan ritual theater (*Le théâtre de la cruauté—premier manifeste*, 1932; *second manifeste*, 1933 [Fr. "The Theater of Cruelty—First Manifesto … Second Manifesto"]). Erwin Piscator's and Bertolt Brecht's 'epic theater' used *Verfremdungseffekte* ('effects of alienation') in order to generate an emotional distance in the audience, and stimulate it to reflect on a reality in need of change. It was not the relationship of the human being to herself, nor her relationship to God, but the meaning of her societal function that ought to stand at midpoint in the performance.

Theater of the Absurd

b) *The theater of the absurd* distinguished itself as theater presenting the quest of the human being who has lost himself in a world devoid of meaning. It is intimately coupled with the existentialist ideas of Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, who described the world as a metaphysical 'no man's land,' in which the human being is condemned to freedom, and, in permanent struggle against absurdity, must himself give meaning to his existence. The protagonists in Samuel Beckett's "Waiting for Godot" (premiering in 1953), or Harold Pinter's "The Caretaker" (1960), manifest their condition as 'lost,' and their existential 'fear,' by way of their 'automated' speech (→ Existentialism).

Theater of Experience

c) In the *theater of experience*, artists such as Jerzy Grotowsky, Peter Brook, Eugenio Barba, Adrienne Mnouchkine, and Richard Schechner adopt elements of the ritual theater of the Far East (Japanese *noh* theater, Beijing opera), and other traditions with a religious anchoring. These playwrights include the usages of ritual ceremony, such as gestures, movements, and



masks, as well as elements of the trance and mystery play. By contrast with the psychologism of speech-centered European theater, it is the actor's body that becomes the tool of self-revelation. Even more than the presentation itself, it is now a process of 'testing' that becomes the locus of an existential self-knowledge on the part of the actors, the self-knowledge that bestows on them their meaning. Here, classic texts are dismantled, linked with elements of bodily ritual, and, by means of personal experiences, joined together in a new system (Peter Brook—Shakespeare, "The Tempest," 1990). The ensemble becomes the 'ritual group,' blending the boundaries between theater and ritual drama (Richard Schechner, "Bacchae," 1969; Robert Wilson, "KA MOUNTAIN and GUARDenia Terrace—A Story about a Family and Some People Changing," 1972). Typically enough, the presentations programmatically overstep the place and time of customary presentation: they take place from sunset to sunrise in a quarry (Peter Brooks, "Mahabharata" in Aix-en-Provence, 1985), or even, as for Wilson, take spectators and players, for seven days, on seven mountains around Shiraz, in Iran. American avant-gardist and theoretician Richard Schechner's collaboration with anthropologist Victor Turner, for example, attests the route 'from ritual to theater,' and shows the sacred drama of India and Africa as a source of inspiration for the contemporary Western stage.

d) Theater in the age of the mass media is still a place where myths and existential themes are recalled and displayed. Wilson's theater of apocalyptic images develops its effect by way of a 'teamwork' of rhythmic movements by the players in slow motion, light, music, individual words, and bizarre costumes ("Death, Destruction & Detroit," 1979, 1987, 1999); meanwhile, theater directors such as Peter Stein (Ibsen, "Peer Gynt," 1971; Aischylos, "Orestia," 1980), or authors such as Botho Strauss (*Trilogie des Wiedersehens*, Ger., "Trilogy of Return," 1976), Hans Neuenfels ("Medea," 1976), Frank-Patrick Steckel ("Penthesilea," 1978), reach back to classical texts of the

In December, 1972, with his troop of eleven international players, director Peter Brook spent a hundred days traveling in North and West Africa, to help discover the extent to which understanding and agreement is possible among people from various parts of the world. With improvisations based on the ancient Persian legend, "The Conference of the Birds," in which many birds gather in order to deliberate as to how God can best be found, Brook was trying out a 'universal theater.' Was a meeting site possible for the sharing of human experience, independently of language and culture? In this scene, poles lead the players, and help them to lose their egos on the stage. The players' bodies become vehicles of the rhythms of the gods, so that "God may pass before our eyes" (J. Heilpern). Brook names this theater the "Theater of Naiveté or Innocence." Its symbol is the circle.

collective European memory. These performances lead (universal) theater back, once more, to its origin: the space for illustration and visualization of human existence in being and acting.

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→ *Drama (Sacred), Liturgy/Dramaturgy, Mysteries*

Elke Sofie Frohn

Theocracy

1. What has occurred in → Iran and in Algeria in the last two decades of the twentieth century, in terms of deadly violence, deprivation of individual rights, and coercion to live according to the rules of religious laws, is perceived in the West with horror and revulsion, and labeled 'theocracy.' 'Theocracy' (Gk., 'God's government') contradicts 'democracy' (Gk., 'people's government'). The former designation fuses a criticism of the religious grounding of political crimes with a criticism of religion across the board. Both of the countries above cited were subjected to a rapid modernization, and the West had shown its ugly face: human rights were valid on paper alone. In Algeria, in addition, democratic elections were halted, as a siege of the Islamists seemed imminent. "Backslide to the Middle Ages!" was one formula with which the West rejected the model. "How could you bear [a] theocracy?" was another.[1] But the West has only preached the value of the Enlightenment in colonialism, not realized it. It is to this reality that the ideal of an Islamic theocracy is opposed.

Sketch of a Constitution for the New Beginning

2. *Theocracy as a utopia*: a) The cry for a 'government of God' first emerged in a determinate historical situation. In Israel/Judaea, in 586 BCE, the royal palace and the Temple in Jerusalem were destroyed, and the people lost their independence. The upper classes were carried off into exile in Babylon. Along with those who clung to the old model—insisting on insurrection, and a king of their own—and along with those who established themselves in Babylon, others managed a return to Israel, drafting an entirely different constitution (Ezek 40-48, Deuteronomy). The equality of all was guaranteed.

Land apportionment in equal areas for each family continued its effect for a while: exploitation and debtors' slavery were impossible, since, every seven years, in the Sabbath year, debts were cancelled, and every forty-nine years, in the Year of Jubilee, the original land apportionment was restored. There would be no more kings, since it was this institution that was regarded as being at the root of the accumulation of power, and as having inevitably introduced inequality. Instead of kingship, a 'contract,' a 'covenant between God and man,' was to be obligatory. The Commandments bound all equally, irrespective of social position. God needed no representative: the 'covenant' of the law, struck of old 'with (under) Moses,' represented God in any current government and under any particular laws.

Josephus: Rule of the Priestly Nobility

b) The word 'theocracy' was introduced by Josephus (c. 94 CE) in order to describe the particular character of Jewish society for a Greco-Roman audience.[2] Scion of a priestly family of Jerusalem, Josephus advocated the theocracy, which assigned the priests an important function. The theocracy is distinguishable from a variety of community organizations constrained to the religious area, as was necessary in rabbinical Judaism after the loss of sovereignty under Roman rule. But it is also to be distinguished from the model of the Messiah King. Even the latter, however, was seen more as laying the groundwork of a divine government than as presage of a return to the monarchy. Thus, out of the monarchy of the royal family emerged the rule of the priestly nobility.

Reign (Kingdom) of God?

c) This model base shapes the foundation of Jesus's message of the *Basileía Theoû*, "when God comes into His Kingdom." Planned not as a 'reign of heaven' in the beyond but as the constitution of an earthly society, its effectuation promptly falls under the Christian reservation that it can only be realized outside history, outside earthly reality. Thus, under the condition of 'antecedence,' secular rule is made over no longer to the covenant of the law but to the future, while life in the state is 'still' under the customary order.

d) Unlike the Lutherans, the Reformed (Zwingli, Calvin) take the viewpoint that the 'royal rule of God' must be measured by reality. Their city-republics may be taken as the model of democracy and civil society. However, here as well, 'religious constitutions' frequently stand under the compulsion of having to right all things, above and beyond the humanly possible. Religion becomes terror, theocratic rule turns into police state. Calvin's Geneva is as just as much an example of → terrorism as is → Khomeini's Iran.

Control of the Executive

3. *Who is the sovereign?* The deciding question for a theocratic constitution concerns the government—the institution, therefore, which is to represent God, and which, on the human, social level realizes the everyday 'translation of the law into laws.' A subordination advertised as identical with that required by Jesus of his disciples[3] can disguise violence with religion. The Pope as *Servus Servorum Dei* can at the same time, as *Vicarius Christi*, require utter obedience. In a theocracy, the 'Servant of the Servants of God,' because he is 'Vicar of Christ,' can claim for himself the absolute rights of a monarch. Thus, theocracy makes for a power uncontrollably unleashed. But the Jewish model aims at a sacred limitation of the rule of persons by persons: the government of God in the form of the law makes the current government just as surely controllable as the currently valid laws. → Democracy, with its

distribution of power, is every bit as genuine a consequence of theocracy as is religious tyranny.

1. Colpe, Carsten, Problem Islam, Frankfurt/M. 1989, 142; 61-88.
2. Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 2, 16; trans. in Taubes 1987, 65, 79.
3. Matt 22:21; that loyalty to the state here is identical with that of Paul's Rom 13 is disputed by Pinchas Lapide; see Lapide, P., Er predigte in ihren Synagogen: Jüdische Evangelienauslegung, Gütersloh 1980, 34-55.

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→ *Democracy, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Iran, Law, Papacy*

Christoph Auffarth

Theodicy

The question of the meaning of this world's → evil—of natural evil (natural catastrophes), of moral evil, in the sense of war and crime, and of personal suffering (hunger, disease, death)—is encountered by every human being. It seems to have become fundamental for personal meaning. Thus, for some religions, the fact that there is such a thing as 'bad' poses problems of no little significance. How is a good and caring God to be reconciled with blind fate, and evil? The believer feels frequently exposed to these forces. A 'justification of God' is called for, for the evil that God permits: 'theodicy' (from Gk., *Theós,* 'God'; *díke*, 'right,' 'righteousness'). German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) first coined the term. In Leibniz's *Essais de théodicées sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme, et l'origine du mal* ("Essays in Theodicy: The Goodness of God, the Freedom of the Human Being, and the Origin of Evil"; 1710), he sought to reconcile the fact of evil in the world with the idea of God's justice and perfection. The question of the moral justification of God appears in its full import especially in the monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam), whose point of departure is in the existence of an almighty and omniscient, personal God, ultimately responsible for the divine creation. Other concepts, especially polytheistic, dualistic, or gnostic, emphasize either the ambivalence of God/the gods, assume a concrete cause of evil, for example a demiurge—in an attenuated sense, this function is fulfilled by the Christian → Devil—or explain suffering through reference to a guilt personally incurred by the human being in a previous life (concept of karma in → Buddhism).

Attempts at Theological Solutions

With the intent to establish a theological foundation for evil and suffering in the world, the discussions of theodicy have adopted the following assumptions: (1) the free will of the human being who can decide for or against the good; (2) the accompanying sinfulness of the human being (indeed, in Christianity, an original fault or → sin), that incurs a 'punishment from God'; (3) the believer's testing and instruction, as it comes to expression in the biblical story of Job, the 'undeserving sufferer.' A solution to the problem emerges from the assumption that there is a justice that 'evens things out' in the next world, for example in the form of a final judgment. In all of the monotheistic religions, however, there is also the tendency to accept that a judgment upon God and upon the divine creation is beyond the capacity of the human being to manage; this position is explicit in Calvinism, for example.

Crisis of Theodicy

Two events in European modernity raised the question of the 'justice of God' in a special degree of keenness. The earthquake in Lisbon, in 1755, which killed tens of thousands of persons, shook the assumption of modern → rationalism that the goodness and existence of God could be justified in terms of the laws of nature of an ordered world, a world as the Enlightenment had come to see it. In the twentieth century, the problem of theodicy flared up anew, under new omens, on the occasion of the existence and function of the National Socialist extermination camps. The question of the moral legitimization of God is found mirrored in the question of 'anthropodicy'—the 'justification of the human being': How can persons permit this suffering? Does that moral failure mean a *reductio ad absurdum* for the concept of 'further ethical development'? Today, a tendency prevails to interpret catastrophes and suffering as artifacts, engendered by persons in many ways, for example by means of technological and civilizing incursions into nature.

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→ *Devil, Ethics/Morals, Evil/Evil One, God/Gods/The Sacred, Hereafter, Meaning/Signification, Progress, Sin, Suffering, Will (Free)*

Jutta Bernard and Stefan Hartmann

Theology

Reflected Speech

1. The word 'theology' (from Gk., *theología*) denotes "reflective discourse concerning the being and acting of God or gods." The function of theology is to solve (1) the individual's problems of meaning, and (2) society's problems of interpretation of the world, as well as those of order or structure—in reference to the bases and foundations of a given religious system (which not infrequently means: in terms of a transcendent point of reference).

Theology—Not Only in Christianity

2. Until the mid-twentieth century, theology was a concept referred primarily to Christianity. It designated especially any teaching resting on biblical revelation, and in itself rationally grounded, concerning the being and works of the triune God of the Christians and that God's relationship to the human being and the world. It included Mariology, any teaching concerning the human being in need of salvation, salvation history, and the opportunities for the attainment of salvation and for communication with God. It likewise included the doctrine of the mediating role of the Church and the saints, including church law. But the increasing scrutiny, since the middle of the nineteenth century, of other religions, in language and content, demonstrated the fact that they, too, possess theology. This observation applies to → Judaism, → Islam, and the monotheistic religions of → Hinduism, as well as many polytheisms. Obliquely, it holds even for religions in which no 'God' (*theós*) stands at the focus, but in which, indeed, there is a transcendent point of reference, as, e.g., in → Buddhism, or in the Vedanta of the Hindus.

As long as the concept of theology seemed to denote a primarily Christian phenomenon, it was adequately defined as authoritative Christian doctrine, legitimated by the instances of ecclesiastical control. Since the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), however, the extension of the concept 'theology' to other religions—a concept widely accepted by the other Christian churches, even those without comparable institutions of ecclesiastical control—implies that it can be defined today neither by specific content of belief, nor by doctrine conformed to the church. Rather, reference must be made to a more general characteristic, one that is the property of all theology. Thus, one may conclude: "Theology is the product of a rational reflection, accompanied by premises of belief, on the content of a given religious tradition, and on the instructions concerning salvific activity that are to be deduced from that content, when the latter is legitimized by previous initiation and by consent of leading supporters of a community of belief." It is its perspective determined by belief that distinguishes theology from the → academic study of religion. The latter regards the religions, including their theologies—likewise rational—from an outer perspective, one that includes a neutral attitude toward belief. Initiation into an authoritative tradition distinguishes theology from the philosophy of religion.

Theology as Religious Tradition's Rational Self-Reflection

Meaning and Order

3. The function of responding to questions of meaning, and problems of structure, falls to myths as well, or texts of revelation. That is, it falls to the reports concerning the will and activity of God or the gods, which, in the self-concept of a given religion, stem from a divine source. The religious level on which theology is settled distinguishes it from these forms of bestowal of religious meaning. Theology is not the word of God, but human reflection on, and interpretation of, the word of God. It is not the visionary sight of divine acting, or a mythic report concerning the creation event and other deeds of God or the gods. Instead, it is an attempt to arrange in structures of meaning the activity of God as known from such sources. That is, theology is an attempt to understand and base the volitional impulses of suprahuman powers—those impulses that can be deduced from religious tradition and from nature—and to set them in a connection with the activities of human beings.

Doctrine of Obligation

4. It is characteristic of theology, then, to attempt to generate a meaningful system of thought that will bind deities, world, nature, human beings,

and society into a consistent model of interpretation. Theology gathers, searches, orders, and evaluates the traditional discrete, disparate utterances of religious experience. It canonizes them, explains them, and connects them into an intellectual system. The character of its interpretation as a system permits it to draw conclusions concerning the being of God or the gods, concerning the meaning and order of the world, and concerning the duties and obligations of human beings. Theology also clarifies and shapes religious acts, in → sacrifice and → prayer, sacraments and → liturgy, which produce an immediate relation to the religious life of the community. Oriented to the structure of the society that is its vehicle, it develops ideals of cosmic order (→ Cosmology/Cosmogony), and of a paradisiacal world free from suffering, disease, and death, attainable in the hereafter or realizable in the present world (→ Garden/Paradise; Heaven/Sky; Luck/Happiness; Utopia). Oriented to conceptualizations of ideals like these, it can occasion social changes. It lays down, legitimizes, and alters norms of social behavior. It orders and weighs 'sins,' on a scale that can extend from light transgressions to mortal sin, it establishes penances and punishments. It reflects on → guilt and repentance, on beatitude and suffering, on merit and grace. Its responses relate to questions on the purpose of being, on the meaning of → suffering, and on death and victory over death, as well as on questions touching on the role assignment of the individual in society—on the human being's rights, duties, and goals. At the same time, it sketches and represents general ideals to which individual and societal life can be oriented, e.g., peace, truth, order, eternal life; or love of neighbor, compassion for living beings, responsibility for creation and the environment.

Norm and Development

5. However, the development of relations of meaning is not theology's only task. Theology also constantly adapts the interpretation of religious experience and tradition to the evolving conditions of life, and to the social and cultural context. It alters, complements, or thrusts aside earlier understanding and misunderstanding, then integrates new knowledge, but also defends important traditional values. Only when theology petrifies, and no longer performs these functions, is a religion seriously threatened from within. However, this dynamic also signifies that theology frequently stands amidst the tension between orthodox conservation, and a renewal or renovation of → tradition in keeping with the times. Both renewal and the judgment as to what may be regarded as orthodox need legitimization. This condition holds for all religions. It does not presuppose organization, but does require acknowledged types of entry into religious specialization, and the construction of consent. As a rule, legitimization is consequent upon → initiation, which is ordinarily performed by the already initiated, through examination or testing and consecration after the candidate has spent time as a student. Examples include various phenomena such as priestly ordination, or initiation by a → guru after a time of studies. But initiation can also be directly conferred by a divinity, which selects, or takes possession of, a person, and then expresses itself through a knowledge 'self-acquired' by (revealed to) the person, together with a personal → charisma, by inspiration, prophetical power, or supernatural abilities and miracles. In such cases of the manifestation of divine powers, subsequent formal initiation is not necessary. But recognition by other religious → specialists is indeed required; these latter must accept the person thus selected as an authentic representative of their religious tradition. Without that acceptance, the crucial legitimization of the

religious tradition will be missing, and along with it, the possibility of altering a prevailing theology from the inside, under normative auspices. (There have been numerous exceptions, however, one of which was the refusal of Jesus of Nazareth to seek legitimization at the hands of those influential contemporaries whose knowledge of scripture could have been expected to be determinative.) Theologians' purposed reforms thus have their limits, defined by foundations of belief emerging from their own religion's character as a system. They may indeed alter forms of reverence or worship, and content of belief, or adopt them from other religions, so long as these alterations fit into their own system without friction. When, however, new intellectual approaches, or syncretistic adoption of foreign content of belief, change basic structures of their own system, then theological renewal transforms into → heresy, and is rejected.

History of the Concept

6. a) The word 'theology' appears for the first time with Plato (Politeia 379a), and denotes myths, which, to be sure, ought not to falsify the basic traits of the being of the gods. Here, the call for a rational, critical appraisal of myths is articulated, which was shortly to lead to a division between → myth and theology. Aristotle lists theology as a subdivision of metaphysics (*sophía*, *philosophia prima* [Gk., Lat., resp., 'wisdom,' and 'first philosophy'])[1] that is ordered to all reflection on the last things, including the being of the gods. In Hellenism and the time of the Roman Empire, 'theology' included not only the interpretation of the myths (*ratio quae de diis explicatur*—Lat., "reasonable element explained concerning the gods"), but also the teaching of the intercourse with the gods in *ritus* (Lat., 'rite') and cult. In ancient Christianity, the word was adopted by Origen (d. c. 254), but it was soon restricted: with Eusebius of Caesarea (d. c. 339), it again denoted only knowledge concerning the being of Christ, and the God of the Christians, and excluded all statements concerning pagan gods. This constraint also confined the concept of *theología* even more: now there was a distinction between the attempt to understand God himself, and the last principles, and on the other hand, *oikonomía* (Gk., 'economy'), which concerned itself with God's activity, especially his salvific activity, and his coming to human beings as human being and redeemer. Both were aspects of *sacra scriptura* and *sacra doctrina.* Only in the Middle Ages, through Abelard (1079–1142), were these two parts of divine doctrine once more joined in the concept of theology.

Theology and Philosophy

Other problems appeared in the relationship of theology and philosophy. From Boethius (480–525) to the heyday of scholasticism (eleventh to thirteenth centuries; → Aristotelianism), Aristotelian logic became an essential aid in theological intercourse with the content of faith. Granted, philosophy was still the 'handmaid of theology' (in Lat., *ancilla theologiae*), and thus subordinate both to God's revelation, and to the concept of unconditional faith. 'Pagan' philosophy, and with it, the claim of human reason (*ratio*) on autonomous knowledge, was not admitted, as shown by the Justinian's closing of the Platonic Academy and other places of learning of the ancient philosophy (525 CE).

b) A similar distinction between theology and philosophy, arisen from a situation of competition between the two, does not appear in other religions, such as in Buddhism, in the Hindu religions, and in the East Asian re-

Islamic Philosophy

ligions. Even in Islamic theology, *Ilm al-kalan* ('scholarship of disputation'), to an extent, it was overcome through an incorporation of basic disciplines of philosophy (epistemology, logic, etc.), and natural science (elements of nature, theory of motion, etc.). Islamic theology's research and investigations were directed to the 'foundations of religion' (*usul ad-din*).

Its formative period, the norm for modern Islamic theology, ended at the beginning of the twelfth century—shortly before the time of the climax of Christian scholasticism. The fruitful influence of Islamic sciences and scholarship on Christian scholastic theology, and the discovery by the West of other works of Aristotle, began with Avicenna (Ibn Sina, 980–1037) and Averroes (Ibn Rushd, 1126–1198). Finally, with the growing importance of theological university faculties, the concept of 'theology' expanded to embrace all subjects taught there and having a bearing on life, religious or social.

1. Aristotle, Metaphysics VI, 1 1026a19; XI, 8, 1064b3.

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→ *Academic Study of Religion, God/Gods/The Sacred, Liberation Theology, Meaning/Signification, Metaphysics, Myth/Mythology, Religion, Scholasticism, Spirituality*

Heinrich von Stietencron

Theory of Evolution

The theory of evolution (from Lat., *evolvere*, 'turn out,' 'develop'), in the strict sense, means a series of biological concepts that gives a scientific explanation for the arrival of life and the development of species. It is common to these interpretations that they do not regard life as a divine and inalterable creation, but hold life forms to be the product of a progressive development (theory of derivation, origin of species). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Jean-Baptiste de Lamarck (1744–1849) had already proposed, as an explanatory model, the notion that differentiated organs develop for the preservation and protection of their elementary needs, and that these purposeful self-adaptations to an environment could be inherited. Charles Darwin (1809–1882) ascribed evolution to a 'natural selection' of varying biological materials ('mutations') by coincidental, chance mutations. Current theories, on the other hand, such as represented by Manfred Eigen (b. 1927), shift evolution to the area of molecular biology.

The Christian side raised opposition to the theories of evolution, reproaching the scientific explanations with contradicting the biblical myth of creation. To this day, specific circles of Protestant fundamentalists in the United States assert the word-for-word validity of the myth of Genesis in the first Book of Moses, according to which God created the earth and living things in seven days, with the human being enjoying a unique position in creation. Thus, in the 1920s, some Southern states succeeded in legislating a prohibition of the teaching of the Darwinian theory in public schools (leading to a spectacular "Monkey Trial" of a teacher in Tennessee). The Catholic Church, in recent times, has given up this opposition. Evolution—according to an enunciation of John Paul II—may be interpreted of the expression of a *creatio continua* (Lat., 'continuous creation').

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→ *Evolutionism, Fundamentalism, Natural Science, Origin, Progress, Science*

Stefan Hartmann

Theosophical / Anthroposophical Society

1. The object of the following considerations will be not the older, Christian theosophy (Gr., *theosophía*, 'divine wisdom') of Jacob Böhme and others,[1] but that of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891). This, the most important neo-religious creation of the nineteenth century, ostensibly gathered Europe's various 'occult' traditions (Neoplatonism, → Gnosticism, → Kabbalah, → Hermeticism, the Rosicrucian teaching, → Freemasonry; → Esotericism) into an assembly also containing elements of extra-European religions (Coptic Christianity, → Sufism, → Zoroastrianism, → Hinduism, → Buddhism). The result was a supra-confessional, universalistic, 'primitive' and 'world' religion, intended as a contrast with the orthodoxies of Judaism and the Christian churches, along with 'materialistic' Darwinism. This formulation is what gained institutional housing in the Theosophical Society. Blavatsky presented a neo-gnostic conceptualization of the divine descendancy of the human being, its ever more significant submersion in matter and corporality, and its already accomplished introduction to new spiritualization and divinization (→ Gnosticism). Blavatsky also taught 'magical' practices, then, for the division of the astral body from the physical. The new inter-religious and intercultural Theosophy was of great importance as a transporter of syncretistic content like monism, holism (→ Wholeness/Holism), → reincarnation, and the notion of karma. Among



Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, surrounded by the three 'Masters,' Koot Hoomi, Morya, and Prince Ragoczy. As 'spiritual supermen,' said to live on the 'roof of the world,' in Shigatse, in Tibet, they authoritatively legitimated Theosophy. The 'letters of the Masters' were its sacred scripture. The myth of the 'Masters' profited from the fact that the realm of the Dalai Lama had long since been closed, and thus surrounded with mystery—for instance, as late as Heinrich Harrer's *Seven Years in Tibet*! England and Russia sought to gain political influence over the country (British expedition of 1904), and Blavatsky was suspected of being an agent of Russia sometimes, of England at others.

the recipients of this content is the → New Age movement (the concept of a 'New Age' gained great popularity through Blavatsky's disciple Alice Ann Bailey, 1880–1949). As early as the death of the founder, and still more keenly afterwards, the Theosophical Society split into fractions, sometimes with a national stamp. One of them was the Anthroposophical Society, inspired by Rudolf Steiner (1832–1907) (see §3).

Madame Blavatsky and the Theosophical Society

2. After an adventurous life of spiritual quest, German Russian Noble Blavatsky, together with Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907), founded the Theosophical Society, a 'universal brotherhood of man' in New York in 1875. With her *Isis Unveiled* (1877), she moved away from an original foundation in → spiritism, and, as she traveled with Olcott to Bombay a year later, the turn eastward was intensified. She then filled out the Theosophical doctrine with concepts of Hinduism and Buddhism (cosmic cycles, reincarnation, karma). In India, she also connected with members of the indigenous elite (cf. her

emphasis on a common 'Aryan' origin), for purposes of cultural and political renewal. In 1882, the Theosophical Society's headquarters were moved to Adyar near Madras. But in India the movement found its keenest crisis, with the publication of the Hodgson Report of the Society for Psychical Research in England: Blavatsky was accused of charlatanry.[2] In particular, her legitimating appeal to the secret 'Great White Brotherhood' of the 'Masters,' 'Adepts,' or 'Mahatmas,' enlightened 'world teachers' allegedly hiding in Tibet, and their "Mahatma Letters," were interpreted as Blavatsky's counterfeits. Only in recent times has K. Paul Johnson sought to offer evidence that, behind the 'Masters' were concealed real and sometimes politically influential persons—including well-known Hindu and Sikh leaders—who were important for Blavatsky's spiritual development and political strivings. Blavatsky's most productive literary period began with her final return to Europe in 1885, as she published in London her multi-volume *Secret Doctrine: The Syntheses of Science, Religion, and Philosophy* (vols. 1, 2 in 1888; vol. 3 posthumously, in 1897). In this work she created a new mythical, poetical 'genesis,' (cosmogony and anthropogony), entwining Eastern thought with Western concepts typical of her time—especially with evolution, progress, and racial doctrine—and connected them with her claim to a scientifically based religion.

Crisis and Division

After Blavatsky's demise, not only did the unity of the Theosophical Society break apart once and for all, but the First World War occasioned the collapse of its international order: the Adyar organization, with its many members in Australia and New Zealand, openly took sides with the Western powers against Germany, and appealed to the British Empire as the model for the coming 'world commonwealth.' Another conflict was sparked by the announcement, shortly after the turn of the century, of the return of a 'World Teacher': Lord Maitreya and Christ in the person of Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895–1986). The proclamation of this global savior was propagated by the Adyar Society, under Annie Besant (1847–1933) and Charles Webster Leadbeater (1847–1934), by way of the Order of the Star in the East.

Independence for Anthroposophy

3. These conflicts within the Theosophical Society led to institutional independence for Theosophy in Germany. The split began with Franz Hartmann (1838–1912), reaching its climax when Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925) stepped down as Secretary General of the German Section of the Theosophical Society, an office which he had held since 1902, and created (1912/13) an independent Anthroposophical Society. Steiner's motivation, besides personal competition, was his anti-Eastern position. Steiner rejected the notion of Krishnamurti's election, strengthening instead his appeal to Rosicrucianism and esoteric 'Christosophy,' with a central event in the 'mystery of Golgotha.' Steiner's cosmic message of salvation, his *Geisteswissenschaft*, on the other hand, stems from Theosophy, just as does his vision of a future spiritual superman bound up with racial notions ("From Homo sapiens to Homo divinus"), or his doctrine of karma and reincarnation.

At first, the world center of Anthroposophy's strivings was to be Munich's artistic and cultural quarter Schwabing, with parallels, in its intended religious practice, to Richard Wagner's *Bühnenweihefestspiele* (Ger., 'stage dedi-

cation plays') held in Bayreuth. The offer of a tract of land in Dornach, near Basle, definitively determined on the construction, beginning in 1913, of the new sacred place on the 'hill'—a 'karmic selection,' as well, since it turned out to be a politically and economically advantageous location through two World Wars.

Religious Praxis and Membership

4. Common to both Theosophy and Anthroposophy is the eventual formation of 'Churches' orientated to worship and liturgy (*Liberal-katholische Kirche*, 'Liberal Catholic Church,' 1916), or *Christengemeinschaft* ('Community of Christians,' 1922), as well as the success among the nobility of their anti-egalitarian, hierarchical image of the world and persons, and among the upper-middle class of a message of self-redemption through self-rearing and self-education. Now Steiner attempted a social 'tripartition,' which he developed, from 1917 on, under the influence of a presumably lost war, and through which he wished to draw the working class into the societal model of a class state. He found, however, no response from these addressees. With Steiner, Blavatsky's anti-Darwinism (aimed, among others, at Ernst Haeckel), issued in a 'Goetheanism'—a variant of the cult of Goethe that appealed to, in particular, Goethe's scientific writings, concluding to the epistemological path of an intuitive 'gaze,' as well as to a spiritual formulation of nature. Steiner's sacred edifice, the *Goetheanum* in Dornach, was dedicated to the concept of the 'metamorphosis.'

Goetheanism

By contrast with Theosophy, Anthroposophy developed a decided trait of the reform of life. Steiner's *Geisteswissenschaft* not only sought to point to a goal of interiority, but strove for the transformation of the world through practical work on that world. An implementation of (conducted by, and on the principles of) Anthroposophy preserves not only the heritage of the reform movements of c. 1900 (→ Ascona/Monte Verità), but configures a considerable part of Anthroposophy's attraction the world over: sacred architecture ('temple building'; cf. first and second "Goetheana") and 'mystery dramas,' reform schools ("Waldorf Pedagogy"), and 'biologically dynamic' agriculture (Demeter Reform products), holistic medicine, health and body-care means (Weleda products), as well as the translation of the expressive dance of the turn of the century into a pedagogical and therapeutic means ('eurhythmia') all embody this kind of successful project. On the other hand, certain projects failed after the First World War: the alternative economic projects *Der Kommende Tag* (Ger., "The Coming Day"), and *Futurum A.G.* From the Protestant youth movement, finally, emerged the inspiration for the founding of the Christ Community (1922), with the aim, fostered by Steiner's Catholic heritage, of a Christian renewal through worship and sacrament.

Content in Terms of Political Ideology

5. The political contents of Theosophy and Anthroposophy have attracted particular interest, and are likewise devalued as 'undemocratic' and 'racist,' like the impulse expressed in *völkisch* nativism, especially the Celtic and Neo-Teutonism.[3] It is true that Blavatsky and her followers (including Steiner) had proclaimed an unequivocally racial concept, in the sense of a 'cosmological evolution,' nor were anti-Semitic tones lacking. However, Theosophy possessed a strong liberal, internationalistic, and thus

'Enlightenment,' counterbalance, and only the particular Austrian/German development of the 'Ariosophy' of a Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels (1874–1954) could absolutize the 'occult,' 'karmic,' racial doctrine of Theosophy/Anthroposophy in the sense of a racial biologism.

External Effects

Just as with their predecessor, the spiritistic movement (→ Spiritism), one of the most important external effects of Theosophy and Anthroposophy has always lain in their fertilizing influence effect on *modern art*, to which, with its 'fantastic science,' it opened new 'invisible worlds.' Stimulated by Richard Wagner's project of a 'holistic work of art' (*Gesamtkunstwerk*), Steiner promoted the bonding of elements of architecture, sculpture, painting, dancing, and vocal presentation in a liturgical and sacred framework. Not only did the Theosophical and Anthrosophical revelation of the 'supra-sensory' inspire important artists of classical modernity, such as Wassily Kandinsky (*Über das Geistige in der Kunst*—Ger., "The Spiritual Element in Art"; 1912), or Piet Mondrian; its effect ranges all the way to Anthroposophically-based concepts of the 'social plastic' in Joseph Beuys. More recently, new fields of influence have opened to Anthroposophy, for instance in the area of ecological construction, or state-free schooling, which have found new addressees in the alternative/ecological movement since the 1970s.

Theosophy and Anthroposophy Today

6. The various Theosophical Societies today, as well as the Anthroposophical Societies, are active worldwide, even on the Internet. Their geographical distribution is historically conditioned. Theosophy has its center of gravity in the Anglo-American world (especially in the United States and Australia), and in the lands that it has particularly influenced. Anthroposophy flourishes especially in German-speaking countries. The Adyar Theosophical Society, for example, stresses the ecological, and socio-political dimension of its message (combat against war, overpopulation, exploitation). Anthroposophy, meanwhile, offers not only its theoretical responses to the spiritual crisis of the present, and to the many questions of our contemporaries that are concerned with living, but also, and especially, to its practical proposals, which range from recreational activities to care of the mentally and physically challenged.

1. Cf. the title of the 1730 edition of the complete works of Jacob Böhme, *Theosophia Revelata* (Lat., "Theosophy Revealed").
2. Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate Phenomena Connected with the Theosophical Society (Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, vol. 3), London 1885.
3. Antroposofie en het vraagstuk van de rassen: Eindrapport van de commissie Antroposofie en het vraagstuk van de rassen, Zeist 2000. Cf. Zander, Helmut, "Sozialdarwinistische Rassentheorien aus dem okkultem Untergrund des Kaiserreiches," in Puschner, Uwe et al., Handbuch zur "Völkischen Bewegung" 1871–1918, Munich 1996, 224-251.

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→ *Esotericism, Gnosticism, New Age, Occultism, Orientalism/Exoticsm, Paganism/Neopaganism, Spiritism*

Ulrich Linse

Tibet

1. With its extreme climatic conditions, the highland of Tibet is only sparsely populated. Few live here other than cattle-raising nomads. Soil is farmed until an altitude of 4,000 m. The center of gravity of settlement and agricultural geography lies in the Tsangpo Valley. Politically, today, what exists is the 'Autonomous Region of Tibet,' established in 1965 in the People's Republic of China. Parts of the region that had stood under the regime in Lhasa were annexed to Chinese provinces after the incursion of Chinese troops.

Popular Religion

2. In Tibetan popular religion, the objects of worship are regional and local supernatural beings, who dwell, for example, in mountains and stones, trees, rivers, lakes, soil, and the air. For the assurance of material well-being, and in order to ward off dangers, Tibetans ascertain the spirits' influence by → prophecy, and render them benevolent in rituals and sacrifices.

Buddhism

Buddhism was brought to Tibet in two phases—in the seventh to the ninth centuries, and again from the end of the tenth century—and made its way on a broader basis. On the basis of the teachings of Mahayana and the

→ Tantras, schools of an independent Tibetan Buddhism developed, each with its respective particular doctrinal traditions, philosophical systems, practices of meditation, and monasteries. As a result of cultural exchange, the southern regions of the Himalayas, broad parts of Central Asia, and the regions of the Mongols, all exhibit noteworthy Mongolian qualities. Tibet's form of government after the second unfolding of Buddhism can be called theocratic, inasmuch as, along with the landed proprietors, it was monastic hierarchies that exercised political power (→ Lamaism; Theocracy). Beginning in the seventeenth century, the monk who held the highest position of the *Gelugpa*, the → Dalai Lama, was also regarded as the country's political sovereign (although with varying actual political authority).

Bön

Islam and the Bön religion are important minority religions in today's Tibet. Followers of the latter are called Bönpo. In pre-Buddhist times, Bönpo were religious specialists entrusted with caring for the dead in the world to come, through sacrifices, as well as with the state cult. Today, Bönpo designates the followers of a religion that, in parallel with Buddhism, has developed its own philosophy and monastic system. With regard to the central teachings of karma, rebirth, and redemption, the Bönpo are in agreement with the Buddhists. Their sacred texts are partially identical with those of the Buddhists, but apply their own terminology, and are considered to be the teaching of their (not historically identifiable) founding personage, Dönpa Shenrap.

Religious Practice

Both Tibetan Buddhism and Bön have adopted or accepted practices of folk religion. Thus, partially reinterpreted figures of popular religion have been incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon. The divine worlds of the Tibetan Buddhists and the Bönpo are nominally and iconographically distinct, however. Members of religious orders in either religion can be active as ritual specialists, devote themselves to intellectual schooling and the art of debate, and practice exercises of meditation (→ Monasticism). Characteristic of the religious practice of Tibetan laity is the recitation of salvific syllables and expressions (→ Mantra), which they also activate by way of prayer wheels and banners (→ Prayer/Curse). Pilgrimages and the ritual circling of stupas—clockwise by Buddhists clockwise, and counterclockwise by Bönpos—are regarded as meritorious.

Fantasies and Projections

Until well into the twentieth century, Europeans visited this 'land on the roof of the world' only extremely rarely, due to its geographical and political inaccessibility, and the Tibetan government reacted with great disapproval to a colonizing European presence in Asia. In the service of religious and ideological controversies in Europe and North America, Tibet became the place of fantasies both positive and negative. It was then a timeless, concealed garden of wisdom and spirituality, or an example of dark despotism and prison of superstition, or a 'degeneration' of Buddhism. The perception of ancient Tibet was occasionally overlaid with the Tibetan myth of that realm of paradise and peace, *Shambhala*, visualized as an accessible utopia, and premise of clarity of consciousness, to be attained along the path of the spirit. Even the fictitious, hidden valley of Shangri-La, on which James Hilton's fantasy

novel *Lost Horizon* (1933) was founded, now became a long-lived premise for mystifying images of Tibet. The tendency to posit Tibet as an idealized counter-image of one's own experiential world all too often distracts one's view from the real concerns of Tibet and Tibetan religion, even today.

Present Situation

Tibet today is also home to a sizeable number of Chinese immigrants, invited by Beijing in its resettlement policy. The devastation in the wake of the invasion and the Cultural Revolution, created a wave of refugees beginning in 1959, that carried along with it many representatives of the clergy, abandoning their country, whose situation with regard to religion was bleak indeed. Numerous monks and nuns found themselves in political imprisonment, as they had played an important role in the resistance against the Chinese government. Some religious were able to return to the monastery, but access to religious training in Tibet is all but nonexistent. In exile, Tibetan Buddhists, and, to a lesser extent, Bönpo, have built a network of institutions, in order further to hand on the religious culture of Tibet to Tibetans and non-Tibetans alike.

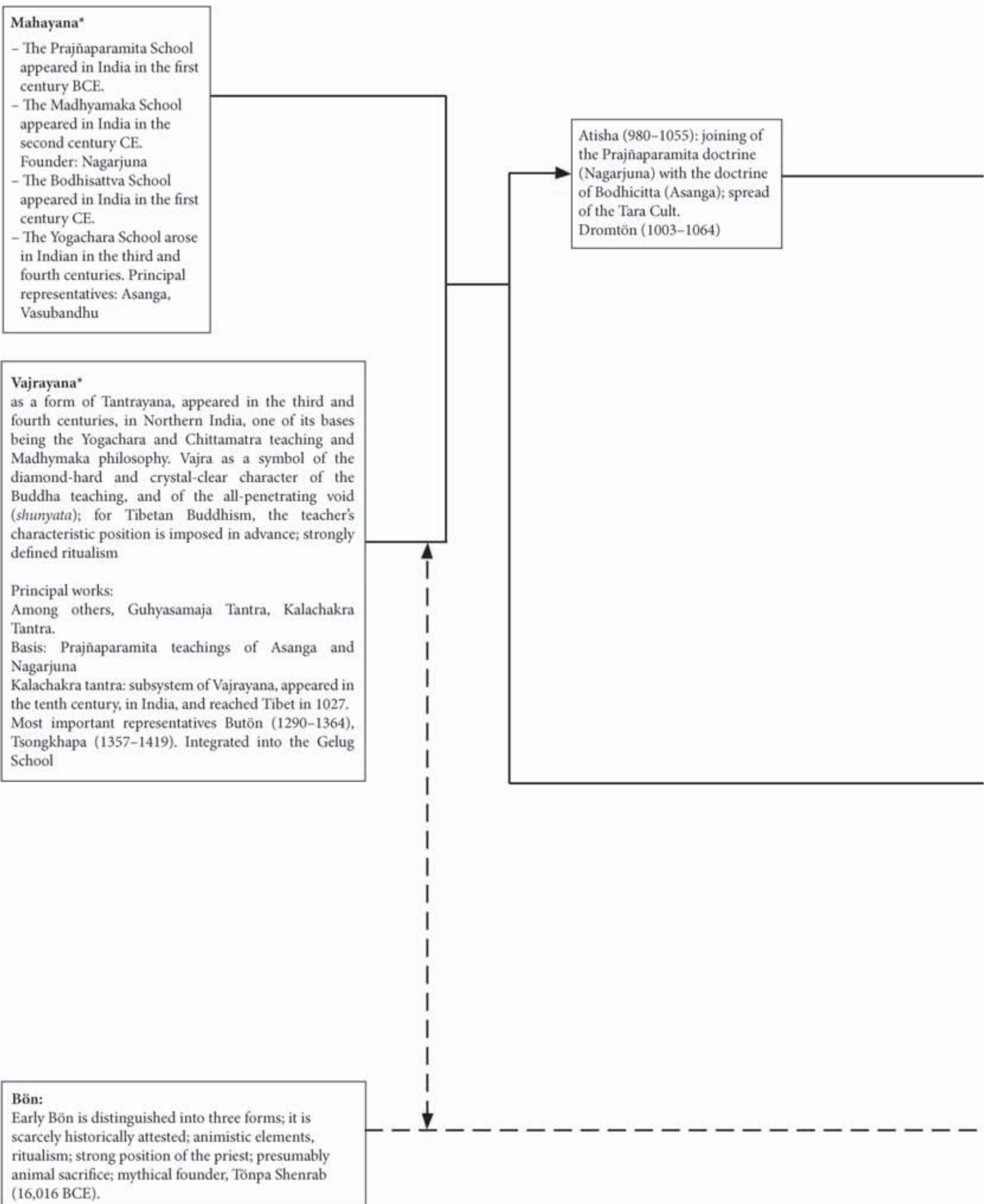
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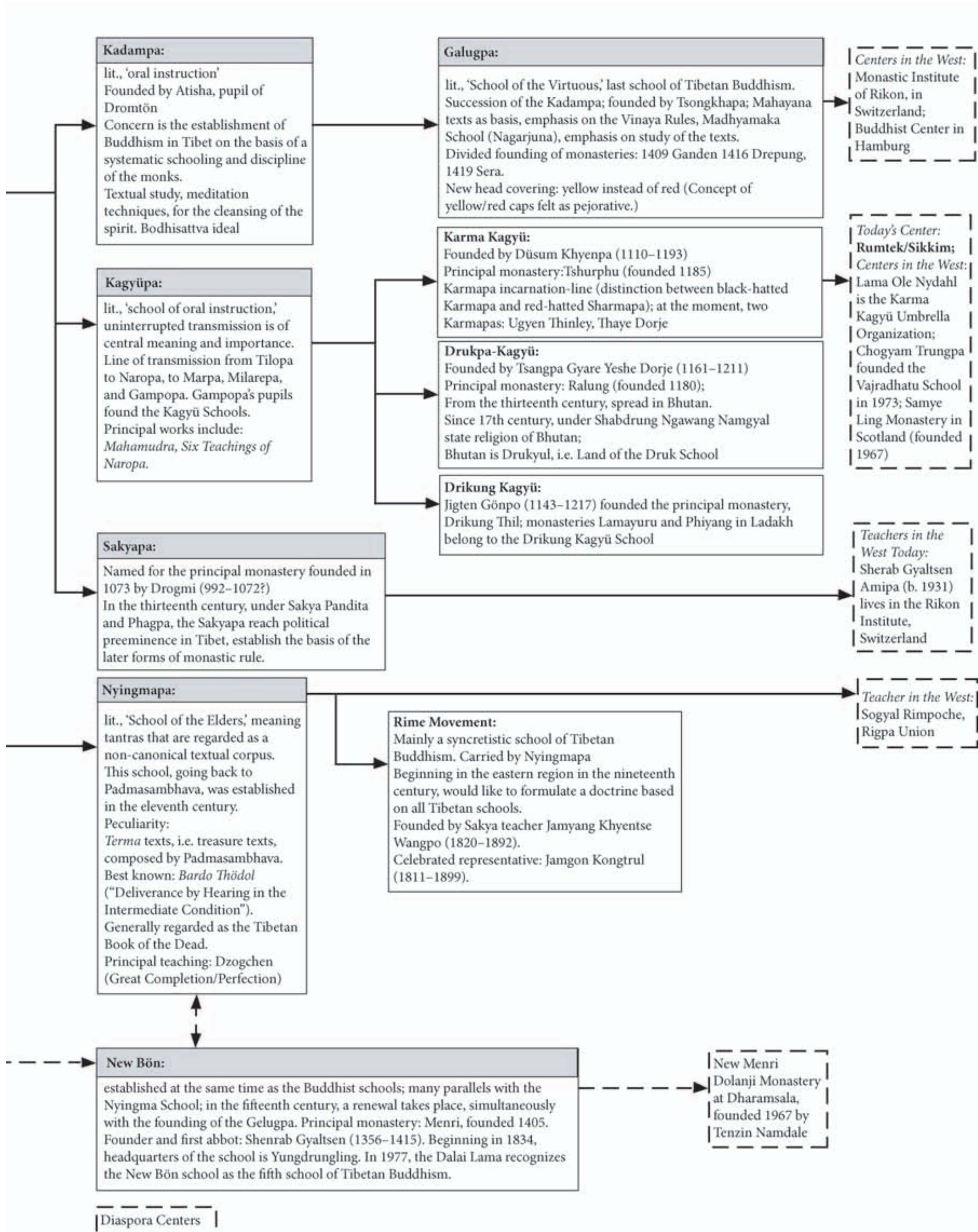
→ *Buddhism, China/Japan/Korea, Dalai Lama, Lamaism, Reception, Reincarnation, Silk Route, Tantra II, Theocracy*

Kirsten Holzapfel

Lines of Tradition in Tibetan Buddhism



* The difference between Mahayana and Vajrayana lies to an extent in the conception of whether enlightenment is possible in a single life. Mahayana accepts this premise, Vajrayana holds it as possible only under certain conditions and extreme discipline with an appropriate teacher. But the shorter the path to enlightenment, that is, to the end of the rebirths, the more complex the doctrine. This practically leads to restrictions, since very few are in a position to arrive at this understanding. Interestingly, Western Buddhists feel especially attracted to precisely this form of Buddhism—in spite of the fact that it adopts an extreme attitude toward the overcoming of the ego, in contradiction to individualistic concepts of the West.



Kadampa:
lit., 'oral instruction'
Founded by Atisha, pupil of Dromtön
Concern is the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet on the basis of a systematic schooling and discipline of the monks.
Textual study, meditation techniques, for the cleansing of the spirit. Bodhisattva ideal
Galugpa:
lit., 'School of the Virtuous,' last school of Tibetan Buddhism.
Succession of the Kadampa; founded by Tsongkhapa; Mahayana texts as basis, emphasis on the Vinaya Rules, Madhyamaka School (Nagarjuna), emphasis on study of the texts.
Divided founding of monasteries: 1409 Ganden 1416 Drepung, 1419 Sera.
New head covering: yellow instead of red (Concept of yellow/red caps felt as pejorative.)
Centers in the West:
Monastic Institute of Rikon, in Switzerland;
Buddhist Center in Hamburg
Kagyüpa:
lit., 'school of oral instruction,' uninterrupted transmission is of central meaning and importance.
Line of transmission from Tilopa to Naropa, to Marpa, Milarepa, and Gampopa. Gampopa's pupils found the Kagyü Schools.
Principal works include:
Mahamudra, Six Teachings of Naropa.
Karma Kagyü:
Founded by Düsum Khyenpa (1110–1193)
Principal monastery:Tshurphu (founded 1185)
Karmapa incarnation-line (distinction between black-hatted Karmapa and red-hatted Sharmapa); at the moment, two Karmapas: Ugyen Thinley, Thaye Dorje
Today's Center:
Rumtek/Sikkim;
Centers in the West:
Lama Ole Nydahl is the Karma Kagyü Umbrella Organization;
Chogyam Trungpa founded the Vajradhatu School in 1973; Samye Ling Monastery in Scotland (founded 1967)
Drukpa-Kagyü:
Founded by Tsangpa Gyare Yeshe Dorje (1161–1211)
Principal monastery: Ralung (founded 1180);
From the thirteenth century, spread in Bhutan.
Since 17th century, under Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal state religion of Bhutan;
Bhutan is Drukyul, i.e. Land of the Druk School
Drikung Kagyü:
Jigten Gönpo (1143–1217) founded the principal monastery, Drikung Thil; monasteries Lamayuru and Phiyang in Ladakh belong to the Drikung Kagyü School
Sakyapa:
Named for the principal monastery founded in 1073 by Drogmi (992–1072?)
In the thirteenth century, under Sakya Pandita and Phagpa, the Sakyapa reach political preeminence in Tibet, establish the basis of the later forms of monastic rule.
Teachers in the West Today:
Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa (b. 1931) lives in the Rikon Institute, Switzerland
Nyingmapa:
lit., 'School of the Elders,' meaning tantras that are regarded as a non-canonical textual corpus.
This school, going back to Padmasambhava, was established in the eleventh century.
Peculiarity:
Terma texts, i.e. treasure texts, composed by Padmasambhava.
Best known: Bardo Thödol ("Deliverance by Hearing in the Intermediate Condition").
Generally regarded as the Tibetan Book of the Dead.
Principal teaching: Dzogchen (Great Completion/Perfection)
Teacher in the West:
Sogyal Rimpoche, Rigpa Union
Rime Movement:
Mainly a syncretistic school of Tibetan Buddhism. Carried by Nyingmapa
Beginning in the eastern region in the nineteenth century, would like to formulate a doctrine based on all Tibetan schools.
Founded by Sakya teacher Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo (1820–1892).
Celebrated representative: Jamgon Kongtrul (1811–1899).
New Bön:
established at the same time as the Buddhist schools; many parallels with the Nyingma School; in the fifteenth century, a renewal takes place, simultaneously with the founding of the Gelugpa. Principal monastery: Menri, founded 1405. Founder and first abbot: Shenrab Gyaltsen (1356–1415). Beginning in 1834, headquarters of the school is Yungdrungling. In 1977, the Dalai Lama recognizes the New Bön school as the fifth school of Tibetan Buddhism.
New Menri Dolanji Monastery at Dharamsala, founded 1967 by Tenzin Namdale
Diaspora Centers

Tibetan Buddhist Lines of Tradition: Explanation of the Schema

Between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, Buddhism was definitively established in Tibet. This involved the formation of the Buddhist traditions of the *Kadam-pa, Kaglyü-pa, Sakya-pa, Nyingma-pa,* and *Gelug-pa,* all of which retain some relevance today.

a) The founding of the Kadam-pa, the 'school of oral instruction,' is ascribed to Atisha and his disciple Dromtön (1003–1064). This school was reformed, in the fourteenth century, by Tsongkhapa, and was absorbed by the Gelug school, founded by him. Atisha, in Tibet, introduced the veneration of bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara (Chenrezig), as well as the Tara cult, and established the Bodhisattva Way as a method for the realization of enlightenment. The altruistic virtues of compassion, and all-embracing love, are central for this Way. Also of great importance and meaning is observance of the Rules of the Order. Monks live in celibacy. Study and meditation count a great deal.

b) The founding of Kagyü-pa, 'School of the Transmitted Commandments,' goes back to tantra master Milarepa (1052–1135), doubtless the most famous saint of Tibet and a disciple of Marpa. Characteristic of the Kagyü tradition is the doctrine of the *mahamudra,* the 'Great Seal.' The most important exercise is the meditation called the 'restful lingering,' that is to lead to the knowledge of *shunyata,* the all-penetrating 'emptiness.' The interiorization of the 'four noble truths' and the spiritual cleansing of body and soul prepare the practitioner for the knowledge of the absolute vacuity of all phenomena. The Kagüpa have their ancestral seat in the monastery of Tshurphu, founded in 1189.

c) The Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism is named for its principal monastery, Sakya, founded in 1073. The monks of this tradition are subject neither to celibacy nor to an obligation of residence in a monastery. Meditations, especially on transiency, the realization of all-penetrating compassion, as well as indifference and the knowledge of *shunyata,* belong to the core points of this school. In the thirteenth century, the Sakyapa reached the high point of their political power, after the Mongol ruler Godan had installed the abbot Sakya Pandita (1182–1251) as regent of Tibet. Investiture with economic and legal privileges formed the basis of the monastery's political power. Until the overthrow of the Mongol rulers in China in 1368, the political unification of Tibet prevailed under the rule of the Sakyapa.

d) In their doctrinal structure, the Nyingma-pa, the 'School of the Elders,' are descended from Padmasambhava, and represent the first expansion of Buddhism in Tibet. But they formed as an independent and closed tradition within Tibetan Buddhism only in the wake of the formation of the other schools. In Padmasambhava, its followers see an incarnation of Avalokiteshvara, the bodhisattva of infinite compassion. The Nyingma-pa stress that the relationship between teacher and disciple is of key importance for the upholding of the chain of tradition, and for the guarantee of the authenticity of teaching. In this connection, the *Terma* texts play an important role—religious texts hidden in secret places, to be discovered at a given time by suitable persons and made accessible. A famous example of these treasure-texts is the "Tibetan Book of the Dead," the *Bardo-Thödol.*

e) Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), the great restorer of Tibet's clerical structure, belonged at first to the Kadam line of tradition, but then founded the School of the Gelug-pa, the 'virtuous,' by renewing the discipline of the order. He integrated the teaching of Indian scholars Nagarjuna and

Asanga into his Way: that of the 'steps to enlightenment' (*lamrim*). The point of departure for this doctrine is that human existence is the favorable form of being for the attainment of enlightenment. The exercises of the Way of the Steps include both corporeal and meditative schooling, and join body, speech, and mind to the process of redemption. For this school, as well, the proper goal is the redemption not of the individual, but of all living beings.

Tsongkhapa introduced the Monlam Chenmo, the great prayer festival, in the first month of the Tibetan calendar. Symbolically, this feast represents Tibet's symbolic surrender to Buddhism. Tsongkhapa initiated numerous monastic foundations, including Ganden (1409), Drepung (1416), and Sera (1418). With his disciple Gendün Drub, superior of the Gelug-pa and founder of the monastery of Tashilhunpo, began the chain of reincarnations at whose end, for the time being, stands the fourteenth Dalai Lama. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the support of the Mongol khan, the Gelug-pa established not only their spiritual, but also their political predominance in Tibet. Altan Khan, converted to Buddhism by Sonam Gyatso, emerged as patronal lord of the Gelug-pa, and in 1578, conferred on its superior the title of *Dalai Lama* ('Ocean of Wisdom'). The fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, extended the political power of the Gelug-pa throughout Tibet. At the same time, he ended the power of the other schools of Tibetan Buddhism, but not without extensive integration of their teachings into the doctrinal structure of the Gelug-pa.

f) Today, a distinction is made between the older forms of the Bön religion and the tradition of the New Bön, which was established, in the eleventh century, in parallel with the founding of the Buddhist Order. To this day, little is known of the origin or content of the archaic Bön. The reputed founder of the Bön religion is called Tönpa Shenrab, whose birth is dated in the mythic year of 16016 BCE. The school of the New Bön evinces many parallels to the Nyingma tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. In the fifteenth century CE, the New Bön executed a kind of restructuring of the organization of the Order. The founder and first abbot of the Menri monastery (founded 1405) was Shenrab Gyaltsen, Tsongkhapa's contemporary. In 1834, the center of the Bön School moved to the newly founded monastery of Yungdrungling. The abbot there is the elected superior of the Bön-pa.

g) After the flight (1959) of the fourteenth Dalai Lama, many Tibetans left their homeland, including many high 'clergy,' to settle in exile in India, Europe, or the United States. By way of their new centers, founded there, Tibetan Buddhism is becoming known in the West. With the wave of support for Tibetans' political concerns, interest in the Tibetan form of Buddhism has increased as well. Recognized teachers such as Chögyam Trungpa (Karma-Kagyü; 1939–1987), Sogyal Rimpoche (Nyingma; founder of the syncretistic Rigpa Union), Dudjom Rimpoche (Nyingma; 1904–1987), or Namkhai Norbu (Nyingma; *Rime* movement; born 1938), have founded Buddhist schools, and created learning traditions, that seek to develop a form of Vajrayana Buddhism tailored to Western conditions. Western teachers also follow the Tibetan tradition, and themselves found centers (in which doctrinal authenticity is not always preserved, however). The Hamburg Buddhist Center, under the leadership of Geshe Thubten Ngawang (b. 1931), as well as the Monastic Tibet Institute, under Geshe Ugyen Phulotshang (b. 1914), in Rikon, near Zurich (founded 1968), are two of the important Gelug monasteries in Europe.

Stephanie Lovász

Time

A Primary Category

1. Like space, time belongs to the primary categories of human perception and human construction of the world. There is no priority between the two. Time is repeatedly described in metaphors of space (length of time, axis of time), concrete space, at the same time by movements, and therefore by time (three-day trip, or three light-years away). Time appears as a fixed property of the world—unchangeable, encompassing, and subjecting everything to temporalization. Acts and events can be described as occurring 'before' or 'after,' and thus ascribe → meaning to fortuitous co-incidences; *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* (Lat. "After this, therefore because of this"). Particular experiences and the social construction of time emerge in truly manifold guise: duration is experienced differently from the succession of a series, and concentration on the present is distinct from the fixation of a point in time, which slips out of the future, through the present, into the past. The same unit of time can be perceived as different periods, the same rhythms as distinct tempi. Although theoretical approaches exist that assume different forms of time, it seems more sensible to start from a unitary concept of time, and precisely thus to attempt to describe the different time forms as individual, area-specific, or cultural differences.

The Social Character of Time

2. Time is fundamentally *socially structured* time. Even where it is experienced as abstract physical (chronographs), or concrete natural (phases of the moon, 'day' from sunrise to sunset) time, the latter is always a matter of historically emerging symbolic structures of meaning. This contingency is concealed by the metaphors of 'measurement': one proceeds from the fiction that what is (ever more precisely) determined is only that which is naturally given. The successive refinements of the measurement of time make possible a precise determination of the internal concatenation of the acts of all persons and things involved, but make the 'time-screen' that much less available to individuals or groups.

The assumption of a social construction of time does not militate against the existence of certain constants in the human, or even animal, perception of time, as indicated by psychological or chrono-biological investigation: the minimal duration of perceptible stimuli ('absolute time-threshold'), as well as the minimal interval of stimuli whose sequence is correctly determined ('judgment of succession'), both in the range of milliseconds; the period still perceived precisely as a unitary moment ('present time'), in the range of a few seconds; finally, physiological phases repeated, for example, every twenty-four hours ('circadian'). An absolute 'biological clock' that uses the counting-off of regular neuronal occurrences as absolute standard of the sensation of duration (and of the control of biorhythms), has not been identified. On the other hand, 'free-running' rhythms are characteristic, as, for example, the average twenty-five-hour (with a large margin of variability) human rhythm of waking and sleeping. (By way of signals natural and social—sun, alarm clock—this rhythm is then coordinated with social time, ultimately to reveal its periodicity only in sleep-experimentation.) Social time may succeed in supplying life with a rhythm, however imperfect that success: the night manager is an individual deviant, yet even different groups may use different social time-rhythms in the same world of living. For example, Jews in the Roman Empire had to be allowed special rules

when donations of wheat fell on Sabbath. The orienting capacity of societal constructions of time is not to be underestimated, however. Linguistic metaphors make time into a grammatical subject ("It's time," "The time is coming," "Time heals all wounds"). They also ascribe 'dominion' over time to high gods—indeed, identify time with the divine—which indicates the perceived dominion of time itself. Indeed, time flows so inexorably that, precisely because it does, it can appear as a severe God. Only highest gods can, by way of exception, interrupt the normal course of time or promise it as time 'devoutly to be wished,' outside (before, after, beyond) our world of experience, as a state of salvation (→ Eternity; Immortality).

The Time of the World: Cosmos and History

3. *World time*: The multiplicity of the constructions of time, of such varying breadths, can be ordered to two poles. The first deals with constructions of time that embrace 'the whole' of → history, and seek the boundaries of time. The second concerns time-constructions that serve the coordination of activity in the social setting.

a) *Cosmological time* maintains the possibility of fundamental changes. The world was not as it is, nor as it is will it be. The questions arising with time-models of this particular breadth reach to a beginning (cosmogony) and end (eschatology, → End/Eschaton). Accordingly, these questions also regard whether time exists beyond these temporal limits, what meaning the time in between has, such as → progress, → teleology, or decadence, and whether, within this horizon, time runs continuously or leaps. Under the scholarly cloak of complicated calculations and epochs of inconceivable length, the → specialists in cosmological time practice a critique of the present and a prognosis of the future: for example, "The 'Golden Age' lies behind us and before. Knowledge thereof is secret, and a mystery." Thus the unproductive 'work' of the knowing is legitimated.

Linear/Cyclical

b) From the viewpoint of the history of religion, an interesting observation is to be made in this discourse, and in its systematization of cultural history. Images of 'foreign' conceptualizations of time, generated by a nimble selection of sources, themselves serve polemical goals. An opposition has been posited between (1) the *linear* conception of time, of the Judeo-Christian tradition, with its direction toward progress and thereby, ultimately modernity, and (2) a *cyclical* conception of a time ever and again returning to its 'origin,' and thereby ultimately emptying history and the effort of historical act of all value. The latter conception of development can be seen to be one hostile to history, and shaped by antiquity (and present also in the European Renaissance), such as by the culture of India. Nietzsche sketched out this opposition polemically, against a bourgeois Christian notion of progress. Thus, in this sketch, he appeals to antiquity. The opposition becomes a commonplace of anthropology and cultural comparison, praising the primitive and the original, and reviling the modern, as in the work of scholar of religion Mircea → Eliade. Now the antinomy is the prisoner of asymmetrical description. There are recurring routines and rhythms, from time-constructions of recent social history, which are under obligation to attempt to reproduce any current society. These routines and rhythms return even in the 'leveled-out' societies of the cosmological time-models, in the long-term perspectives entertained by these latter. Here as well, they are invested with the constraint to reproduce their respective societies. On the other hand, periodical elements of cosmological sketches are frequently

plucked from complex contexts: the ancient Stoic notion that the world 'burns up' at regular intervals (*ekpyrosis*) and emerges anew, does not rule out the possibility that, within a world age, progress appears (the world can grow better and older). Neither does it mean the return of the same, if time is seen as repetition of worsening world ages. If time continues 'running' as the world repeatedly ends, then a mere position in time guarantees an adequate difference between world ages.

God's Timelessness and Human Time

c) A question repeatedly arising in cosmological sketches of time is the problem of the beginning of time, or: Before the beginning, was there nothing ('creation out of nothing')? If God is continuously timeless, and releases human beings into materially determined time, then creation turns out to be a state of deficiency, which is possibly transitory, and can be defeated by leaps between the levels. The possibility of divine prescience arises, just as does the coordination of individual (over the course of history) and collective eschatological time. The latter then includes the 'before' of the departed as well. Contrariwise, Hindu and Buddhist concepts, which lay stress on individual suffering in temporality, usually reject the notion of a ('secondary') beginning of time.

d) For the development of the conceptualization of time in Europe, the relatively brief chronology of world history became important. The latter was developed in ancient Christian historiography, from the third century onward, and adopted the six (thousand-year) days of the world—that rest on Jewish speculations on the chronology of world history—before God and his people can celebrate the world Sabbath. Competing chronologies and doctrines of the world ages (such as the *saecula* of the Etruscans and the Romans), likewise produce a brief chronology—perhaps typical of city-states' limited universalistic need for legitimization. Here is a picture altogether opposite from that of the tremendous numbers of the Indian cycles that leave room for highly complicated sequences of rebirths (→ Reincarnation). This sort of short projection screen managed to deliver simpler stopping places for movements of a millenarian character. It must be emphasized, however: → Millenarianism does not stop at an even thousand, and still less for a hundredth anniversary, but, instead, designates the present as the immediate prelude to the eschaton ("It's five to twelve"). The radical New Time can produce the New Person. Cosmological time, then, no longer offers a (remote) horizon of the justification of everyday constructions of time, but legitimizes their radical critique. Thus it is not so much a question of consolidating trans-cultural differences in the identification of fundamentally diverse models of time. Instead, it is a matter of the 'historicizing' question of the presence and function of determinate cosmological conceptualizations of time, in their respective 'presents.'

Conceptualizations of Time in the Social Environment

4. *Current time and calendar*: Time is doubtless the most important *tool of coordination* in the social environment. Pocket calendars, watches, travel plans, office plans, and time plans determine the daily life of industrialized societies. Clocks are visible everywhere, and even children have to know how to read them. The coordinating service of these tools is a double one, then: they concentrate persons in the same place, or at least in the same activity, or else they divide them up, in order to avoid lumping and queuing. Again, 'time slips' allow work time to be calculated, unless it is not the same for everyone in a group. Independently of societal distribution and technical

precision, clocks and → calendars are instruments for drawing up records and schedules. Thereby they offer orientation for activities. Even if the year is marked by an abundance of annual (or even more frequent) events, it thereby offers few points of reference that are unambiguous and foreseeable. Only societal convention creates a sufficient number of this sort of points of relation for the structuring of the activity of the entire society, or of individual segments.

Week and Month

a) *The week and the month* are among the most effective constructions of time. Weeks usually run from four to ten days, and are structured by boundary days. Regionally: the local border days are preferably scheduled on different days, and thereby coordinated. Weeks themselves permit a comparatively high frequency of common activity outside the family. The importance that the weekly assembly of religious communities has gained, in post-classical Judaism, in Christianity, and then in Islam, is altogether atypical, and a theoretical norm rather than a social reality even for the religions cited (→ Sunday/Sabbath). Nevertheless, alternatives were unsuccessful, such as Stalin's short-lived five-day week in the 1930s—offering, as it did, no common weekly holiday, and merely retaining individual days of rest. By way of complement, a monthly rhythm enters the scene, especially where weeks run unevenly, and thus need to be coordinated with the month. The latter was the case in ancient Greece, as in the French Revolutionary calendar, with their ten-day weeks. Even in more complex societies, many economic, judicial, political, and societal, as well as religious routines, can develop in monthly periods (tax due dates, judicial and session days, organizational meetings, full-moon and/or new-moon celebrations). The discrepancy of mensual lengths in the Julian and Gregorian calendars, as such, were no problem, since they were predictable. Only the growing calculability of economic time-units, in the absence of a commensurability of the lengths of the month (and of the quarter), ushered in problems (e.g., coordination of the thirty-day tax month with the actual calendar month), and these repeatedly sparked projects of calendar reform. True, in the popular understanding (weather forecasting, rules for marriage), and graphic illustration, individual months acquire individuality. Nevertheless, the religious qualification of entire months is rather rare (the Islamic fasting month of → Ramadan, the—liturgically sparsely marked—Marian month of May).

Year

b) The *year* gathers larger social units into → feasts or festivals, these being celebrated either at one central location or simultaneously in all places. The year is simply calculated by the rhythm of weeks or months, or else is promptly 'evoked' after the appearance of the first blossoms. More or less complicated festival calendars are a typical form of temporal organization in the religions. In their function of conferral of identity, they are much adopted by the national states, and re-shaped. The style and expenditure of coordination, here, is clearly higher than in the more important weekly rhythms. Easter letters, festal proclamations, printed calendars, and lists of feast days are necessary for the coming year. For periodicities of more than one year, the ancient Olympiads, revived in 1896, constitute the most familiar example (→ Olympic Games). The Holy Years of the Roman Catholic Church are celebrated in counted years (in periods meanwhile shortened to twenty five years); there is, however, a growing tendency, with this sort of infrequently celebrated grand event, to supplement or replace fixed rhythms

by setting dates according to social need (a new government, for example).

c) The establishment of the societal time-premises rests on their attractiveness as generally familiar for planning activities, but, in individual cases, also for the maintenance of sanctions and police supervision. The establishment of time-constructions is also a question of power. Political and economic powers compel timely behavior even against the particular interests of the individual. It is typical of the highly differentiated modern → industrial societies that the partial systems gradually develop their own calendars, established in respective organizations. The task of coordination falls to the individual. The clear marks placed on the days of the (religious) week that characterize early and high European industrialization seem to represent rather a transitory phase: now the religious ethics of time that defines Sunday as a day of rest from labor is being successfully reversed—six full workdays—and utilized for economic purposes. But there is longer-lasting interest in abstract conceptions of time, whose units of time stand open to qualification in terms of the system (opening day, delivery date), and demonstrate no progressive qualifications (festival day, rest period, bad-luck day).

Hours

d) A high density of interaction in organizations calls for a temporal precision that the calendar no longer provides. *Clocks* have been familiar since ancient times, but frequently could reveal only short periods (hourglasses), or lead to dissimilar units (sundials). The driving force behind the massive spread of mechanical miniaturized clocks, even of clocks that can be held in the hand, is economic need for measurable work time. In late antiquity, the powerful introduction of rhythm in a total organization like the Christian monastery was able to do without such devices. Nevertheless, the multiplication of the clock shows how the prestige value of technology can outrun massive economic need. Neither the precision of the late-medieval tower clocks, nor of today's pocket chronometer, was 'necessary.'

Life Cycle and 'Crises'

5. Time and religion: The orientation of religious systems is typically played out primarily on the level of cosmological time. For individuals, the concrete link with this super-ordinated level comes by way of rituals of the → life cycle. These acquire their permanent characteristics by temporal placement or analogy-formation. Besides, for individual problematic situations, techniques of → divination are available, often concentrated on the problem of timing: when do I make the trip, marry, or lay the foundation? (Geomancy, the question of whether the location is appropriate, on the other hand, is less common.)

Usage of Time

Faced with competing systems, the individual must come to grips with the problem of the brevity of time, and of an ethics of usage of time. In a rigoristic phase of industrial capitalism, this demand led to a dominant position of the area of economics, legitimized by religion. Activity without profit was a waste of time. This core element of the Weberian thesis of the connection between Protestantism and Western modernity is extended in individual micro-economic theories (→ Economy; Money): "Time is money." The 'leisure time,' as well, is calculated as lost profits. But this rigoristic economic option (just as a rigoristic religious concentration of all time on religious activities) is not actually available for many: Work for profit is not unlimited, or freely available. Further, consumption is replaceable by consumer goods only to a

very limited extent: Prosperity in terms of time also becomes an important concept in new economic outlines.

On the other hand, substituting time with time is more plausible. Delaying the payment of a loan by way of an indefinite post-mortem grace period is a common religious approach. By way of a limited life (death), the brevity of time conditioned by 'responsibilities' (in turn conditioned by the brevity) is compensated by an open-ended promise. True, 'time off,' and 'extra time' of old age, broaden the opportunities for the activities of this life, so that this form of compensation loses its attraction. This schedule, however, raises the problem of contingency again—death immediately before retirement—and thus a specific area of religious competence. Characteristically, religions provide claims of orientation beyond their own partial systems and consequently focus more on the temporal structures of their members than on the time budget allotted to the religions themselves. From an organizational point of view, this problem can be compensated only through full-time religious specialists, i.e. through a division of labor.

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→ *Astrology, Economy, Feasts and Celebrations, History, Calendar, Sunday/Sabbath*

Jörg Rüpke

Tolerance

A Commandment of Peace

1. Tolerance means the 'enduring,' 'bearing,' or (colloquially) 'standing' or 'putting up with' the views, lifestyles, goals, interests, and so forth, of others, which do not conform to one's own positions, or that, indeed, contradict them. Socially, or societally, an obligatory organization, like a political state, which possesses the corresponding (or necessary) means of power to impose its position, can accord 'tolerance' to deviant groups, minorities and individuals. However, material and ideal grounds may advise a majority to tolerate deviating notions. The principle of tolerance is also suggested by the insight that persons can err, and that therefore other ideas are to be tolerated. There has been, and still is, intolerance in all areas of human life. The idea of tolerance has developed in Europe particularly in religious questions

since the wars of religion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Christian revelation could be made obligatory only for its believers, while faith can be "no object of compulsory laws" (Religious Edict of Wöllner, 1788). Thus, in the modern age, the attempt has been undertaken to make obligatory for all only the conceptualizations established by scientific means, that in principle can be accepted by every qualified agent of the corresponding domain. This standard is based on the presumption that the human being is an insightful being, endowed with reason. Discoveries by modern psychology, especially by → psychoanalysis, that views a human being as essentially determined by drives, admit of considerable doubt with respect to this premise. However, particularly the social sciences, which are responsible for questions of social and individual relations, do not agree in these issues. The result is that they cannot rise to the measure of the hopes reposed in them, so that they could have made their findings the basis of decisions binding for all. In the modern age, what cannot be scientifically proved is declared a private matter. Other views, then, must be tolerated. Only the essentials that underlie these sciences are excepted, while their findings pertaining to value, for example in the constitutions, are withdrawn from alteration even by majority decision. As a rule, these essentials are legitimized by the fact that, without them, even a peaceful coexistence is impossible. Of course, here a distinction must be made between external actions and internal judgments. As a rule, deviant views on these fundamentals are tolerated, provided that they do not lead to concrete actions. Since the → Enlightenment, the fostering and maintenance of tolerance has been regarded as a duty of the state. The foundations of tolerance were the ideas of → human rights. These ideas go back to Christian and Western culture and tradition, and have for some time been regarded as unique. Hence the demand for tolerating such positions, which themselves remove the foundation of tolerance. This conundrum became clear in the discussion on the justification of violence, in which freedom from violence as a presupposition of tolerance finds itself implicitly canceled, and to tolerate force, under the name of revolution, is justified. Here the question of the limits of tolerance is posed. Can a position that is itself intolerant be tolerated in the public sector—and if so, to what degree? Today, no voluntary community (such as a religious, a political, or a sports community) must be based on tolerance, since a resignation from that community is possible at any time.

Subject of Tolerance

2. Religious tolerance is allowed by a state, or by a dominant religion allied in some way with the state, to other religions, or to deviant views in the main religion. It must be clearly distinguished from → freedom of religion, which is a fundamental right of all human beings. Religious freedom presupposes that at least two religions, or two different concepts of one religion standing in mutual contradiction, exist in one society at the same time, and that this divergence leads to conflict. Thus, the question of a religious tolerance arises in societies that host a variety of religious notions, cultural contact, missionary activity, and so on, with each of these factors developing in its own way. These societies will then be confronted with mutually incompatible, and conflicting, convictions of faith and belief, along with mutually irreconcilable sacred acts. In tribal societies, as a rule, culture and religion are very closely connected. Thus, the problem of religious tolerance is rarely posed there. Furthermore, as also in segmented societies, these conflicts can

be circumvented by separating them (Sigrist 1967). Deviating doctrines and behaviors become a problem only in despotic societies, when the solidarity of the community, order, or government is called into question. When a number of such cultural communities come together, and create a unitary product, or are brought together by a military defeat, the problem arises as to whether, and to what extent, the different parts can be brought together. Accordingly, tolerance can also be regarded as a compromise among conflicting positions. Furthermore, all religions give different answers to the questions: How should I live, what may I do and what not, in order to partake in a promised salvation? On the basis of different religious views, therefore, history displays a plethora of wars and militant confrontations. Contrary to the commonly expressed opinion, religions *per se* are neither pacific nor tolerant. Rather, tolerance has had to be wrested from them. The only exceptions are communities that withdraw from society and renounce a societal structure. It is observable, of course, that the foundation of tolerance has emerged from confrontations within religions. With the privatization of religion, religion today could become an instance of the proclamation of tolerance.

Historical Forms

2. Different forms of tolerance have developed in the history of religions. In the ancient *Roman Empire*, with some exceptions, deviant religious notions and cults were tolerated—as long as the cult of the Emperor, the symbol of Roman rule, was recognized. *Christianity*, from the time of its installation as state religion at least until the Reformation, inclined rather to religious intolerance. ("Error has no rights.") Apart from certain intolerant phases, *Islam* granted the members of the scriptural religions, as a rule, tolerance. Ever since the experiences of the division of India and Pakistan and the subsequent militant conflicts between Hindus and Muslims (destruction of the mosque in Ayodhya, December 6, 1992; see Hacker 1957), the tolerance formerly attributed to the *Indian religions* is evidently a misunderstanding. Only those religious concepts were indulged that could be integrated into the Dharma and the Karma system. Hacker, then, speaks of 'inclusivism.' *Buddhism*, as well, which explicitly teaches tolerance, has been unable to prevent intolerant phases in its history, as one sees currently in the civil wars in Sri Lanka and the reaction to them by numerous Buddhists.

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→ *Conflict/Violence, Freedom of Religion, Heresy, Peace, Pluralism, Religion, Sect, Witch/ Persecution of Witches*

Hartmut Zinser

Tourism

"The Tourist Way of Knowledge"

1. "The Tourist Way of Knowledge" was a performance by David Byrne in the Public Theater in New York at the beginning of the 1980s. Taking the denotations of the title, we seem to see something like the hero of old, the seeker of knowledge and new impressions. These 'heroes,' however, carry their limited, limitable knowledge along with them, within their own limits, everywhere they go, all of it available on the inside of their own limitations. They are not requited with knowledge and wisdom, then, as the ancient proclamations teach (→ Daoism; Martial Arts; Zen Buddhism), but with their own projective corroboration of the exotic. Tourists are the 'ignorant abroad.' They journey through the imaginary geography of their own day-dreams (collectively or privately arisen), and their route to thinking, seeing, discovering, and feeling is walled in by their personal world, by the perceptual reality of their 'homeland'—to which, in their far-off adventures, they always take their ultimate orientation.

Rise of Tourism

2. Travel as an end in itself is attested in ancient times, this is true. We need only recall Pausanias and his Greek travel guide of the second century CE. In modern times, however, it was unknown until well into the eighteenth century. One traveled if it was necessary. Travelers were soldiers, statesmen, criminals, couriers, and merchants. In early Hebrew, the word for traveler and merchant is the same (Heb., *rokhel*). Mountain climbers must be accorded a key role in the history of tourism. In the forefront here are the English founders of Alpinism. In 1857, the Alpine Club was founded in London as the first association of mountain climbers. The Alpine movement defines what tourism is all about. Its trade names, still claimed by all tourists today, are 'Adventurous,' 'Elementary,' 'Untouched.' (Mountain) tourists seek, and yearn for, the blessing of freedom—but also the satisfaction of their curiosity. The two ends of the parable of experience mark (1) Petrarch's ascent of Mount Ventoux in 1336, with Augustine's *Confessions*, and their hymn of creation, in his pack (→ Landscape), and (2) today's extreme sportsman à la Reinhold Messner, the one who looks for borderline experiences, and shocks of self-discovery.

3. a) The rising tempo of tourism is caught and 'notched' by Hans Magnus Enzenberger, in three categories, of which each is indispensable for the development of an industry in the grand style: *Normung, Montage, Serienfertigung* (Ger., 'standardization, assemblage, series-manufacture'). With the concept of 'worth seeing'—a 'sight' in the touristic sense—an element of the journey becomes fundamental and 'normed,' like the trip-leader's 'course book.' The invention of the latter goes back to the year 1836, the year of the appearance of John Murray's *Red Book*, which makes a list of 'the things worth seeing,' or 'sights,' selecting them from Holland, Belgium, and Rhineland. "The sight is not only worthy of visitation; it demands it peremptorily."[1] Tourists perform their duty in order to give their journey a meaning.



The strange and foreign evokes our 'hunger for looking,' especially when its guise is as picturesque as the bathing and burning places of the banks of the Ganges (→ Benares), with their entries down to the water. The boat trip past the eighty-four *ghats*, part of the tourist's compulsory program, furnishes an ideal glimpse into the unfamiliar cultic practice. As far as the view from the Holy City is concerned, it is indeed permitted for Western travelers to enjoy the lovely view from one side of the city unhindered. The uncomfortable part begins when onlookers must 'stay outside' and not be integrated into the sacred cult. Especially in the case of an intimate act like the ritual bath in the River, they get into the position, willy-nilly, of voyeur-like 'peeking,' and of 'eying' believers as if they were fish in an aquarium. Still, with their tense attitude, tourists betray the fact that they have taken to heart the prohibition of photography. The perspective from the boat, by the way, is also adopted by pilgrims who abridge their lengthy routes to remote sites of religious reverence, in such a way as to be able to fulfill their ritual obligations from the water. (Hubert Mohr)

Touristic sightseeing, here, runs the risk of competing with the practice of religious cult, and with a sacred power of signification. Cultic construction such as Saint Peter's Basilica and the Sistine Chapel in Rome, Notre Dame in Paris, or the Cologne Cathedral become extensively invested with the tone of a museum, travel groups outweigh groups of pilgrims, the perspective of art history or even of art religion dares to tread on intimate sectors, or sacred, banned areas such as the sanctuary of the altar (→ Art Religion; Museum). Sights are still only buildings. Especially in bus tourism, competition prevails between stable and mobile architecture. The mobile architecture of modern tour buses is dedicated to the purpose, outfitted as it is with movie seating, air conditioning, a kitchen, with full-circle glass all around, to show and reach as many 'sights' as possible. By way of the *assemblage* of sights for the prepared trip, these 'sights' can be specifically marketed. Wholesale tourists obtain the 'sights' strung on a line, and they can uncoil them without any inconvenience. Like any consumer goods, the trip or journey must be set up in long series. In 1845, Thomas Cook organized the first 'club' trip. Mass tourism had been born.

b) Even modern individual tourism no longer changes this. The normative touristic destinations no longer need be equipped and set in a series. They are ubiquitous. The holy mount in the Himalayas and the Greek procession of the Saints, together with the 'hip' *Kaphenion* that still sent the 'dropout generation' of the 1960s and 1970s scurrying about after secret tips, are discovered today when the tourist finds them in illustrated travel guides, or newspaper travel-supplements, and all of the other tourists come running to peek. Enzensberger, in this connection, decries the 'denunciation of tourism.' Indeed, the detractors are frequently concerned with the maintenance of their privileged position, the retention of the exclusive trip, without the cheap 'tourist crowd'—tourists are still always 'the others.'

Authenticity Claims and Commodification

The touristic self-disavowal, however, is a self-deception. The attempt to preserve the 'untouched adventure of freedom' ends in the destruction of the object. The untouched elementary—the traditional feast, the 'hearty hospitality,' the once-in-a-lifetime experience of this landscape, the 'authentic' tribal rites—become present only through contact. Thereby the 'untouched



Shiva is the great god of Hindu ascetics. By way of the most strenuous practices, performed in the heights of the Himalayas, he inherits the power to destroy the universe—and the unknowing that blocks the route to salvation. Lord of the peaks, he is also accounted the guardian of a hotel proprietor and her establishment in Gandhruk, a resting place for wagon pullers in the mountains of central Nepal. Accordingly, she reverences him by way of a poster on the wall of her Shiva Hotel—a usage occurring in Hindu lands, to the honor of various deities, on the walls of houses, shops, and factories (Lakshmi, goddess of fortune and prosperity; Ganesha, remover of all obstacles). The lady also knows, however, that the colorful world of the gods will not fail to leave its impression on her principal clientele, Western mountain-climbers with spiritual inclinations. (S. Stapelfeldt)

elementary' is annihilated as well. "The disappearance of the uniqueness of places through their constant technological accessibility, can be interpreted by comparison with the loss of the aura of a work of art through technological reproduction."[2] Aspirants also reach a dead end when they go to distant lands for a discovery of self, or to the consumption of intoxicating drugs by the Kabul-Katmandu connection in the 1960s and 1970s, or as with the disciples of Maria Sabina or Carlos Castaneda in Mexico. Foreign cults and cultures all too often serve only as material for filling up the modern, individual emptiness of a society of superfluities. Marlboro has bought up the freedom of adventure, however. And even the hole in your shoe is no longer a lacuna in the market. In ever-new attempts, tourism, embittered, struggles to escape the cycles of freedom, and destruction of the same things, of foreign experience and self-projection, of pretension to authenticity and marketability, change of scenery, which are its law of life. And time and again, it fails.

Tourism in Numerical Figures

c) International tourism today is a billion-dollar business. In 1961, the outlay was 6.8 billion dollars; by 1985, it had risen to 10.5 billion. These figures can be concretized in the storm to the Alps. In 1871, the first cog-rail track was built, at Rigi, and transported 70,000 persons in its second year of operation. By 1816, only three hundred persons had climbed this mountain. In the 1980s, Switzerland had a good 1,700 cable and elevator installations, with a capacity of around some 1.1 million persons—per hour! The harm done to nature is immense. Ski slopes need 24,000 hectares of land. That is as much as taken up by the Canton's railroad. Every second, another square meter is built up in Switzerland. "The danger of tourism's self-destruction is not empty chatter, but an altogether real process—although one transpiring by steps and often unnoticeably."[3]

Pilgrim Tourism

4. Worldwide, some one-third of all tourists travel for religious or spiritual reasons. 'Spiritual tourists' usually go it alone, with a backpack, and into

remote areas of India, where they are already awaited by 'shamans,' or to places of power and cult like Stonehenge or → Machu Picchu. Rituals can be 'co-booked.' Pilgrims move in groups, as they always have. Twenty million Muslims alone start out for Mecca; Saint Peter's Basilica in → Rome sees six million tourists a year (in the Holy Year 2000, ten to twenty million pilgrims visited Rome); eleven million pilgrimage to Lourdes. All in all, around 300 million pilgrims are on the road in Europe each year. In order to channel these travel currents and skim off a yield most profitably, specialized travel agencies have been formed for pilgrim tourism. All important pilgrimage destinations are made accessible. The pilgrimage bureaus woo even those who go to Thailand, or India, to study world religions. The concept of the pilgrimage is promoted, along with exchange among those of like mind. With many trips, besides the technical tour leaders, priests are available. At the end of their journey, tourists on pilgrimage will surely return home interiorly enriched. Frequently, the sponsors of these undertakings are church institutions.

1. Enzensberger 1987, 670.
2. Gehlen, Rolf, Welt und Ordnung, Marburg 1995, 220.
3. Mäder, Ueli, "Sturm auf die Alpen," in: Universitas 7 (1987), 692.

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→ *Colonialism, Environmentalism, Landscape, Local Devotion, Mission, Orientalism/Exotism, Pilgrimage, Place (Sacred), Religious Contact, Road/Path/Journey, Sports*

Gerhard Schlatter

Tradition

The concept of 'tradition' plays an important role in the study of religion. It invokes the continuity that justifies historical analysis and comparison. Were there no religious tradition(s), scholars would have nothing to study, no threads with which to card and spin their own academic traditions. The fact that 'tradition' can serve as a synonym for both → 'religion' and 'culture'—terms notoriously fraught with definitional and ideological tensions—hints at hidden depths. Tradition raises complex questions, as do all acts of transmission or → translation. Does that which is transferred

remain the same or is it changed, as it passes between different generations, social groups, → languages, and cultures? To what extent is the continuity of tradition a 'natural' effect of social and institutional structures, and to what extent is it a strategic construct of human (or superhuman) agents? What epistemological and ideological issues are implicit in attempts to characterize traditions as authentic or inauthentic, genuine or invented? Is it possible to evaluate such judgments beyond simply choosing allegiances among potentially incommensurable perspectives, e.g., orthodoxy/heterodoxy, primary/secondary source, insider/outsider, and colonized/colonizer?

Etymology and Antonyms

Tradition is the act of handing over. Early meanings (many now archaic) emerge from religious (especially Christian) conceptions of → authority: beliefs passed down, above all orally (→ Oral Tradition), from generation to generation, including the Oral Torah (→ Bible); oral instruction, including teaching the Creed to catechumens; the apostolically-legitimized teachings of the Roman Catholic Church; and the *sunna* of the Prophet → Muhammad. In the sixteenth century, 'tradition' was generalized to include both transferring the possession of objects and custom, or normative usage more generally. Insofar as the content of tradition is seen as sacrosanct, questions of authenticity are shifted to the process of transmission. This shift is indicated by a third cluster of meanings, according to which tradition is also betrayal, including delivery of oneself or others over to Satan and the surrender of Christian scriptures to persecuting authorities.

Just as 'sacred' takes on determinate meaning in contrast to 'profane,' and 'culture' in contrast to 'nature,' 'tradition(al)' becomes clearer in relational tension with other concepts. Tradition is commonly held to be static, ancient, unitary, local, continuous, received, and repetitive in contrast to that which is dynamic, modern, plural, global, discontinuous, invented, and innovative. The basic metaphor of 'handing down unchanged that which is meaningful and valued' portrays 'tradition' as the other of various forms of semantic rupture. Tradition roots continuity of meaning in (a) externalities (e.g., creeds, → texts, → rituals, institutions) that (b) function as warrants of authenticity by virtue of their perceived contiguity to the past: e.g., the authority of the *Hadiths* is a function of their repetition of historical originals. Discontinuity can result from severing the link to externalities: e.g., the Radical → Reformation was radical due to its internalization of discipline, breaking the self-consciously historical and institutional relation between *restitutio* and *traditio*. It can also result from severing perceived links to the past: e.g., → colonialism, modernization (→ Modernity/Modern Age; Postmodernity), and globalization have created social, economic, and political ruptures, undermining the long-established → identities of cultural groups around the world.

Great and Little Traditions

Robert Redfield (1956), drawing on anthropological studies of Mayan culture(s), drew an influential distinction between 'great tradition' and 'little tradition.' The former tends to be elite, urban, universal, textual, 'religious,' orthodox, scholarly, refined, central, and, above all, "consciously cultivated and handed down" (p. 70); whereas the latter tends to be popular, peasant-based, local, oral, 'superstitious,' heterodox, folk, unrefined, peripheral, and unreflective. Redfield stressed the need to study mutual interactions between the two: "Great and little tradition can be thought of as two currents of thought and action, distinguishable, yet ever flowing into and out

of each other" (p. 72). McKim Marriott (1955) suggested that processes of 'universalization' and 'parochialization' were responsible for the slow two-way movement between village and more global levels. Milton Singer (1972) emphasized the strategic use of public ritual to manage portrayals of India's great tradition, arguing, contra Redfield, that great/little does not correspond to modern/traditional, because much that is 'modern' is old and many 'traditions' are recent inventions. The great/little distinction has been criticized as over-generalized, under-theorized, colonialist or orientalist (reflecting biased outsider discourses; → Orientalism/Exotism), and elitist or fundamentalist (reflecting biased insider discourses; → Fundamentalism). Even granted its potential value, the distinction has suffered from two main problems: it hides normative assumptions behind a descriptive tool; and it has too often justified an exclusive focus on one or the other extreme (e.g., on village-level micro-analyses or global generalizations based on normative texts), ignoring the question of mutual influences and the ideological dimensions of the distinction itself.

The Invention of Tradition

Seeing tradition as 'the given' ignores agency, i.e., the strategic value of claiming the high ground of 'tradition' in struggles for power. Malinowski emphasized that myth is "a hard-working active force" (1992 [1926], 101); recent scholarship goes further in seeing tradition as a tool. Eric Hobsbawm distinguished genuine from invented traditions: "insofar as there is [. . .] reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely fictitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition [. . .]" (Hobsbawm/Ranger 1983, 1). Hobsbawm suggested that the invention of tradition (and the '(re)-invention' of 'extinct' traditions) has become more frequent in modernity, as 'the old ways' of genuine traditions have been threatened by rapid social transformation (pp. 4-8). Terence Ranger, in the same volume, argued that Western scholars and administrators invented African 'tradition' as the other of modernity: where African societies had, as a matter of historical fact, been characterized by "multiple identities" and "overlapping networks of association and exchange," this "pre-colonial movement of men and ideas was replaced by the colonial custom-bounded, microcosmic local society," whereas "there rarely existed in fact the closed corporate consensual system which came to be accepted as characteristic of 'traditional' Africa" (pp. 247-248; 254).

The agency of invention is not limited to the colonizers: (re)invention of tradition can be an important indigenous strategy in resisting or rejecting colonization, modernization, and globalization (see, e.g., → North America [Traditional Religions]). In this light, the authenticity of tradition can be framed in terms of autonomy—not historical truth—as characterized by a wider or narrower scope of agency: tradition is "volitional temporal action," with its contrary being "not change but oppression" (Glassie 1995, 409 and 396). Is the Melanesian re-invention of tradition through the discourse of *kastom* inauthentic because it self-consciously appropriates and inverts colonial discourse, or is it authentic because it is a product of indigenous agency (cf. Babadzan 1988)? The latter alternative is closed if we insist that post-colonial invented traditions are necessarily oppositional and counter-hegemonic: i.e., that "the discourse of the dominant shapes and structures the discourse of the dominated" (Keesing 1994, 41; → Discourse). Less deterministically, "Just because what is done is culturally logical does not

mean the logic determined that it be done [. . .]. [T]raditions are invented in the specific terms of the people who construct them [. . .]" (Sahlins 1999, 409).

Academic Traditions

Western academic traditions on 'tradition' manifest the usual spectrum of views, from realist through constructionist to relativist. For example, the distinction between genuine and invented traditions—between historical facts and orientalist/colonialist constructions—presupposes the modernist distinction between real and represented (Friedman 1992, 849). This raises the possibility that any search for genuine religious tradition(s) reflects an invented aspect of Western political/academic traditions: "how do we defend the 'real past' [. . .] and 'genuine' traditions [. . .] if we accept that all cultural representations—even scholarly ones—are contingent and embedded in a particular social and political context?" (Linnekin 1992, 250). 'Tradition' quickly unfolds into issues of truth, authenticity, authority, autonomy, and power; and distinct academic traditions inform varying answers to questions such as the following: Can we make sense of the alleged unity of → 'Hinduism' as an ancient tradition founded on the Vedas without giving a central role to both (a) the Western academic tradition on this 'tradition' and (b) the traditions invented by nineteenth-century Hindu Reform movements as they reacted to colonial portrayals of Indian history (cf. Fitzgerald 2000, 134ff.; Sontheimer/Kulke 1989)? Richard King suggests that the secular and reductionistic tendencies of the academic study of religion are rooted in a post-Enlightenment valuation of modernity vs. tradition, a constructed rupture often linked to another: progressive West vs. timeless East (1999, 46; → Progress; History). Extending this view, religious studies can never escape the situated and limited perspective of its own invented tradition(s) re 'tradition(s).'

However, it may be possible to chart a less radically relativistic course—losing a few colleagues to Scylla rather than the whole boat to Charybdis—by analyzing 'tradition' in relational tension with other concepts. Likely the most significant analytical appeal to 'tradition' in the study of religion has been the Weberian distinction between traditional, charismatic and rational-legal forms of authority, especially as embodied in the tension between → priest and → prophet (1978; → Weber; Charisma). Here, 'tradition' is defined in terms of its conservative function, and it is analyzed from the point of view of specific social and institutional structures (Bourdieu 1987 [1971]). As such, tradition—whether it is believed to be invented from whole cloth or guaranteed authentic by divine authority—is both 'traditional' and radical, depending on one's analytical frame.

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→ *Academic Study of Religion, Colonialism, Demise of a Religion, Discourse, History, Memory, New Religions, Oral Tradition, Reception, Translation, Text/Textual Criticism, Writing*

Steven Engler

Trance

1. The word 'trance' derives from the Latin prefix *trans-* ('over,' 'beyond'), and occurs for the first time at the end of the eighteenth century, in connection with Mesmerism. It means a condition of consciousness 'beyond' normal waking consciousness. It denotes a sleep-like condition in which those involved seem no longer to be themselves. Anthropologists of the twentieth century have observed that trance plays an important role in the rites and cults of all cultures. Here it is described as a condition of dissolution, accompanied by a deficiency in controlled movements, as well as by hallucinations and visions, which are then often forgotten. Trance appears in two principal forms: *possession* and *ecstasy.* In the condition of possession, or → 'enthusiasm' (from Gk., *én-theos*, having a 'god within'—being god-enthused or in-spired), a god, a spirit, or a demon takes possession of the believer and penetrates the believer's body. With the trance-form of ecstasy, just the other way around, the psyche leaves the body, which—as frequently in → shamanism—may fall into a stupor-like rigidity.

The Psychology of the Condition of Trance

2. Under usual circumstances, human perception takes place consciously. This condition is generally experienced as normal. There are, however, numerous other states of consciousness that are not perceived as normal, such as sleep and → dream, → intoxication and → ecstasy. These altered states of consciousness include trance, which occurs in a religious context as well as in a secular. Trance is a congenital behavioral pattern that can be activated through certain corporeal techniques (dancing, running, swaying with the upper body). Trance instills those affected with a feeling of dissociation: they feel themselves to consist of two observers, one part of their consciousness being directed within, while the other part has a sense of leaving the body, and observing itself and its surroundings from without.

Trance allows subjects to be released from everything learned hitherto, and renders them capable of accomplishments of soul and body that they would not otherwise attempt. Considered from a psychological viewpoint, the trance stage makes possible a grasp of psychic processes that are hidden



An interesting form of the secularization of trance can currently be observed in Morocco. The cult actors of the Gnawa Brotherhood are disconnecting themselves from their old traditions, and broadening their opportunities. Selected by a Danish gallery director, some of them have even begun to paint pictures while in a trance, and thus to render visible their inner life. This process becomes extremely clear in a painting by Mohamed Tabal. Here Tabal expresses his own possession by the spirits of the water, and thereby alludes to the origin of Gnawa on the Niger River. One can see fish, but also camels, which represent the voyage from Nigeria to Morocco. The expression on his face is that of a person all in ineffable rapture and referring to a frenetic presentation of the spirits, who incite self-mutilation. (F. Welte)



A medium, the human representative of a divine being, incarnates a divine 'General,' at the Festival of Beigang in Taiwan. He is in a deep trance and belongs to a group of eight 'generals' who must precede the divine litters, in order to restrain the spirits. After his emergence, he collapses, falling into the arms of the members of the cult. The finger pressure on the tip of his breastbone is intended to extract him from the trance condition. The medium has shifted his consciousness completely inward, and is insensitive to normal external stimuli. The pressure on his breastbone represents a conditioned stimulus ('trigger release'), which makes it possible to resume contact with him. Exactly the same pressure can be used to place him in a deep trance. The same mechanism is employed by the Moroccan Gnawa cult (see other picture), where mediums are enfolded in a trance, and extracted again, through the use of incense. The trigger release varies with the particular cult; the conditioning is essential, and it is molded by cult and culture. The medium's face is altogether enraptured. Without his companions' attention, he would be completely helpless. Only the consciousness of being protected makes possible the extraordinary exploits of the trance medium, such as self-mutilation, or the receipt of visions and prophecies bestowed in the depths of a trance.

from waking consciousness. Normally, knowledge of these other forms of reality is available only through a recall of dreams, by the ingestion of drugs, and by reports of things not available to personal experience—→ visions by prophets and seers, clairvoyants and mediums.

The most important characteristic of the trance is the extensive exclusion of waking consciousness. The goal is to shift one's consciousness from without to within, so that the outer world is effaced. The results of research into consciousness suggest that it draws from a determinate palette of possible experiences. Segments of it can be activated by certain experiences, and thus become sensible to the subject. Familiar techniques include → fasting, flogging (→ Flagellants), hyperventilation, sleep deprivation, extreme athleticism, dancing, techno parties, under-stimulation, over-stimulation, and ingestion of intoxicating drugs and hallucinogens. Trance is often induced through the use of music, especially that of rhythmic instruments such as drums or rattles (→ Rhythm).

3. The experience of trance is extremely varied. A distinction is made between moving and unmoving, lighter and deeper trance. Trance can be either self-induced, or induced by other persons, with or without drugs.

a) *Everyday trance* is scarcely perceived. Driving a car through the rain, looking through the constant back-and-forth of the windshield wipers, one may find one's sense of time altered. One is lost in a daydream. Space and time are now deprived of any objects, as likewise occurs in sexual intercourse and orgasm, when one's perception is shifted away from its accustomed objects.

b) The most familiar example of the self-induced unmoving trance is *autogenous training*, a type of self-hypnosis. By way of the inner pronunciation of standardized autosuggestions, such as "I am becoming entirely



During the vegetarian festival, celebrated annually among Chinese immigrants on the island of Phuket in Thailand, scenes like this one can be observed. In a trance, this man has pierced his cheek with a television antenna, in order to be able to introduce positive energy into his body. This procedure is supposed to bring health to himself and to his family. The apples impaled on the antenna stand for the prosperity for which he hopes. Apples do not grow in Thailand, and must be imported; thus, they are among the country's costly fruits, and have a high prestige value. (B. Heusel)

peaceful," the consciousness is turned inward, and the outside world is to a large extent effaced. In this way, a light trance is attained, making it possible to affect the vegetative nervous system. It is a matter of a voluntary form of auto-manipulation—a manner of proceeding reminiscent of prayer, with which, by the recitation of set vocal formulas like the Lord's Prayer, the prayers of the Rosary, or the Hindu → mantras, an altogether determinate state of consciousness is intended.

Hypnosis

c) Purely externally, *other-induced unmoving trance* resembles the state of sleep, and is therefore named hypnosis, which derives from *hýpnos*, the Greek word for sleep. The two states, however, differ significantly. Clinical investigation by electroencephalogram (EEG) has established that, with hypnosis, so-called alpha waves emerge, corresponding to the normal waking state of someone who is excited. With autogenous training, or in prayer, as above, suggestions are pronounced interiorly; but with hypnosis, the subject takes careful note of the hypnotist's suggestions with 'free-floating attentiveness.' The hypnotist, by way of enunciation of the suggestions, also enters a light state of trance, with greater receptivity receptive to the condition of the subject than is available in the waking state.

Deep Trance

d) Especially gifted trance personalities, such as mediums, shamans, and spiritual healers, have the capacity to go into *deep trance*, and to direct their consciousness far deeper within than is possible for average people. The characteristic peculiarities of this kind of ecstatic trance are eyes staring aloft, slightly open mouth, and wild nodding and shaking of the head—to the point of catalepsy, an extreme state of corporal rigidity. Everyday awareness can be completely excluded, and messages, visions, or even prophecies can be received. Deep trance is accompanied by loss of memory, and so, for their journey to their interior, mediums need a guide, to attend to them, and to note down or interpret their messages.

Spiritism

e) The exclusion of waking consciousness is also used in *occult and spiritistic practices.* With glass and table shifting or moving, a focus of the eyes on the glass or table produces a *self-induced group hypnosis*, in which a harmony of unconscious muscular movements is achieved, which then leads to the seemingly improbable movements of glass and table (→ Spiritism, with ill.). Simultaneously, a group fantasy is formed, which is then referred to the intervention of invisible spirits.

Trance Play

f) Trance finds its most impressive form in the *trance play*, a dramatic presentation. Spirits are represented, most of whom are regarded as responsible for diseases, ancestors, gods, demons, totem animals, and even historical personalities such as rulers and saints (obviously Caucasian), and objects, such as satellites or an automobile, whose presence ought to be impossible. The presentations are of the highest intensity. Trance is reached by way of a superfluity of external stimuli. Roaring music is one of the means, as is the burning of incense, or a scenic presentation by members of the cult, frequently to the point of raging, screaming, and self-mutilation. This spectacle is followed by a calm on the part of the preponderantly female participants, who then allow themselves to fall into a trance, with a pronounced cathartic effect (→ Colonialism I, with illus.).

Trance in Western Reception Today

4. In Western society, trance, when evident, has until now been a monopoly of the churches. With the increase of secularization, however, this monopoly has been extensively lost. The need, afterwards, has remained, however, and is satisfied, e.g., by the utterly copious offers of the → New Age and the modern esoteric scene. Bhagwan Shree Rajnesh was a spiritual leader, who, in the 1960s, propagated Hindu trance practices among Westerners as group therapy, and had himself venerated by his disciples as a guru (*The Orange Book*, 1985; → Osho Movement). American anthropologist Felicitas D. Goodman has chosen an altogether different route to a satisfaction of the enduring need for trance. She concerned herself scientifically with psychological anthropology and linguistics, researching various forms of religious ecstasy. By way of experimental research with her students, she discovered that, with the adoption of certain bodily postures, linked with a drawn out, monotone auditory stimulus, the state of trance can be induced. From this practice she has developed her particular trance technique, which she calls 'ritual bodily postures.' She teaches worldwide.

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→ *Channeling, Dance, Dream, Ecstasy, Enthusiasm, Intoxication/Drugs/Hallucinogens, Music, Possession, Psyche, Rhythm, Shamanism, Vision/Auditory Experience*

Frank Maurice Welte

Transcendence

Transcendence is originally a philosophical concept that distinguishes the immediately accessible, differentiated world of reality from a foundational space that lies behind it. The theological theme of God's quality as a reality 'beyond' was open to a corresponding development, which has indeed been realized. Since antiquity, transcendence is essentially a space reached neither by sensory perception nor by speech. Thus, God remains in the realm of the ineffable. Approaches to the transcendent God belong to 'negative theology,' which generates its propositions by way of negations.

Boundaries Drawn

An application of this concept in terms of the study of religion can take as its point of departure the fact that all systems of religious symbols find a boundary between the approachable and the unapproachable, the controllable and the uncontrollable. But it is not to be assumed that the areas thus set in mutual relation lead to the same propositions in all religions, or even that they are used with constancy and consistency in the same religion. Instead, variable, and multifariously vague, boundaries present themselves, in some instances in a multiplicity of areas. Nor is it only a question of the being and quality of transcendence that is at issue. Also involved is the (ever asymmetrical) relation between the realm 'beyond' and the region 'here.'

Localization of Transcendence

Transcendence can be variously located, most obviously in outer space. Thus, for example, cultivated space can be bounded off from uncultivated space, with varying positive or negative qualities. For example, the forest or → water can be seen as a realm of menace, or of life-promoting powers. The development of this space varies. Areas of the sky, or of the underworld, can be considered thematically, either in detail, or sparsely. Even the inner world of the human being (→ Soul), the region of ecstatic and uncontrolled experiences (→ Trance), offers an occasion for the localization of transcendence. In the dimension of time, the area before the beginning or after the end comes into question. Finally, transcendence can be considered in a context of transitory processes (→ Time), as the uncontrollable coincidence.

→ *God/Gods/The Sacred, Hereafter, Metaphysics, Place (Sacred), Religion, Theology*

Fritz Stolz

Translation

Insofar as → religion is a cross-cultural phenomenon—and because its academic study is international—translation is integral to its history and study. Yet scholars of religion rarely critically examine the creativity, limitations, or biases of translation. This omission is surprising given that complex rela-

tions between → language, → meaning, culture, and ideology clearly undermine the ideal of a simple, transparent correspondence between statements in different languages. Several issues present themselves here: the place of texts and translation in religion(s) and in the study of religion(s); the 'non-transparency' of translation and the inevitability of semantic distortion; ideological issues raised by relations between source and target cultures; and theoretical issues raised by claims of a common cross-cultural core that allegedly justifies the use of a generic concept of 'religion.'

The Focus on Texts

Texts are central to most religions, though entirely absent in others, and they are the primary religious materials for scholars of religion (→ Text/Textual Criticism; Writing). The study of 'religion' has consisted primarily of contextualized readings of selected texts from many cultures, above all 'sacred scriptures,' including revelation, theology, commentary, hagiography, creeds, legal codes, sectarian history, and devotional literature. Max Müller's translation of the *Upanishads* (1879), inaugurating the fifty-volume *Sacred Books of the East* series, was just one milestone marking the importance of translation to the development of the modern study of religion. Scholars have recently placed greater emphasis on non-scriptural phenomena, such as oral traditions, rituals, art, and architecture, but here too texts remain central, e.g., transcriptions of oral performances by the Haida story-teller Ghandl, instructions for ritual purification in the Zoroastrian *Avesta*, statements on iconoclasm by the ninth-century Christian Councils, or architectural norms in the medieval Hindu *Agamas*.

Insider and Outsider

The translation of religious texts has both insider and outsider dimensions. On the one hand, members of a given religion often belong to different linguistic and cultural groups, e.g., Muslims who read Indonesian or Turkish renderings of the *Qur'an*. On the other hand, scholars of religion work with and publish both primary and secondary sources in various languages. In all these cases, to translate is to transpose, transform, transfer or transplant: difference always intervenes between what can be said in any two languages, between educated and casual readers, and between the cultural, social, and political contexts of source and target languages. These same issues of translation are also raised by the transposition of texts within what is arguably a single language: from ancient to modern Greek, Chinese or Hebrew, or from Shakespeare's tongue into colloquial twenty-first-century English.

Technical Terms, Standardization, and Audience

Perhaps the most significant long-term translation project in history was the diffusion of Buddhist texts from Pali and Sanskrit into Tibetan and Chinese. Many of the translators, such as Kumarajiva, were widely esteemed for their genius. Three central issues in the translation of religious texts are illustrated by this centuries-long endeavor. First, the treatment of technical terms demanded the expression of ideas foreign to the intellectual traditions of the target languages. Early Chinese efforts used transliterations of Pali and Sanskrit terms or borrowed concepts from Daoism. There is a trade-off here beyond ease of comprehensibility and corruption of meaning. (Christians faced similar problems in translating 'Holy Spirit' into African languages, sometimes drawing on indigenous concepts for 'spirits' or 'wind' and sometimes importing Latin or other European loan words. The related decision to sometimes translate 'demons' using words for 'ancestors' underlines the role of ideology here.)

Second, the variety of solutions to problems of translation resulted in disparate renderings of the same or similar texts. Chinese and Tibetan translation efforts were generally piecemeal, with only limited use of more standardized approaches—as in the work of the seventh-century pilgrim and translator, Xuanzang. (In a variant of this problem, conservative Christian views that the Holy Spirit guided the writing of the Bible generally fail to note the correlated need for a theory of inspired translation, especially given the proliferation of modern-language English versions [Allert 1999].)

Third, these Buddhist translations varied greatly according to their intended audience. In China, for example, educated lay readers preferred paraphrases that used classical stylistic devices, where scholars preferred more literal versions. (Similar tensions exist among twentieth-century English translations of the Jewish Talmud. The recently-completed seventy-three-volume Schottenstein edition is aimed at a popular audience largely unfamiliar with Talmudic nuances, but scholars prefer the more literal Soncino edition or the JTS *El 'Am* partial translation, with its lengthy critical commentary.)

Historicity and Colonialism

Scholars of Christian scriptures have also had a long fruitful engagement with issues of translation. Biblical scholars have paid admirable attention to developments in translation theory: e.g., formal vs. dynamic equivalence, implications of → discourse analysis, and cultural ideologies. This consideration is partly because the Christian Bible is always already in translation. (Most Christians believe that God became incarnate as a speaker of Aramaic. Yet the → Bible is in Hebrew and Greek.) Muslims and Orthodox Jews hold, respectively, that the → *Qur'an* and the *Torah* are God's literal revelation in Arabic and in Hebrew. In contrast, the historically determinate diffusion of God's Word through translation has always been essential to Christianity, with the Bible now translated, in whole or in part, into almost 2,000 languages. Lamin Sanneh argues that Christianity's emphasis on "mission by *translation*" has led to a "radical pluralism of culture" that aims "to make the recipient culture the true and final locus of the proclamation" (1989, 1, 29). As a result, Christianity has sometimes empowered the languages and cultures of the colonized by invoking them as worthy vessels for the Word. Post-colonial theology has also highlighted less optimistic relations between translation and ideology. R. S. Sugirtharajah, for example, holds that European translators imposed alien textual values in South Asia (e.g., an emphasis on fixed texts as scriptural archetypes). He argues for "a wider intertextuality which will link biblical texts with Asian scriptural texts" (1998, 90-92).

Cultural Context and Ideology

Although discussions of translation have traditionally tended to focus on the extent to which a given translation is 'faithful' to an 'original,' recent theory of translation pays greater attention to issues of cultural context, ideology, and power relations between source and target cultures. The extent to which complex cultural issues intervene as texts are translated is illustrated by two cases involving gender. The Koiné Greek original of Rom 16:7, in the Christian *New Testament*, mentions 'Junia'—clearly a woman's name on the evidence of contemporary non-biblical texts—as 'prominent among the apostles.' Medieval translators and commentators frequently changed this name to the extremely unusual masculine form 'Junias.' The King James Version preferred the weaker 'of note,' rather than the more frequent 'prominent'

or 'outstanding.' Some modern commentators suggest that *epísêmoi en tois apostólois* is best rendered as 'well known *to* the apostles.' Many feminist scholars see, in this history of translation, a patriarchal erasure of women's participation in the early Church. A contrasting change occurred in East Asia from the seventh to tenth centuries CE. The male bodhisattva of compassion, Avalokiteshvara in Indian Sanskrit texts, became the male Chenrezig in Tibet (incarnate in the Dalai Lamas) but was transformed into the female Guanyin in China (Kannon in Japan, Kwanŭm in Korea, Quan'Am in Vietnam, and Kanin in Bali). This shift was prominent in iconography as well as in texts. The reasons for this transformation remain unclear, but culturally specific attitudes toward gender roles are clearly part of the story. The complex trajectories of these Christian and Buddhist figures remind us that, in translation, the linguistic surface invokes complex historical, cultural, and ideological depths.

Critical Approaches in Religious Studies

Another complex set of translational boundaries involves distinctions between insider and outsider, between data and theory, between religions and their study. The history of the → academic study of religion is replete with examples of terms from a specific cultural context that come to be used as generic concepts for describing religious phenomena across cultures, e.g., tabu (→ Taboo), mana (→ Power), shaman (→ Shamanism), → sacrifice, spirit, → sin, grace. This act of cross-cultural categorization begs questions regarding the nature of the phenomena under study: applying common labels can blind us to differences. In addition, as J. Z. Smith, Russell T. McCutcheon, and others emphasize, the use of emic terms as etic concepts threatens to import biased presuppositions into the basic categories of religious studies.

The concept of → 'religion' itself is open to these critiques. Hans Penner, Nancy Frankenberry, and others have made theory of translation central to a semantic critique of essentialist views of religion. If all religions are characterized by participating in—or referring in some symbolic manner to—the sacred (→ Holy), and if the sacred is ineffable or wholly other, as phenomenologists often claim, then how does this trans-linguistic other come to be translated into the many languages of different religions? Translation is a relation, however complex, between spheres of determinate → meaning; but the generic, cross-cultural concept of 'religion' is hypostatized as beyond determinate meaning (unless it is defined in a reductive, functionalist, or purely descriptive manner). Translating between different religions is one thing; translating between religion and religions is something else entirely. Yet, unless we can make sense of the latter, how can we claim that all the things we call 'religions' truly fit under that one umbrella term? These sorts of critiques indicate that theory of translation has much to contribute to discussions of the nature and function of comparison as a method in the study of religion.

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→ *Bible, Book, Communication, Literature, Meaning/Signification, Qur'an, Text/Textual Criticism*

Steven Engler

Trickster

What Is a Trickster?

1. The concept of the 'trickster' is a concept of figure typology. In the anthropology of religion, cultural anthropology, and literary studies, it expresses the being and activity of (usually male) mythical, literary, or historical (but now inserted into literature) figures, now more precisely identified as in human or animal form. In the eighteenth century, in English, 'trickster' meant someone of dubious morality and principles, but appreciable intelligence. English philosopher Shaftesbury (1671–1713) characterized (1711) → Prometheus as such—that is, as a deceptive 'quack' or dangerous 'swindler.' Trickster figures emerge in the mythology, folklore, and literature of nearly all cultures. The trickster's body and soul are, or become, identified to a certain extent through his actions.

Tricksters play their tricks by way of unusual incorporeal powers, for example, techniques of cunning and deceit, secret knowledge, and the arts of transmutation (→ Mask). Nonetheless, tricksters are 'foolish,' and their actions often miscarry or work against them, so that they also represent ungodly, disorganized areas, such as those of laughter and humor (→ Fool, Upside-down World, → Carnival). But they are also tied up with the comical and laughable; their actions caricature or ridicule anything serious or important. Trickster figures look strange and striking, which marks them as outsiders: unnatural bodily development, altered appetites (enormous hunger or digestion/excretion, or sexuality), enlarged or diminutive, multiple or missing, bodily (e.g., sexual) parts. Thus, with Wakdjunkaga (lit. the 'roguish one'), a trickster of the North American Winnebago people, his over-long penis is either backwards or rolled up. A squirrel casually gnaws off his sexual part and plants it: out of it grow useful or vital crops like maize, turnips, or (sweet) potatoes.[1] In François Rabelais's satirical serial novel *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1522–1564), a modern-age literary match for a Trickster story-cycle, the protagonists are remarkable for their body size and proportions, their extremes of gluttony and intemperance, and their frivolously scatological earthiness. Some literary → animal legends in European culture are based on elements and figures of a trickster sort, such as the crafty, sly Fox or the Raven with the droll blotches. As trickster figures fail to abide even by biological norms, then, surely, we must expect them to transgress, at will, other, 'sacred,' boundaries—law, ceremony, convention—most often spontaneously, less often working from a plan, but always out of a craving for novelty. In this manner, they broaden their own latitudes, as well as the frames of standardization of those with whom they come in contact. Hence they are (further) designated as 'liminal' beings (→ Marginality/Liminality). On the basis of cunning and ridiculous craftiness, the trickster often appears as a cultural → hero, the one who brings down fire and other two-

edged techniques of culture, such as agriculture and labor, medicine and disease, and death (→ Prometheus, cf. above, Wadjunkaga). Often he is the dangerous counterfoil of the Supreme Creator, who 'brands' a mark on the trickster's spirit and body (→ Stigmata/Stigmatics) as the one who has dared to transform the ordained world order.

Figures of the Trickster

2. A famous trickster of the Mediterranean region, along with Prometheus, is Hermes, messenger of the Greek gods. Hermes roams everywhere with impunity, protects thieves and the underhanded, and is identified with Ibis-headed Egyptian Thoth, the master of secret knowledge (→ Hermetism/Hermeticism). In Teutonic mythology, the crucial trickster is Loki the troublemaker (→ Teutons). Wolf, Fox, and Raven frequently emerge as his cohorts. African trickster figures such as the Hare and the Hyena of the Kaguru people, the spinning Ananse (or Ture) of the Ashanti, or Eshu Elegba of the Yoruba, somewhat similar structurally to the Judeo-Christian Lucifer, all have multiple connections with everyday life. Rich in their variants, trickster tales and their protagonists can become metaphors for human conduct ('busy as Eshu'). North American trickster figures frequently appear in the guise of animals (→ North America [Traditional Religions]). Among peoples of the Northern Pacific coasts, the story is that Raven has stolen the sun that had been hidden by the Supreme Being, and thereby brought light into the world. The Coyote trickster, in the Indian picaresque cycle, often transforms itself into a dish, to gobble up food or provisions, or among Plains peoples, frequently acts as a demiurge. Navajo material sees in the Coyote the cultural hero who has stolen fire from the sky. In this he is similar to the Hare, the most important trickster in Southeastern North America. Hare and Rabbit, who live with Grandmother, and everlastingly nibble away her provisions, are also the clumsy ones, whose stupid-heroic pranks make the world such as it is. As trivialized, modern assimilations of these trickster figures, in the form of American 'slapstick' humor, popular films in trick photography and cartoons feature characters like Bugs Bunny (film hero since 1938, comics since 1941), Coyote, Duffy Duck, or 'sexually liberated' Fritz the Cat, in style since around 1970 (comics and film). From the Hollywood heroes of Harold Lloyd to Buster Keaton to Charlie Chaplin to the current films of a Woody Allen, the trickster traditions continue in film. Optional subjects like transformation (costuming) feature a reversal of relationships, and grotesque exaggerations of moral and religious norms. Thus they vary the trickster's comic-tragic figures of central relationships and present portraits of his everyday form in nearly all social contexts. Examples would be the 'idiot,' the court jester, the clown, the charlatan, the *Schlemiel*, the artist of life, the idealist, the scapegoat.[2] Tricksters of the native peoples of → Central and → South America are usually animal beings, who, strikingly, often work by manipulated openings-out of the body—turn their concealed 'insides' outward and render them visible. Thus, the Yanomami of Northern Brazil report of the bird-being Hasimo, who stole the fire caught in the jaws of a primitive crocodile by bombarding the crocodile with its excrement, and thus causing it to laugh.[3]

3. Trickster tales emerge, in considerable number and in a great wealth of variation, in non-writing societies (Anomami). In agricultural societies, they appear on the boundary between the religious and the secular everyday, in ceremonies of healing, carnival festivals, or rites of initiation, as a folkloristic legacy still in living memory (e.g., among Indian *brujos* in Central

America). As a part of the Western culture of entertainment, they come in written or film form. Trickster tales usually occur in considerable number, and with a great wealth of variation. Frequently, they come as serialized stories, to whose extension there is no limit. Examples would be the Tyl Eulenspiegel cycle, the Trickster Hare cycle of the Winnebago, the 'to be continued' structure of many comic strips and animated films. The great quantity and variability of the 'stories' told guarantee the strongly defined continuation of a tradition. With the freedom of variation at hand, trickster figures can be brought right up to date, and adapted to the times. Finally, the culture of their provenance cannot be determined with any degree of reliability, and is only to be met in the area of the disreputable, laughable, and comical; thus, trickster figures outlast the transformations of times and alterations of fashions. Of course, their image and appearance change, which is typical of their essence.

1. Radin 1969, 39.
2. Cf. illustrations of Joseph Beuys's theatrical presentation, "I Like America and America Likes Me," under entry, "Art."
3. Sullivan et al. 1987, 15 and 52.

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→ *Animal, Carnival, Hero/Heroism, Marginality/Liminality, Mask, North America (Traditional Religions), Prometheus*

Michael Weis

Truth / Dogma

Levels

1. The dimension of the religious problem of truth is determined according to the levels on which the question of truth is posed.

a) On the level of *historical facts* and *empirical perception*, truth is related to the correctness of enunciations. Religious propositions are true or false in this sense, to the extent that they are related to historical or empirical facts. The designation "the five books of Moses" is untrue on this level, because these writings do not come from one author, but from various sources.

b) Furthermore, the question of truth indicates a need for *compulsory knowledge of orientation.* In this connection, truth means reliability of attitudes, opinions, convictions, and manners of behavior. In this sense, all religions and systems of belief raise a comprehensive claim to truth. They differ, however in the degree to which that claim is systematically reflected

and linguistically formulated. Here the function of *dogmas* enters the scene. These fix the basic condition of what is to be held as valid in a system of belief. Dogmas elucidate the ideological interrelation of inner and outer, by defining orthodoxy and repelling heresies.

c) Finally, the question of truth is posed in the context of *theoretical knowledge of the world*, with respect to the plausibility of an interpretation of reality. Inasmuch as a religion often claims to elucidate not only one sector of reality, but reality as a whole, it emerges as true, if its interpretation of the world (e.g. as a creation of God) is universally acknowledged.

Accordingly, truth attaches to a system of belief when it corresponds to empirical experience, practical orientation, and theoretical interpretation of the world as a whole. It comes into a crisis, on the other hand, when religious propositions on one or more of these levels are contested. The occasion of this sort of crisis is identifiable as the *historical* (§ 2) and *cultural* (§ 3) relativization of truth.

Truth and Truths

2. a) Both in the Greek city states and in the Roman Empire religion was a public affair. The gods were venerated as those of the community. The determination and establishment of truth was the obligation of the state. However, along with the official cults, a multiplicity of offers of religious meaning were present. Mystery religions, together with local and individual spirituality, satisfied the individual needs for certitude of salvation. In this religious landscape, Christianity arose as one belief system among others. In the wake of its expansion, it increasingly found itself with conflicting salvation doctrines (→ Gnosticism, cult of Mithra) and faced the philosophical consciousness of truth. Thus, with the establishment of Christianity as the state religion at the close of the fourth century, the process of the *canonization* of the Bible began, along with the *institutionalization* of church offices, and finally, the *dogmatization* of fundamental truths of faith. Henceforward, the imperial → Church established binding truth and battled its denial ever more stoutly over the course of the Middle Ages. Nor did it eschew the cooperation of state power.

b) Since the early modern age, the Church's claim to a monopoly over truth has seen itself exposed to growing criticism. As a consequence of the → Reformation, truth is no longer accepted simply upon authoritative presentation. It is now to be preserved in critical reference to the Bible. Instead of dogmas, *confessions* (→ Profession of Faith) are important, and their intent is less a universal validity than a personal adaptation in a 'confessing' (professing) community. Humanism and the universities founded in the Middle Ages occasion the rise of a 'scientific community,' in which truth is produced from a confrontation among varying positions. Furthermore, state order and questions of religious truth are now uncoupled. These approaches are first brought into service, for the peaceful coexistence of various faith convictions, in the Peace of Westphalia (1648).

c) An awakening historical consciousness and the discovery of foreign cultures, in the wake of the Enlightenment, led to further conflicts between ecclesial and general truth-consciousness. Subsequently, questions of religious truth were increasingly *privatized* and *subjectivized.* The state of Frederick II enjoined: "Each one becomes blessed [enjoys sacred happiness] in his own fashion." Schleiermacher understood dogmas as "conceptualizations of Christian pious frames of mind." Another tendency interpreted doctrinal tradition *ethically* (Lessing, Kant). Not doctrinal belief, but moral

convictions and casts of mind would then decide the plausibility of pretensions to religious truth. On the other hand, any clinging to time-honored doctrinal propositions for their own sake is designated *dogmatism.* The course of this concept in Protestantism leads to the plea for an *undogmatic Christianity* (Harnack), emphasizing one's own decision of conscience, the personal assimilation of the content of faith, and the impossibility of closure in the discovery of truth. In Catholicism, the concern of dogmatic hermeneutics is a transmission of the historical genesis and current of dogmas.

d) On grounds of the progressing globalization, the current situation of the problem of religious truth is signalled by the coexistence of different cultures, with their differing religious elements, and varying systems of belief, all of which have developed differing procedures for approaching truth:

Source of Truth

(1) *Intuition*: In ancient cultures and non-writing societies, truth often culminates in feeling. Since truth is understood as a substance or sphere, it is reached by empathetic understanding and intuition. Cultures with a monistic image of the world share this conceptualization of truth as a feeling of unity. This route is extended in → mysticism: the oneness of everything is a truth that can only be felt intuitively, since it transcends the restrictions of the thinking faculty and sensible perception.

(2) *Communication*: Unlike intuition, this route takes its point of origin in the concept that truth is not immediately accessible, and can be attained only by transmission. The true is the outcome of communication, so that it takes its nourishment from authoritative sources: prophets, seers, stars, oracles, or sacred scripture. In particular, the transition to → writing and the canonization of sacred texts (→ Canon/Canonization) are fundamental for the further development of pretensions to religious truth, because they lead to the emergence of elites in exposition, and of teaching systems.

(3) *Reflection*: A relatively late concept finds the royal road to truth in the independent activity of reason. Where religious truth is sought in this manner, salvation transforms itself into knowing. The attraction of this route lies in its free accessibility to truth, without the transmission of the latter from elites and hierarchies. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, this model turns out to be limited, since it can only discover the rational aspect of religious truth.

(4) *Sensation*: For the most recent model in the history of thought, what is true is only what can be grasped by the senses (→ Perception). The process does have analogies in the sensory practices of religion. Nevertheless, sensory perception has turned out to be the greatest enemy of the claim to religious truth, since the sense and meaning of religious phenomena remain closed to it.

3. After the "end of the grand narratives" (Lyotard), religion is experiencing a renaissance. The loss of belief in both enlightened reason and a meaning of history leaves a vacuum that can be filled with the 'other's truth.' Accordingly, the question of its truth appears in how it brings to utterance what is referred to as the 'reality of the Holy.' Measured by a rationalistic concept of truth, this claim is not a small one. Still, in the case of Christianity, religion's genuine concern is not correctness, but existential truth—salvation.

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→ *Authority, Canon, Christianity, Church, Fundamentalism, Knowledge, Pluralism, Profession of Faith, Revelation, Science, Theology, Tolerance*

Markus Buntfuß

UFO

1. The abbreviation 'UFO' (for 'Unidentified Flying Object') has long been an all but magical concept of everyday culture. But, as the 'U' expresses, it lies pretty much in the dark what the term properly relates to. Regarded phenomenologically, a UFO experience contains an encounter with an (at first, or altogether) unexplainable celestial apparition. It belongs in the area of → new myths and systems of belief of the twenty-first century, however, by reason of the fact that the apparition can be, and is, interpreted as a meeting with extra-terrestrial intelligent beings (aliens), where the eyewitness accounts range from simple sighting to out-and-out abduction (see § 3). It is disputed whether all sightings that at first seem unexplainable can actually be related to what is familiar. (German Astrophysicist Illobrand von Ludwiger calls them—all sightings—'UFOs in the broad sense.') In this case, what would be present in the UFO phenomenon would be either an ongoing process of mythologization, or, as other scientists maintain instead, indeed a problem of a small percentage of these sightings remaining mysterious even after analysis—'UFOs in the strict sense.'[1] The reality of an encounter with extraterrestrials is not excluded (but see § 6).

Characteristic of the UFO phenomenon, in any case, is precisely the fact that a massive psychological complex has formed out of speculation, disinformation, and mythic fascination. This complex embraces not only the 'UFO believers,' but also the military and political sector (for example, a UFO belief could conceal secret arms projects), the millions constituting the audience of the entertainment industry, as well as the scientific community.

On the History of the Phenomenon

2. There have been reports of remarkable disc-shaped or wheel-shaped flying objects for millennia (e.g. Ezek 1:4-28). The twentieth century received its UFOs on June 24, 1947. Amateur pilot Kenneth Arnold, flying over Washington state, saw nine semicircular discs "that moved like saucers flung over a wet surface"[2]—a momentous simile, which remained inseparably joined



At the Pyramid of Gizeh, white-clad believers in UFOs attempt to attract extraterrestrials to Earth. Cultic actions such as appear here are inseparably connected with the phenomenon of UFOs, but are to be ascribed directly only to the secondary mythic complex that has taken shape around the unexplained core phenomena (the 'unidentified flying objects'). It is an altogether open question what all of this is ultimately 'about': the 'extraterrestrials' hypothesis is only one possible explanation among many.

with the phenomenon. There followed the first 'flap' in the history of the UFO: by July 30, 1947, 850 sightings of UFOs in the broad sense had been reported. On July 4, United States Independence Day, there were 162 sightings in 37 states. Under the code name "Sign" (later "Grudge"), the U.S. Air Force began to collect the cases. On July 6, 1947, a farmer in Roswell, New Mexico, took Air Force officers to his ranch, where he had found the wreckage of a remarkable flying apparatus. The 'Roswell crash'—still unexplained today, according to some—attracted worldwide attention in 1995, when film shots appeared of the alleged autopsy of an alien allegedly killed at that time (→ New Myths/New Mythologies, with illus.).

In 1951, under the leadership of four Air Force officers and astronomer J. Allen Hynek, Project Blue Book was inaugurated, with the task of assembling the ongoing reports of UFO sightings. In 1956, a scientific institute evaluated some 4,000 reports of sightings between 1947 and 1952: the most reliable of these (from pilots, etc.) contained the highest number of genuine 'alien' sightings, those of 'unknown' objects. This analysis contradicted the thesis of the skeptics that it was mainly poor observers who 'saw' anything unknown.

In 1968, with some 12,000 sightings on file with the U.S. Air Force, a team from the University of Colorado issued the Condon Report under commission of the military. Fifty-nine cases had been investigated. Of these, 33 remained unidentified. Nonetheless, in his Foreword Edward Condon came to the conclusion that there was nothing to the UFO reports. The study therefore drew criticism. Obviously, the reality of the phenomenon cannot be concluded simply from the frequency of the sightings. The possibility of individual and mass suggestion must be taken into account, as with the witch persecutions (see § 6).

There were waves of sightings, among others, in France in 1954, in the United States in 1952, 1966, and 1973, and in the Soviet Union in 1960, 1967, and 1978. In 1989, in Belgium, for nearly a year, there were repeated sightings of giant triangular objects in the sky.[3]

Typology of the Sightings

3. Following Hynek, a distinction had been adopted between UFO sightings and 'close encounters.' In encounters of the *first* and *second kind*, the UFO is very close and affects things and persons physically (through light, electromagnetic waves, gravitation, etc.). Encounters of the *third kind* involve contact with apparently living alien beings. Since 1961—and recently, more intensively—encounters of the *fourth kind* have been reported: abductions by 'the aliens' on space ships, frequently with painful and humiliating physical manipulations. American artist Budd Hopkins collected and published such reports. The presentations by New York writer Whitley Strieber ("Communion," 1987; "Transformation: The Breakthrough," 1988) are probably the most detailed.

The Problem of Sources

4. A common element in the reports of Hopkins and Strieber is that the statements and first-hand reports of the victims of the abductions had usually materialized only under conditions of hypnotic recall. This method, with all kinds of encounters, raises fundamental problems of source criticism. Interdisciplinary research teams can perform good work. But in order to address the primary controversy regarding the existence and nature of UFOs, there is a need for consensus regarding the reasonableness and scientific merit of such investigations. Investigators such as Jacques Vallée and Illobrand von Ludwiger have developed useful systems of classification for the quality of the sightings and the credibility of the witnesses. Only a common interdisciplinary understanding of the matter can shed light on whether the things described are what they seem to be phenomenologically, or, instead, in their profound ontological structure, are something altogether different.

UFO Cults

5. At the beginning of the 1950s, with the reports of a certain George Adamski (1891–1965), the UFO cult began. Adamski claimed to have had, after the landing of space ships from Venus, telepathic contact with their passengers. Since then, in numberless UFO groups, spiritistic revelations through channel-mediums (→ Channeling) and eschatological and redemptive expectations have fused into an (often sectarian) worldview. At the beginning of 1997 one of these groups in the United States, named Heaven's Gate, committed collective suicide, in order to get on board a hoped-for UFO in the train of the Hale-Bopp Comet, just then appearing in the sky. German and Swiss 'Light Siblings' constantly speak of an 'evacuation' by waves from an electronic-wave ship. Reports by persons claiming to have contacted UFOs are often exposed as falsifications, as in the case of the Swiss Billy Meier. Hollywood, too, has for decades strongly contributed to the UFO cult with → films like "The Day the Earth Stood Still" (1951, dir. Robert Wise), "Close Encounters of the Third Kind" (1977, dir. Steven Spielberg), and "Independence Day" (1998, dir. Ronald Emmerich), just as has television series "X Files" (USA 1993ff., writer Chris Carter), which reached non-English audiences as well in the 1990s.

Science and the UFO Phenomenon

6. A scholar wishing to research the core phenomenon seriously still risks a loss of professional and social status today. The fact that the UFO cult is propagated precisely through ignorance of serious scholarship, however, is increasingly acknowledged, as in the words of para-psychologist Eberhard Bauer: "It is better to go into the subject seriously, than to leave it to the profiteers and charlatans."[4] What ought to be fostered would be an official

sighting office with a multidisciplinary team of researchers, in which both natural scientists and technologists, as well as psychologists, anthropologists, and scholars of religion, should take part. The greatest obstacle in UFO research, according to Jacques Vallée, is the hasty assumption (met largely in UFO cults) that UFO space ships would have to be from other planets. Accordingly, the state of the research is disparate and tangled. However, once the subject as such were accepted—just as with the equally exotic astronomical project, Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence (SETI)—there would be a multiplicity of reasonable hypotheses: UFO phenomena could be connected with, for example, other dimensions of reality (including the future), or an archetypical middle realm, like the collective unconscious (Kenneth Ring, Jacques Vallée), or a realm of 'pre-personal' and 'transpersonal' energies (Stanislav Grof, Ken Wilber), or, finally, the impulses of an extraterrestrial intelligence. It would be highly advisable to take into account the → psychopathology of traumatized depths of the soul, where (from 'poltergeists' to C. G. Jung's 'psychoid projections') very important research problems lie hidden. Collective imaginations and traditional social myths play a role, like the (green!) water men and 'little people' of Celtic Mythology (U. Magin), or traditional stores of religious beliefs such as epiphanies of God and apparitions of Mary.

1. Von Ludwiger 1992, 17.
2. Ibid., 105.
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→ *Epiphany, New Myths/New Mythologies, Science Fiction*

Michael Schaefer

Unification Church

The Beginnings

1. The Unification Church, popularly known under the designations 'Moon Sect,' or even 'Moon Movement,' stands among the new religious movements (→ New Religions). It emerged from elements of → Confucianism and Korean → Protestantism. Its founder is Sun Myung Mun (in English, 'Moon,' whence the coarse name for his followers, 'Moonies'), whose family stems from Chon-gin (North Korea). In 1930, the family converted to Presbyterianism, when Moon was just ten years old. As early as 1936, Moon is reported to have had his first visions, in which Christ appeared to him and enjoined him to complete the mission that had remained unfulfilled because of the crucifixion.

Moon's religious course began in 1946, in North Korea, where he had returned from Japan after studies in electro-technology. Beginning in 1951, Moon—then in South Korea—preached a doctrine of his own, and three years later, in 1954, founded the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, incorporating it under civil law. Quite soon afterward, the first missionary activity began, in Japan, the United States, and Europe. The Society for the Unification of World Christianity, founded in 1964, numbered only its seven founding co-members. Finally, the street mission turned out more successfully. The following years (1972–1981) were the most active for the Unification Church, and, especially after Moon's move to the United States in 1972, the principal activities began to be transferred to North America. With Moon's return to Korea, in the mid-1980s, the active missionary phase came to an end. At the end of the 1980s, the Church numbered an estimated 150,000-200,000 members (including Korea).

Organization

2. The Unification Church's organization is divided hierarchically, with Moon's authority undisputed. In addition, there are Moon's direct descendants, and his second wife. His sons gradually receive more and more leadership roles. Moon's wife, especially in recent years, entered the public consciousness as founder of a women's movement, the Women's Federation for World Peace. Every country involved has its own leadership, whose individual centers are each presided over by a center leader. In the inner circle, to be sure, that of the foundational superiors, a Korean dominance is unmistakable.

Connected with the Unification Church are a number of other organizations, partly with a religio-cultural character (e.g., Assembly of World Religions), at times of a religio-economic nature (e.g., Happy World, Inc., in Japan, with some 600 offices), or the publishers Aquarius and KANDO.

Teaching and Religious Life

3. Moon's principal writing, *The Divine Principle*, appeared in 1957, and achieved the status in the community of a sacred book, along with the Bible. Ultimately more important for instruction and missionary activity, however, was Prof. Young Oon Kim's Study Guide (*Divine Principle and Its Application*, 1960). Kim came under the influence of the work of Swedish theosophist Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), and is of great importance for the entire development of the philosophy of the Unification Church.

In its basic characteristics, the Unification Church is apocalyptic (→ Apocalypse) and chiliastic (→ Millenarianism/Chiliasm), and rests on two

elements in particular: (1) a peculiar exposition of the Bible, and of components of the Yin-Yang philosophy, and (2) the emphasis, originating in Confucianism, that matrimony, generational antecedence, and family stand at the focus of theology. Thus, God committed to man and woman the duty of becoming perfect spouses. The Fall is interpreted as a frustration of the divine plan, consisting in the premature sexual union of Adam and Eve. Moon interprets the whole of Jewish and Christian history as God's attempt to reconstitute his relationship to the human being, disrupted since the Fall. Moon's own commission, as 'Lord of the Second Coming,' is to continue the unfinished work of Jesus Christ, and, in a perfect marriage and → family, fulfill God's original plan of creation. Moon's second marriage, contracted in 1960 as the 'Wedding of the Lamb,' is therefore equivalent to the beginning of a new age. As 'true parents,' Moon and his wife can realize spiritual perfection even physically, and lead humanity to a condition of sinlessness, in order to erect God's ideal world on earth.

In Moon's theology of unification, good and evil confront each other in the form of a mitigated → dualism. In its view of the Korean War (1950–1953) and the Cold War, the Communist world was the incarnation of evil, and must then be dutifully overcome by democratic systems, first and foremost by the United States. Moon's anti-Communism is based on the personal experience of his internment in a Communist labor camp from 1948 to 1950. His mission, in his consciousness, is therefore the unification of Korea, and only then that of the world. In recent years, however, the agenda has taken more and more distance from the idea of a military confrontation, and the idea that has been propagated is that of a battle to be waged on a spiritual and political level.

Cult

Cult in the Unification Church is centered on the wedding, marriage itself, and the 'blessing' of couples in great numbers. Most followers lead a bourgeois life. Beginning in 1961, there have been 'mass weddings,' at which 'perfect marriage' and a sinless progeny are vowed. In 1982 in Seoul, 5,837 couples are supposed to have been 'blessed.' In 1995, the last mass wedding of couples was performed, simultaneously on three continents, by telecommunication. Today, non-members, or even persons already legally married, are permitted to participate in these ceremonies.

Membership

One becomes a new member of the Unification Church by participation in seminars, and through study of the *The Divine Principle.* The reception is finalized by an official vow, in which the candidate recognizes the *Principle*. Daily and weekly meditations are customary, at which Moon and his wife are present in pictorial image, as 'True Parents' (a title which does not betoken their deification). Mission in the West is no longer particularly worthy of note; the Church's earlier fundraising through collections, or the sale of flowers, pamphlets, etc., has ceased.

Situation Today

4. With the collapse of Communism, the year 1989 signaled, for the Unification Church, the beginning of the end of an active confrontation between the forces of good and those of evil. Today, dialogue is the watchword, and mission in the erstwhile Eastern bloc is long since under way. The Unification Church has always been reproached for too strong an interference, in existing family conditions, between members and their families. Increasingly, the Unification Church has had to fight the appearance of following destructive

and authoritarian structures. Today, then, the Unification Church prioritizes the cultivation of a positive image, a change in both its internal practices and its religious and political claims. To what extent its religious community, as a child of the East-West conflict, can also make its message plausible under the changed conditions of world politics, remains to be seen. The task of surviving its charismatic founder, and institutionalizing a mechanism of succession, is something that the Unification Church has yet to face.

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→ *Anti-Cult Movements, Mission, New Religions, Sect*

Jutta Bernard and Günter Kehrer

Utopia

Abstract and Concrete Utopia

1. Etymologically, the word 'utopia,' derived from the Greek, means the 'place [*tópos*] that is not [*ou*],' or 'no such place.' Ever since Thomas Moore's *De Optimo Rei Publicae Statu, deque Nova Insula Utopia* (Lat., "The Best State of the Republic, and the New Isle of Utopia"), 'Utopia' has been a luminous popular concept. As a generic concept, it denotes the (mostly literary) forms of utopian delineations ('utopian state novel'). Henceforth Utopia, the 'not-place,' is an imaginary place, a wish-picture, at a spatial and/or temporal distance. As an 'abstract Utopia,' this place emerges as the utterly Other, delivered from all historical and material conditionings. In a more modest sense, the 'concrete utopia' (Bloch) reflects the resulting situation (→ Marxism). In utopia, both abstract and concrete, what comes to expression is a yearning, immanent to human thought from time immemorial, for the better, the best. This 'utopian consciousness' is a prerequisite and impulse for every piece of societal progress that human beings are to produce. It may even be that the 'circensian element' (Ueding) that emerges, a counterpart of thinking in mere logic, lends utopia the quality of an instrument of criticism. It is in this sense that Ernst Bloch recalls → art, → fantasy, and → dreams as loci of the utopian, since what comes to expression here is what must be translated in function of the 'not yet realized' (objectively) and the 'not yet conscious' (subjectively).

2. The vision of the better, the perfect, in the consciousness of an autonomous power of action, is an exploit of the modern age. Consequently, the concept of utopia in the modern age is only conditionally transferable to other human ages and social vantages. Nevertheless, even with a ban upon myth, nature, and religion, utopian content is identifiable.

Temporal (Time) Utopias

The Genesis narrative—known also to other cultures, in various conjugations—'recalls' a harmony lying on the threshold of history, and lost through human misbehavior. The promises that come to expression, as well as the perspective of salvation history in everything that occurs, point to the option of reaching this harmony once again, 'after' history. In the Judeo-Christian tradition (in its apocalyptic traditions; → Apocalypse), this 'utopia content' appears to the human being in the shape of a concrete goal, attainable along a kind of railroad of time, and portrayed plastically, in powerful, effective language, and therefore credibly. By way of the prophetical impulse of those who believe that they can determine the exact point in time of a future happy age, on the basis of special knowledge (→ astrology, numerology, division into time-periods, discipleship of the Messiah/false messiah), this notion receives a dramatic concretization. As examples here, we may cite Joachim of Fiore (c. 1130–1202), with his 'Third Empire of the Spirit' dealt with in his *Liber Concordiae Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Lat., "Book of the Concord of the Old and the New Testament"; first printing, 1519). Through integration into utopian content, chiliastic and eschatological materials enjoy a considerable potential for radical change and revolution. Further, the conceptions imply the (current) world's imperfection, and thereby the thought of divine imperfection. Here we have an assault on prevailing relationships.

Spatial Utopias

Beginning with the Renaissance, temporal (religious) utopias, which seemed 'attainable' along the path of time, were supplanted by (humanistic) spatial utopias. The utopian sketches that then emerged returned to an ancient model: Plato's *Politeia* and his Myth of → Atlantis. Common to these outlines was an origin in their respective temporal contexts. As they begin there, they reflect the optimal state. Moore's *Isle of Utopia* introduced a flood of literary utopian sketches. Here belong Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1623), Johann Valentin Andreae's *Christianopolis* (1619, in the spirit and milieu of Lutheranism), and Francis Bacon's *Nova Atlantis* (1626). There appear at the same time a plethora of sketches of the ideal city; these complement the abstract utopias of space and state, since they obviously cannot be generally regarded as the architectonic materialization of the latter. As forms of a utopian effort, nevertheless, they aim at an independent 'utopian perfection' (Joergensen). On this point, they are also to be distinguished from monasteries, whose model translation of an ideal, one taken from the tradition of the 'evangelical counsels' (poverty, chastity, community of goods, obedience), posits less a utopia, than a concretization susceptible of composition. Such a plan is a rationally governable architectonic ideal, intended for the real world as a model, while at the same time being referred to that world in order to be able to survive.

In ever new and distinct ways, the successive utopias of the Baroque era reflect the worlds of experience ('exotic lands'), and philosophical discoveries (Enlightenment) of their time. The spatial utopia is rich in variants, and is applied to different contexts and popularized. Thus, for example, J. G. Schnabel's *Insel Felsenburg* (Ger., "Isle of Felsenburg," 1731–1743) binds the

utopian social outline to 'Robinsonades' and to adventure literature critical of civilization.

Arcadia

From the Renaissance onward, another element complemented utopian consciousness. The former was not as compelling, in its quality as a utopian element, as were the state utopias. *En revanche*, however, as an aesthetic sign, it was subjectively clearer and plainer, in terms of its interior appreciation as a utopian sign. This new element was that of the 'Arcadia,' whose image Jacopo Sannazaros's novel, *Arcadia* (printed in 1504), coined definitively. Arcadia had been the object of yearning since antiquity (Vergil). But in the Middle Ages, Arcadia's landscape, despite its similarities with that of Paradise, had been forgotten. The pagan character of Arcadia was too obvious; its origin as a place of pleasure could unfortunately not be wiped away. Henceforward, however, the idyll of the shepherd indicated a Utopian (Arcadian) longing ever critical of the present, and gave Arcadian thought a 'concrete' fundament that could be felt subjectively: homeland (Bloch).

New Temporal Utopias

From the nineteenth century onward, the classic spatial utopia was itself eclipsed by new temporal utopias. The utopias of liberty and equality, of socialism and communism, as utopian constructs, evince cultural similarities to the (religious) temporal utopias.

Negative Utopias

In terms of Engels's demand, "From utopia to science!" out of 'utopian socialism' comes 'really existing socialism.' Over the course of the twentieth century, however, disillusionment with the Soviet system of government, on the one side, and the experience of totalitarian Fascism on the other, fashioned a variant of the original optimistic spatial utopia. The variant, at the same time, can be interpreted as the final chord of the utopian song as such: the negative utopia. It sketches the pessimistic picture of a future society in which, through psychological manipulation, totalitarian governmental systems enslave human beings in unfreedom (George Orwell, *1984*, 1948), and interdict them, once and for all, through artificially generated promises of happiness (Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World*, 1932).

Science Fiction and Utopia

While the utopian novel thus bears utopia to the grave, it solemnizes its trivial resurrection in the genre of → science fiction. In the 'endless spans of outer space,' in "Star Wars," and the land of the 'Jedi knights,' utopian longings find themselves squeezed into myths as fanciful as they are popular.

The Principle of "Hope"

3. An attempt to defeat the troubling paradox of utopia—that antithesis of what is and what ought to be—places high demands on any engagement in utopia. Its defamation as utterly unrealistic fantasy, and the censure of ideologization, come readily to hand. 'Misunderstandings' such as these inevitably issue in attempts to fetter utopia in practical categories. Karl Mannheim differentiates utopia according to types: (1) the salvation doctrines (orgiastic chiliasm), (2) the liberal, humanitarian notion, (3) the conservative idea, and (4) the socialistic/communistic idea.[1] These approaches rightly reflect the ideological content of self-styled (temporal) utopias, whose practical realization in history often conditioned, or still conditions, totalitarian governmental structures. But, in their limitation to practice, these categories reduce the different potentials of the utopian consciousness to a

programmatic determination of ends. The category 'hope,' introduced into philosophy by Ernst Bloch, takes the aspiration for the better, the perfect, in earnest, and places it in a new connection with societal practice. Hope can be disappointed, but never falsified! The 'utterly Other,' for human beings, is still both an orientation and a motive for action. In the gray monotony, Arcadia glistens …

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→ *Apocalypse, Atlantis, Dream, Fantasy, Garden/Paradise, History, Millenarianism/ Chiliasm, Science Fiction, Time*

H.-Georg Lützenkirchen

Values

1. Even in the colloquial sense, values and their imagined or actual change are exposed to a nearly inflationary usage. At the same time, varying understandings of values are cultivated by several scientific disciplines, especially philosophy, religious studies, economics, pedagogy, psychology, and sociology. Common to their efforts is an attempt to grasp human acts less as arbitrary, than as possessed of a tendency to calculability. Viewed from the standpoint of the social sciences, values are social rules or outlooks, of an emotive and/or rational kind, settled in individuals and supporting the activity of individuals or groups. Apart from professional argumentation, each more or less socially relevant expression or change of opinion can then be referred to values, such as when pregnancy counseling (→ Abortion/Contraception) or youth violence are discussed controversially.

Max Weber

2. Today's predominantly sociological reception of the theoretical socioeconomic efforts of Max → Weber conveys an interpretation according to which "given reality is ordered according to categories that [. . .] present the *premise* of our knowledge, and are bound to the premise of *value* of that truth that alone can give us the knowledge of experience" (Weber 1904, 213). The objects of Weber's investigations, however, are not societies in the

sociological sense, but cultural circles of world religions, and the actions of the persons shaped by them. For Weber, "belief in the value of scientific truth" is the "product of determinate cultures, and not naturally given." At the same time, he ascertains a "belief in the supra-empirical validity of the last and highest value concepts" and an "unexposed alterability of concrete viewpoints." Therefore, "the concrete shape of the value relation is still […] fleeting, subject to change" (ibid.). Today, in retrospect, Weber's warning seems to have been wasted, so that a "wild pursuit of new viewpoints and conceptual constructions" is indeed judged to be the "proper task of social science" (ibid., 214).

3. Scholarship poses questions of the meaning and possibility of freedom of values. In religions, it remains a matter of dispute whether, or to what extent, human concerns for self-definition, and for knowledge, are acknowledged merely as culturally relative, or as universally valid (e.g., human values and → human rights). Conflicts of value emerge daily, individually as well as inter-individually. Here it is a matter either of simple inclinations or of levels of knowledge in the sense defined by philosophically ambitious child psychologist Jean Piaget (1898–1980). To explain values as social rules (philosophically: morality), as an expression of personal competency within a structurally transparent maturation process in Piaget's sense, is to broaden the theme of a dimension neglected in sociology and religious scholarship. How does consciousness arrive at the point of attending to rules? Setting heteronymous and autonomous decisions in mutual opposition, and analyzing the connection between the two as a maturation process, Piaget explains the process of socialization as the progressive development of individual competency, especially that of cognition (Piaget 1977). In the course of an increasing differentiation of personalities, the child develops a mental attitude that consists in a step-by-step dismantling of childish egocentrism. Relatively early, children notice that their parents, and other persons, are neither almighty nor omniscient (infallible), nor ubiquitous, so that they are not gods. In parallel, the childish worldview becomes extensively overcome as a whole, including that of belief in an animated nature, and so in sun, moon, wind etc., as seemingly outfitted with intentions (→ Animism). At the age of about eleven to thirteen years, children grasp that social rules cannot only be laid down by authorities (parents, gods), but also freely negotiated.

Jean Piaget

For the co-founder of sociology as an academic discipline, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), the source of morality lies in the collective, and values 'are products of the general opinion.' Their objects possess no value of themselves, but only in relationship to certain states of consciousness. The totality of the ideas, convictions, and feelings are presented by society (see Durkheim 1954). For Durkheim, the liberty of the individual lies in the insight into social necessities. While Piaget would have the level of the individual, in the sense of a capacity for knowledge, decisive for social judgments, therefore for values as well, Durkheim finds the level of social environment determinative. This arrangement does not inhibit the individual as part of a pre-modern—that is, with little differentiation of labor—clan, nor as a member of a modern society. In the clan, moral rules are not valid universally, and so not, in principle, independently of culture and society, but with a relation to culture—here in a special measure vis-à-vis one's extended kinship. In the clan, conflicts of value are decided strictly hierarchically, and, in case of doubt (as currently to be observed), by force, while in modern societies with

Émile Durkheim

a division of labor, a growing trend is to be seen in the direction of self-development, which contributes to a pluralistic order of values (→ Pluralism). The latter's premise, it must be added, is a type of socialization, whose state of maturation and concept of society accepts a position different from—and, as the case may be, even opposed to—one's own, as enjoying equal rights.

4. One's own hierarchy of values does not always furnish desires or appraisals that are essential and relevant for action. Tenacious ambivalences—that is, orientations appropriated by feelings at once positive and negative—result in futility. Results appear that compare cultures, in → group conformity, in positions and attitudes taken vis-à-vis authorities and innovations, and finally, in feelings concerning achievement (Boesch 1971).

5. Different attitudes with regard to values can widen, and become images of the world, such as emerged in the Cold War between East and West, until approximately 1990. In both political systems, specific types of activity and patterns of interpretation developed, and the transitory risk of a military confrontation increased. Within the Western system of values, to be sure, capitalism and socialism converged in respect of ideas of self-devotion and self-control in connection with the process of the progressing industrialization of the moment (Gouldner 1970).

In a word, value represents a collective designation of mutually complementary or exclusive interpretations of motives, interests, and goals—in toto, of essential foundations of human acts. All evaluations are based on orientations in time, space, symbol, and rule (cf. Durkheim 1968). Religious content in terms of sense and meaning contains evaluations, and is transmitted symbolically.

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→ *Abortion/Contraception, Authority, Economy, Ethics/Morals, Group, Meaning/Signification, Money, Prestige, Ritual, Science, Socialization/Upbringing, Symbol/Sign/Gesture, Weber*

Harmut Salzwedel

Vegetarianism

1. The term 'vegetarianism,' defined by the founders of the British Vegetarian Society in 1842 as meatless nutrition, is derived from *vegetus* (Lat.,

'alive'). This means that vegetarian food excludes the products of a slaughtered animal (including fish). Within the groups of persons who live according to vegetarian principles, there are three forms of diet:[1]

- Ovo-lacto-vegetarians constitute the largest group. These do consume milk, milk-products, and eggs, besides vegetable products.
- Lactovegetarians avoid eggs, in addition to meat and fish.
- The most rigorous section among the devotees of a meatless diet is composed of the vegans, who restrict themselves to a vegetable diet. Vegans avoid animal products across the board (including leather, wool, silk, and honey).

Vegetarianism, nevertheless, is more than a manner of nutrition, and is understood and defined, today more than ever, as a *Weltanschauung*. The motives for a vegetarian lifestyle are manifold and extend from ethical (moral) and religious (spiritual) considerations, to health, hygiene, and aesthetics, then to ecological and social motives. Amidst this multiplicity, according to polls, motives of health and morals predominate (→ Ethics/Morals). The religiously signed rejection of the killing of living beings and the extension of the object of the Fifth Commandent ("You shall not kill") to all beings endowed with life, enter this discussion. So does the capacity of animals for suffering, and reflections on modern treatment of animals. Thus, vegetarianism stands in direct connection to movements for animal protection and animal rights (→ Animal).

Antiquity

2. The basis for meatless nutrition was laid in antiquity itself. Ethical motives stood in the foreground, followed by considerations of health. The first impetus for the renunciation of meat consumption emerged from the religious sect of the Orpheans in the sixth century BCE. The dietary counsels of the followers of mythical Orpheus lent the Greek understanding of religion new insights. By comparison with received (sacred) dietary proscriptions, a total, and especially, a persevering abstinence represented an altogether new mindset vis-à-vis the sacred food prohibitions.

Until well into the nineteenth century, the vegetarian diet was designated the 'Pythagorean fare,' a designation coming down from philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras (592–493 BCE) and his school. Through belief in a → reincarnation of souls, abandonment of meat and the non-consumption of 'animate' (Lat., 'ensouled') beings became an essential, elementary component of Pythagoreanism.

Being essential to various traditions of → Hinduism and → Buddhism, the vegetarian tradition played a certain role in Christianity, as well.[2] The doctrine of reincarnation is crucial to Buddhist tradition; at the same time Buddhism considers non-violence and vegetarianism as belonging to the five fundamental steps to self-knowledge. The ultimate goal is the state of Nirvana, the ending of all suffering and the release from the circle of rebirth. Hinduism, for its part, is not only one of the oldest religions, but probably the religion with the highest esteem for animals; according to the Vedas and other Hindu texts the eating of meat and thus the acceptance of killing is inconsistent with the liberation from the circle of reincarnation.

In church history, nevertheless, throughout the centuries, the anthropocentricism of the biblical image of the world and the human being prevailed. In its resistance to → Gnosticism, and in order to set itself apart from Pythagoreanism, Christian doctrine now placed human beings, by virtue of their immortal souls, above the animals, which were corruptible beings.[3]

Modernity

Only in mid-nineteenth century did the transition to modern vegetarianism occur, from a point of departure in English vegetarianism. The *Vegetarian Society* in the UK, as the most important organization worldwide, today has more than 28,000 members. Now the traditional elements of a millenia-old dietary system were joined by the institutionalization of the vegetarian movement. Thus, in 1867, in Nordhausen in Northern Thuringia, the first vegetarian association in Germany was founded, the *Verein für natürliche Lebensweise* (Ger., 'Association for a Natural Lifestyle'), followed by several other organizations. On an international level, the *International Vegetarian Union (IVU)* was founded in 1908, and is still active today, with little change.

3. Vegetarianism can be a component of various systems. Obvious here first of all is an incorporation into the multiplicity of dietary systems (→ Eating/Nourishment). The vegetarian diet is an alternative nutritional regime, standing in clear contrast to conventional dietary habits, especially in Western industrial countries. Not coincidentally, modern vegetarianism emerged in the nineteenth-century age of industrialization (→ Industrial Society) and technologization, and in the nutritional changes involved with that period. Vegetarianism was a response to the changing nutritional habits and the diseases of a civilization dependent on nutrition, with its sufficiently well known and scientifically attested diseases emerging from dietary patterns. A first overview of the alternative nutritional tendencies (for example, macrobiotics, raw diet) demonstrates that a meatless (or at least greatly reduced meat content) nutritional recommendation represents the lowest common denominator of these alternative models, and that the vegetarian regime is thus a significant component in today's nutritional behavior.

The life-reform movement in general offers a further opportunity for integration. Naturism, with its 'Back to Nature' effort, as well as its active animal-protection and antivivisection movements, may be especially singled out in this connection. In 1975, Australian ethics professor Peter Singer wrote *Animal Liberation*, which was the first scholarly work to present ethical arguments for not eating animals or experimenting on them (→ Bioethics; Genetic Engineering). This inspirational book was the perfect compliment to F. M. Lappé's *Diet for a Small Planet* (1971), which showed exactly how to go about eating things other than animals. What *Diet for a Small Planet* did for vegetarianism, *Animal Liberation* did for animal rights, virtually launching the animal rights movement in the U.S. overnight. Animal rights groups started popping up everywhere, including PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) in the early 1980s and the ALF (Animal Liberation Front) in the 1990s (→ Environmentalism).

Peter Singer

The Situation Today

4. Various estimates and polls indicate that, in Europe at this time, some three to five million persons practice vegetarianism. In Great Britain, vegetarians make up about seven percent of the population. In the industrialized countries three to seven percent consider themselves vegetarians and 20-30 percent buy vegetarian products. The practice of vegetarianism today is not historically determined. But on the basis of the world situation, it is an invitation to individuals. Advocates of meatless nutrition see vegetarianism as the sole possible diet of the future. Citing the same efficiency concerns as environmentalists and economists, many vegetarians see natural resources as being freed up by vegetarianism. Many people believe that the production of meat and animal products at current and likely future levels is environmen-

tally unsustainable. They also argue that even if it does prove sustainable, still, modern industrial agriculture is changing ecosystems faster than they can adapt. While vegetarian agriculture produces some of the same problems as animal production, the environmental impact of animal production is significantly greater. It takes about 10 kg of good quality plant protein—such as wheat and soy—to produce 1 kg of meat protein.

The multiplicity of vegetarian cookbooks in bookstores and the great variety of recipes for vegetarian dishes in women's magazines show quite clearly that a meatless diet has become an element of Western eating culture and nutritional situation. At the same time, more and more persons reflect how a responsible interaction with nature, the environment, and our fellow creatures, can or must appear. The discussion in Christianity of the person/animal relationship (which includes the nutritional aspect) has been carried further in recent years, in talks, discussions, declarations, and the like. Thus, a responsible behavior with animate as well as inanimate nature is pursued as a goal. The extent to which a renunciation of meat is regarded as a logical consequence of this effort is a very individual judgment, even today. Today, acceptance of vegetarianism by medical authorities and the general public is at an all-time high.

1. In Germany, there are c. 250,000-460,000 vegans (and 5 million vegetarians); in the USA estimates give a number of c. 0.9% vegans (and 2.5% vegetarians), with a tendency toward increase. Unfortunately, confirmed estimates are lacking with regard to the number of vegans world-wide; it is reasonable, however, to assume that c. 1% of the global population follows a vegan diet.
2. The vegetarian elements in primitive Christianity have not yet been exhaustively addressed; cf. Rosen 1987.
3. Cf., especially, the work and contributions of Eugen Drewermann.

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→ *Animal, Buddhism, Eating/Nourishment, Environmentalism, Ethics/Morals, Hinduism, Nature Piety, Reincarnation, Sacrifice*

Judith Baumgartner

Veil

1. In many societies, the covering of the head and → hair, from the simple headscarf to a complete cloak, has a long tradition. A person's head is literally of outstanding significance. It is not only the bearer of the brain, and





People have preconceptions and → prejudices regarding the veiling of Islamic women. These two title photos from the German-speaking press show the extent to which these ideas are dependent upon their presentation in the media. The woman masked in a tent-like black veil, from the magazine *ZEIT-Punkte*, vol. 1 (1993)—with the title "Islam: Enemy of the West?"—from whose face only the staring, black-framed eyes are to be seen, looks the observer straight in the face. Immediately, a subliminal impression of foreignness, of threat, arises, generated and reinforced by the caption under the picture, which the photograph associates with Islam. The question posed there is actually only a rhetorical one. The answer is given in the photo. Islam is indeed an 'enemy of the

thus the seat of thought and reason, but it is also the locus of all sensory organs. On it, as the highest area of the body, decoration and covering stand out most meaningfully.

The veiling of the body, or parts of the body, has always served two principal purposes. First, it is meant to protect the wearer from evil influences, be it from the → evil eye, or from → demons, who could penetrate the body at any of the several apertures of the head. By veiling the head, and outwardly altering the appearance, or even making oneself unrecognizable, one thinks to be able to deceive the demons. Because many cultures regard women as the weaker sex, among them the obligation of veiling themselves, or the wish to do so, occurs more frequently. Second, the veiling of the body or its parts is meant to defend wearers against their own evil powers, among which are those of sexual attraction, and therefore of seduction (→ Eroticism). Further: headgear, just like clothing, adornment, or coiffure, is a part of nonverbal communication, and signals to the environment that the wearer belongs to a particular cultural group, or even documents a particular condition (→ Mourning), social state (e.g., married/unmarried), or ideological posture (e.g. orthodox) within the group.

2. A fundamental assertion may be made, to the effect that a head covering possesses a double effect in terms of signal. It is equivalent to a social status, as well as to sexual unavailability. As early as 2000 BCE, it is reported that, among the Assyrians, widows and wives—thus, respectable women—wore veils, while slaves and whores were not permitted a veil, so that they were identified as unfree, unmarriageable, and sexually available. Urban, free, Byzantine women also wore it, in order to distance themselves

from poorer women, who went about without a veil because it would have hindered them while working. These influences then determined Islamic practice.

In Christianity as well, the veil was important. According to Paul (1 Cor 11:3-16), a woman is obliged to wear a veil at divine service (where she 'prays or prophesies'). As this commandment is grounded in the Hebrew Bible, it is understandable that it would inform the everyday practice of the Christian-Jewish environment, which prescribed the wearing of the veil. Modern theologians, as Max Küchler, see in the veil a 'crystallization': on the one side, it betokens the subordination of the woman, her position beneath the man, and on the other, it serves for a defense against → eroticism. In the time of the Carolingians (seventh to tenth centuries), it became the obligation of women to cover their heads, especially when attending church. Furthermore, uncovered hair stood for woman's inner sexual and magical power, which it was important to keep under control (→ Witch/Persecution of Witches).

The form of the head covering, however, was at once a modish element, and strongly dependent on worldly events. Thus, at the time of Charlemagne, there was a preference for Byzantine material, worn in the style of the oriental veil, leaving the face free, however. While in the fourteenth century the style was in bonnets, in the fifteenth, Spanish and French hats ruled.

As early as the Byzantine age, clothing, and especially the head covering, served the class society of the Middle Ages to demonstrate membership in a class. As late as the nineteenth century, no lady went out of the house without a head covering. This rule slowly changed with the emerging women's movement at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. It rejected the bonnet as a sign of woman's subordination to man, just as it battled against the corset and for leg hose and a free selection of hairdo. While this last goes without saying nowadays, the scarf that the farmer's wife still wore in Western countries until the 1950s, and that is still widespread in Italy (especially in Sicily and Sardinia), bears witness to the earlier importance of a head covering. Similar relics include the bridal veil and nuns' clothing ('brides of Christ').

West.' It is altogether otherwise in the picture on the right, on the cover of the Swiss cultural newspaper *Du* (Ger., "You," 7-8/1994), with the title reading "Islam: The Mediterranean Encounter." Here the dark headscarf scarcely has a negative effect: its wearer openly, and a little slyly, smiles at the reader, and thereby comes into contact with her or him. Oppositely from the depersonalized presentation on the left, here it is the person that counts, not the scarf. The cover picture is a friendly invitation to come into contact with the foreign culture and religion.

Qur'an

3. Through its broad spread in the East, as well as through contact with Byzantine Christians, the veil found entry into Islam. In the → Qur'an itself, it is true, it is only recommended that orthodox women wear part of their scarves over the necklines of their garments (suras 24:31; 33:59). However, there is also a hadith—a declaration of the Prophet Muhammad—that women are to veil themselves when they leave the house: face, hands, and feet are excepted. This hadith forms the basis for the most varied manners of veiling in the Islamic world.

The latter are principally founded in sex. Women are to provoke no lust in men, and neither are they to expose themselves to their lustful gaze. The reason for this is the high value of virginity in Islamic families, which, indeed, also obtains in pre-modern societies generally. Virginity is supposed to guarantee the exact control of reproductive behavior (→ Regeneration/Fertility). Girls' virtuousness was of great importance for the honor of the whole family, and frequently still is today. In order to protect it, besides spatial division of the sexes, the optical neutralization of woman is an important factor.

However, the variety of the manners of, and prescriptions for, the wearing of the veil show that these are just as much determined by culture as by

religion. From the simple scarf of the farmer's wife in Turkey or Egypt, to the black tshador of the Iranian woman, to the burqa in Pakistan, which permits women only a partial view through a fence-like opening in the whole-body garment, every nuance is present.

The attitude of Muslim women themselves to the veil, however, is a matter of oscillation. With the opening of the twentieth century, a powerful movement of emancipation emerged among Islamic women, in the course of which its members demonstratively ripped the veils from their heads as a sign of the conclusion of male dominance. In our own day, it is still especially the middle class, with its orientation to Europe and to Western values, that regards the unveiled head as a sign of freedom and progress.

Since the end of the 1970s, a robust return to the veil has occurred. It was first manifest among the women in black tshadors, who paraded them in the face of the West as a symbol of the revolution in → Iran. The linkage of religion and veil with political goals has made the veil a symbol of otherness between Islam and the Western world. The latter sees it as a sign of the rejection of civilization and progress, the former a symbol of their own cultural and religious identity. This symbolic charge explains why so many women have voluntarily donned the veil in recent years. Here a distinction must be made between urban, often well educated, women, who have consciously decided in favor of the veil on grounds of their religious conviction, as a symbol of their self-awareness as emancipated Muslim women—and women, chiefly of rural origin, for whom it is part of the maintenance of a farming tradition. Although most cases are those of this last, the scarf or veil in the Western world has become simply a symbol of the Muslim woman, or even simply of Islam, as the 'scarf debate' (→ Laicism) shows. The media, with their tendency to oversimplification, have also contributed to the emergence of 'veil' as a negative stereotype, so that the very word is now a buzzword arousing or denoting hostility or distaste towards foreigners in Western Europe.

The Veil and Political Discourse

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→ *Clothing, Eroticism, Evil Eye, Gender Stereotypes, Hair, Islam, Laicism*

Silvia Kuske

Veneration of Persons / Personality Cult

1. 'Veneration of persons,' or 'personality cult,' indicates reverence for a special personality. This reverence can go so far, in certain cultures, that the venerated persons are actually ascribed divinity. As a result, the designation, which has not yet established itself in religious studies, is often applied polemically, as a 'counter-concept' to reverence for God. Originally, 'veneration of persons' was a 'buzz phrase,' with a negative connotation. It was coined by Nikita Khrushchev in 1956 at the Twentieth Convention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as a criticism of the Stalinist brand of leadership. In a system of collective leadership, veneration—or 'cult'—of persons denoted the amassing of power and authority in a single person, and his/her exaggerated veneration. The concept, with a background in political history which is mostly forgotten today, is nevertheless the earmark of a broader spectrum of religious phenomena. A basic distinction must be made as to whether it is living persons who are venerated in cult, or whether the veneration occurs posthumously.

Roman Emperor Worship

2. In the Rome of imperial times, the ruler was accorded special veneration. The original reverence paid to the Roman divinity Genius—the deified power of male generation (cf. Lat., *gen-*, 'generate')—was transferred to the ruler's genius, or creative power (→ Genius). In the year 29 BCE , the Senate determined that, at all meals, public and private alike, a solemn gift was to be offered to the genius of Augustus. Two years later, Augustus had the Temple of 'Divine Julius' (*Aedes Divi Julii in Foro*), with its own priestly service, erected for Julius Caesar (murdered 44 BCE) on the Forum Romanum. After his own death, a corresponding *Templum Divi Augusti* was constructed to his own honor, on the Palatine. By 192, temples were built to seven more deceased Emperors by their successors. After Nero and Trajan, even the title of the reigning ruler (e.g., *Dominus et Deus*: Emperor Aurelian, reg. 270–275) bore the divine designation. The title of divinity survived even the end of the ancient veneration of persons under Constantine I, who in 324 prohibited the temple cult to the veneration of the ruler, and his interdict prevailed into the Byzantine Age.

Christian Martyrs and Saints

3. With Polycarp at the latest (second century CE), we meet the tradition of honoring Christian martyrs (and later, saints in general) in a memorial cult. Early indeed, it would seem, believers had begun to gather on the anniversary of the martyr's birth or death, at the place in which her or his bones were buried (Lat., *memoria*, 'memorial place'), to remember the person. Later, such places became the sites of churches, which, as a rule, bore the names of the martyrs. The background of this devotion—besides the community-building commemoration—was the concept that, thanks to their suffering and death for their faith, martyrs were especially possessed of sacred powers (→ Charisma; Power), so that miracles occurred at the location of their graves or → relics. A new type of saint to whom devotional veneration was accorded, appeared on the scene in late-third-century Egypt: the monk of the ascetic life, who had abandoned life in community, and settled in the wilderness, or in remote, uninviting places (→ Monasticism). From the late tenth century onward, however, only those who had been canonized by the



The young Peronist who lights an altar candle in the meeting room of a local Peronist group of Buenos Aires, pays tribute to the founding couple of the Party, Juan Domingo Perón (1895–1974) and his wife, Eva ('Evita') Duarte (1919–1952). Perón led Argentina from 1946 to 1955 with an authoritarian presidential regime that had taken on the characteristics of a mass, social revolutionary, → political religion, such as that recognized in the European Fascism of the twentieth century. His wife 'Evita,' a singer and motion picture actress by profession, succeeded, in exultant scenes, in making herself and the regime advocates of the 'shirtless' poor (Span., *descaminados*) and women. Evita's early death from cancer, at the age of 33, contributed to her becoming the object of an enthusiastic cult of the dead, promoted by Perón's Labor Party (*Partido Laborista*). Her corpse was embalmed, and her mausoleum was preserved as a place of pilgrimage, while her office at union headquarters became a room for memorial and meditation. In modern political movements, the veneration of persons encourages an intentional eradication of the boundaries of nation, party, and salvation movement. The devotional shrine pictured here may serve as an example. It is at party headquarters, and features a Catholic altar furnished with missal, crucifix, and Madonna, but dominated by photographs of the 'holy couple,' Juan and Evita. The transition from commemorative picture to image for meditation (perhaps even divine idol) seems fleeting. Granted, charisma and veneration of persons cannot be planned, as was acrimoniously shown at the close of Perón's career. After his political comeback in 1973, Perón tried to 'clone' Evita, presenting his second wife, dancer María Estella Martínez (b. 1931), as 'Isabel,' the new popular leader. After Perón's death, Isabel did succeed him in the presidential chair, but did not possess the capacities for control of the masses that her predecessor had demonstrated, and in 1976 she was ingloriously overthrown by a military junta. (Hubert Mohr)

Pope in a formal process could be regarded as officially 'holy,' or 'saintly,' and thus as worthy of veneration and cult. The Reformers dismantled canonization in all of its forms, but the sacred elevation of men and women as 'blessed ones' or 'saints' survived in Catholicism. Since 1918, this process has taken on the form of a trial, with one attorney or advocate for, and one (colloquially, the 'Devil's Advocate') against the candidate. The process is regulated in the Codex Juris Canonici—the "Code of Canon Law" (canons 1999–2141; → Veneration of Saints).

Outside Europe

4. A particular form of personality cult is found, for example, in Asia, in the manner of reverence or veneration of the religious teacher or 'master.' In some traditions, one's personal → guru is regarded as an embodiment or incarnation of the divinity (*sad-guru*) from whom a direct transfer of power and salvation to the pupil is expected, and to whom a special reverence is accorded. Gurus like Satya Sai Baba in India, who lays claim to being a divine incarnation (Skt., *avatara*), or Sri Chinmoy, in New York, whose photograph is used by his followers as an object of meditation, are not so much teachers for the few, as an object of veneration for the many.

Modern Personality Cult, Political

5. As examples of personality cults in modern times, we may consider phenomena within national states and → political religions. Here, politicians have been met with an enthusiastic veneration that can definitely have religious traits. In the Far East (Kim Il Sung in North Korea; Mao Cult in the People's Republic of China), in Europe (Benito Mussolini in Italy; 'Generalissimo' Franco in Spain), and in the USSR (V. I. Lenin, Joseph Stalin), the emergence of a dictator or *Führer* (Ger., 'Leader'; in It., *Duce*) in the twentieth century, with its effect on the masses, provided an occasion for the ritual presentation of politicians as 'saviors.' We may cite, for example, the ingenious Führer cult around Adolf Hitler (→ National Socialism). In some cases (Lenin, → Mao, Kim Il Sung), a political veneration of the dead has even made use of the magical presence of the mummified body in mausoleums (→ Mummification). Many dictatorial regimes of the 'Third World,' as well, cultivate a frank veneration of persons, although in most cases they do not survive their champions.

The Cult of Bismarck

Less well known today is the cult around the unifier of Germany, and founder of the German *Reich* (Ger., 'Empire') from 1871, Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898). Some five hundred monuments to Bismarck were erected, among them the characteristic Bismarck pillars and towers, for which monetary contributions were made amounting to well over 60 million dollars (in today's value and purchasing power). The symbolic content of these was amplified by the fact that they were intentionally built on remnants of prehistoric or medieval constructions, and that they exhibited 'altars,' 'fire altars,' and 'sacrificial stones,' on which could be held the 'circles of the Fatherland' on Bismarck's birthday, and the ritual of the 'Bismarck fires' at the solstices. "Thus, we set fire basins before him, half in his celebration, half smoking with sacrificial incense, beside his temple. And two sentries, who protect the devout pilgrim, repel malevolence, and shield the rising steps."[1] Here was the 'German Messiah,' who had once known how to join a severed Germany, and from whom one hoped for succor in an unsure time. "O Bismarck, stride down from heaven, grasp once more the tiller of the Empire," as the newspaper *Bismarck-Bund* ("Bismarck Federation") put it in 1904, making

Bismarck the equivalent of a patron saint. After 1945, it is true, the Bismarck cult mostly fell into oblivion.

Pop Culture

That prominent persons of pop culture and show business (→ Idol) can now, for all practical purposes, be saints, was proclaimed and demonstrated, in 1999, at the London Tate Gallery's exposition "Heaven" (shown in Düsseldorf and, subsequently, in London). There, for example, a life-sized figure of the Madonna with the face of princess Diana was exhibited—and vigorously criticized in England, where many believers took it as an insult to their religious feelings. The gallery defended the concept with the argument that people today adore supermodels and pop stars, and prefer to go on pilgrimage to princess Diana's grave than to venerate traditional religious figures.

1. Insert with a sketch of a national monument to Bismarck in Dingerbrück; cited according to Heidinger, Hans-Walter, "Der Bismarck-Kult. Ein Umriß," in: Stephenson, Gunther (ed.), Der Religionswandel unserer Zeit im Spiegel der Religionswissenschaft, Darmstadt 1976, 201-214, p. 212.

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→ *Genius, Government/Rule/Politics/State, Guru, Hero, Idol, Mao (Cult of), Masses, National Socialism, New Myths/New Mythologies, Political Religion, Veneration of Saints*

Stephan Peter Bumbacher

Veneration of Saints

Saints and Divine Persons

1. Non-Christian and Christian saints are considered divine persons, in the sense of enjoying a special religious bestowal of grace, although, in their lifetime, in society, they have frequently occupied the position of an outsider. On the basis of the exemplary life ascribed to them, they become phenomena of the daily piety or devotion of believers and groups. → Charisma and the attribution of miracles can raise persons to the status of saints in their own lifetime, since it is not through their death—as it is with martyrs—that they reach religious perfection at last. Especially at a saint's grave or tomb, believers oftentimes erect a devotional center, at which a relic, a statue, or a lifelike fragment of the saint is venerated. The grave, church, and chapel are memorial places of the historical persons, their advents, and their miracles. They draw a boundary between the profane and the sacred worlds, serve as places of common liturgy, and demonstrate that the miraculous power of the saint is still at work.

Devotional Practice

2. Veneration of the saints is not bound up with ritually established frameworks, and is differently marked in different religions. Common elements, however, are pilgrimage, prayers, objects used in exercises of personal piety (e.g., images of the saints), and the application of devotional objects: promised or spontaneous votive offerings, offered in thanksgiving, with a petition for help, or in fulfillment of a vow, such as candles, documents, votive images, or monetary contributions. The relationship between the believer and a saint, which becomes visible in these actions, is not to be reduced to the sheer function of the *Do ut des* (Lat., "I give in order that you may give") 'contract,' but is frequently the expression of a profoundly religious act. In everyday life, saints serve as succor, protection, and patronage in situations of crisis and challenge. In Christian theology they are only the bearers of petitions to God. But over and above this intermediary function, they are attributed both good powers (the power of healing) and a power of retribution (causes of diseases or death in return for unfulfilled promises).

The *statue*, in believers' religious practice, is the worldly, human side of the saint, and the symbol of an auspicious, miraculous power, reminding the believer of the exemplary function of the saint's life. It represents the confluence of the human need for the visible manifestation of divine power and its personification. In addition, statues appear at church feasts, or on saints' days and in processions, as theatrical and dramatic symbols. The legends, tales, songs, and hagiographies transmitted by the faithful, carry 'ideal' and edifying reports of the saint's life. In Catholic Christendom, a person is officially regarded as 'holy' after, first, a beatification (declaration as 'blessed,' following an official church veneration), and then only when she or he is declared holy, a 'saint,' in a second step, consequent upon a strictly regulated procedure. Pope John Paul II, in his more than twenty-year reign (until 2005), had pronounced more than 280 men and women saints, and more than 800 blessed—more than any of his predecessors. In particular, a relationship with the present is becoming ever more important: the Saints and Blessed not only need to belong to every age of life and to different nationalities. They must also, so far as possible, have lived and died in the twentieth century, as did Edith Stein, a German Jew converted to Catholicism, who was murdered by the Nazis in a concentration camp. Besides these 'canonized' persons, however—persons inscribed in the official church catalogue of saints—there are many other persons, not officially legitimized as saints, who are venerated by the faithful, such as → Hildegard of Bingen. Meanwhile, certain 'traditional saints'—for example, Saint Christopher, or Saint George—can be excluded from the church's official list.

Historical Practice

3. *Christian veneration of the saints* developed from the reverence paid to the martyrs of the second century CE, which was succeeded by an intensification of the ancient cult of the dead. Ever since the third century, veneration of the saints has borrowed elements of the Greek veneration of heroes. Veneration of the grave as a 'house of the dead' and the veneration of relics, based in antiquity, are still important today for the veneration of the saints. In modern times, by way of the Enlightenment and the sciences, the saints have been stripped of their miracles and myths. It is true that, for example in the wake of industrialization, devotion to the saints has received a new meaning, especially among the working class, with the veneration of Joseph, encouraged by the Church.

Saints in Other Religions

Phenomenologically, the *Islamic saint* stands nearest to the Christian. While lacking legitimization according to the Qur'an (Suras 9:31; 10:19), the Islamic saint is classed, in venerability, as the 'Friend of Allah,' and as mediator between the human being and God. For believers, it is Islamic saints' miraculous activity, or wondrous efficacy, that stands in the foreground. Then, further, they rank as instances of right and truth. In *Judaism*, saints' graves and tombs, and the pilgrimages involved, are essential for their veneration. In addition to the sacred acts of veneration performed at the pilgrimage destinations, the festivals celebrated on the anniversaries of their deaths are noteworthy. Saints in the *religions of India* are venerated as such in their very lifetime, and after their death. They are regarded as ideals of → asceticism, and thus vessels and vehicles of higher wisdom.

4. The orientation of veneration of the saints to the aspect of the piety of the 'simple folk' has, on the one hand, neglected the theatrical and dramatic potential of this religious practice. On the other hand, the individual fragments of usage or veneration often were not integrated into cultural and religious everyday life. But everyday religious life is part of the power relationship among religion, church, state, politics, and society. Thus, the veneration of the saints is not only a religious force, but also a societal one, that stands at the point of the complex intersection of the formation of individual, kinship, religious, territorial, and political identity. In Palermo, for instance, Saint Rosalia, a patron against the plague from the twelfth century, and patron saint of the city of Palermo, is at the same time a figure of the integration of various social groups in their revolt against Mafia structures in Sicilian society.

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→ *Charisma, Drama, Joan of Arc, Miracles, Relics (Veneration of), Pilgrimage, Veneration of Persons/Personality Cult*

Annemarie Gronover

Violence

Theologically, it can certainly be concluded that all religions have the goal of peace. But the opposite goal can just as easily be deduced. The rejection

of violence among the historical conditions of a religion's emergence says nothing as yet about the possibility, in other situations, of justifying violence, and founding it in religion. The historical experience of Christians' crusades and Islamic tolerance occasions doubts as to whether the images of the 'sword of Islam' and that of the 'God of love,' have an objective basis at all. Religion is a feature of identity and differences among societies. In → conflict, it can just as well be put to use by warmongers and advocates of violence, as be appealed to by pacifists and opponents of violence.

→ *Conflict/Violence, Fundamentalism, Holy War, Peace, Tolerance, War/Armed Force*

Christoph Auffarth

Vision / Auditory Experience

Heroldsbach 1949–1952

1. On October 9, 1949, four ten and eleven-year-old girls went to the park of the Castle of Heroldsbach, in Franken (Germany), to gather fall foliage.[1] They had just participated in an evening meditation on Mary. Upon leaving the wood, first one of the girls, then the others, felt a sudden compulsion to pray. Immediately thereafter, they saw, first, a black figure between the trees, then the abbreviation 'JHS' (in the popular German reading, *Jesus—Heiland—Seligmacher*, 'Jesus—Savior—Beatifier'), in green script between two birch trees, and finally, a female figure in white, 'like Mary,' atop one of the trees. Out of this children's afternoon outing, there developed, unstoppably, one of the longest series of visions in modern history, lasting until October 31, 1952. On the third day of the visions, the Christ Child was seen as well; on the fifth day the children first heard the apparition speak, resulting in a somewhat extended interplay of questions and answers. Subsequently, on the eighth day of the visions 5,000-6,000 of the faithful were present; from October 19–21 the Archiepiscopal Investigation Commission were on the scene. On December 8, 1946, a 'miracle of the sun' occurred—as at Fatima, the visitors saw the solar disc turn. This was adjudged a 'sign' of the Madonna, who came ever nearer to the children. On February 3, 1950, the tactile threshold was crossed for the first time, and Gretel, one of the children, touched Mary's cloak, which felt 'like silk.' From Christmas Eve 1949 on, however, two ambiguous, dark figures were emerging: first a 'black man,' presenting himself as the apparition of the deceased lord of the castle, Baron von Sturmfeder-Horneck, and then, on February 7, 1950, the Devil in very person, who at once gave Gretel "three powerful blows on her chest." The horror reached its climax on May 16–17, 1950, with the 'Russian vision,' as the children saw themselves transported to a landscape of debris and martial combat on the Soviet Crimean Peninsula. The positive side came with the 'Garden of Heaven visions.' As in medieval visions of the afterlife, the children were transported into a celestial garden by rapture, with angels working fields of flowers (May 7–9, 1950). From the end of April onward, the children reported olfactory (scent of roses) and even gustatory (drinking honey-water from rose blossoms) impressions. Another climax was reached on June 8, 1950, as the young visionaries, with those escorting them, went walking on the 'hill of the apparitions' with the Child Jesus. Unfortunately, the Holy Office in Rome failed to share the visionaries' enthusiasm. On December 10, 1951, it had its definitive judgment read from the

pulpits: the "apparitions cited are not supernatural." One visionary and one male companion were excommunicated for disobedience. Still, the Diocese of Bamberg discerned 1971 the necessity of a new proscription of a 'Heroldsbach cult.'[2] But finally, in 1998, the enduring pilgrimage to Heroldsbach was officially tolerated by the Catholic Church and its Marian Pope John Paul II and the unauthorized prayer house was consecrated.

The extraordinary perceptions of Heroldsbach belong to a religious tradition of ancient deference: since earliest times, visionaries, prophets, nuns, mystics, and shepherd children have claimed to have received visions (from Lat., *videre*, 'to see'), apparitions (→ Epiphany), or heard voices ('auditions,' from Lat., *audire*, 'to hear'), containing unheard-of insights and messages from hidden worlds. How are these to be understood?

Different answers can be given, from the side of perceptual and cognitive theory, from social psychology, or from social and religious history. Here the clear-headed observer treads on thin ice. Almost more than in case of miracles, visionary reports differ enormously regarding to appraisals and judgments, broadening the gap between subjective experience and other persons' descriptions, even to sheer misunderstanding. No neutral denominative vocabulary exists. On one hand, the designation 'vision' comes from Christian theology and mysticism, and today is used in general speech to exalt the profane and the commercial, sentimentally or prophetically ('visionary enterprise,' 'technological vision'). At the same time, there are scientific descriptions, mostly in → psychopathological speech: let one speak of 'sensory delusions,' 'phantasms,' 'optical' or 'acoustical hallucinations' (P. Schallenberg), and 'illusionary' misconstructions of perception, and one is at once open to suspicion of criticism of religion, or even of plain rationalism.

Determination of the Concept

Should one attempt to walk a middle path in religious studies, and find a value-neutral application of the concepts, then visions (and correspondingly, auditions) in the strict sense will be defined as extraordinary experiences of consciousness bound up with optical (or acoustical, etc.) sensations. Under 'sensations' we shall understand not only hypothetical external objects and phenomena, but also those of the imagination or other subjective function—hallucinations, illusions and → projections, individually ('seer' or 'visionary,' → 'prophet,' 'medium' [→ Channeling]) or collectively generated and attested, and received as 'sight,' 'summons,' or 'call'—sensations which mostly are interpreted as religious → experience. Visions in the broad sense are complex psychosocial events, resting indeed on individual mental processes, but imbedded in a sometimes confusing network of a collective work of interpretation and of '(re)actions.' In brief, visions are to be approached as '*social syndromes*.' Among optical and acoustical experiences, the former are reported more frequently, and as a rule are allotted greater importance by those involved. Therefore, one often speaks of 'visions' even when, in the course of the experiences, other sensory hallucinations emerge as well. And here we shall do the same.

With respect to content, visionaries claim two special forms of experience of and knowledge of higher worlds. One is insight into hidden knowledge, including prophetical, 'pre-cognitive' (fore-'seeing'), or actually 'visionary' perception of future events. The other is the equivalently sensory, imaginative perception (especially, hallucinatory 'sight') of mythic or historical persons, animals, places, events—gods, guardian spirits, angels, saints, the

departed, the landscapes of the afterworld with heaven, purgatory, and hell. The theological distinction between (passive) vision and (active) apparition or → epiphany of a transcendent individual, seems, of course, just as unsatisfying as a restriction to 'full visions' (see § 2), after the model of the medieval journeys to, or in, the beyond (P. Dinzelbacher). According to our present understanding, therefore, apparitions of gods or Mary, just like dreams, are special instances of visions, which, for their part, belong to a societal production of fantasies.

Psychodynamics: Between Sensory Hallucination and Imagination

2. a) Visions and auditions are among the phenomena that constitute the borderline between → perception and → fantasy. They are imagined sensory impressions. More precisely, they represent inner perceptions that are themselves generated less, if at all, by the stimulus information of the sensory apparatus, than by the spontaneous action of the → psyche: by fantasy, by → memory, by representations residing in the memory, by associations, by learned thought-patterns, and/or by dispositive and cultural image-impressions. Such intra-psychical constructs of perception are not restricted to seeing or hearing impressions, but include also olfactory sensations ('phantosmy': 'odor of sanctity,' scent of roses), stimulus of touch and feeling (touching the cloak of the Madonna or the wound in Jesus's side), or indeed gustatory sensations.

Besides their sensory quality, visions can be distinguished according to the measure of their superimposition on observable inter-subjective 'normal reality.'

- With '*partial visions*,' also called pseudo-hallucinations or illusions, sensory impressions or sensory constructs emerge within the subjective, environment-related field of perception—a dark figure at the edge of the wood (Marian apparition in Heroldsbach), a diaphanous specter (of a dead person) in the bedroom of the bereaved (→ Spirits/Ghosts/Revenants), a 'voice from heaven' (Matt 3:17), a → UFO on the horizon.
- With '*full visions*,' on the other hand, the visionary feels transported to another world. He or she undertakes, for instance, a journey through the skies, where the fate of the good and the wicked is shown, as in moralizing near-death narratives recounted since antiquity, or finds himself or herself in a distant place ('Russian visions' in Heroldsbach; Muhammad's flight through the skies to Jerusalem, sura 17), or undertakes a perilous shamanic journey to overcome demons of disease (ecstatic 'trip' of Friuli Benandanti to a place 'out on the fields').
- At the other extreme we find '*intuitive,' aniconic understanding* (Augustine's *visio intellectualis*,[2] Zen Buddhism's *satori*), to be listed as an experience of enlightenment (Lat., *illuminatio*; → Light/Enlightenment) rather than as a vision.

Psychology of Perception: Mental Representations, Attitudes of Expectation, and Environment-Related Conditions

b) Neurophysiologically, and in the psychology of perception, visions rest on the fact that the human brain is extensively disconnected from environmental stimuli. Sensory impressions are perceived as mental representations, or 'percepts,' whereby a few (or, as in hallucinations, no) external stimuli suffice to (re-)construct known patterns out of the memory. "The memory is our most important sensory organ."[3] In the case of the religious vision, this observation means that the religious socialization of visionaries holds a decisive meaning. In the storage capacity of their brain, they have a pre-formed mythic store of signs, ever on call, a language of forms that endows them

with a double capacity: to model the inner (and possibly the outer) process of perception according to the precedents of tradition, and to vary this process. Perceptual expectations, predisposed by religious upbringing or social milieu, assign themselves an important role here. Just as I suddenly think that I recognize on the street someone I am looking for, someone for whom I am on the 'lookout,' in many persons, so can a perception-dispositive 'Mary' be summoned and therefore 'found,' under certain circumstances, by way of a scenario of the environment. If the person's interaction with environment is cramped by hunger or weariness, by ascetic practices like → fasting or going without sleep, by the use of drugs, by → trance, hypnosis, or forms of psychic illness such as neuroses or psychoses, the process gains strength (→ Psychopathology). The 'censor system,' with its ability of reality-testing, recedes into the background, in favor of the 'emotion and fantasy system,' to which intensified sensory qualities are attributed (B. Grom). The case of apparitions under post-traumatic stress is familiar, when, early in a time of → mourning, survivors behold their loved ones bodily before them. The same thing occurs in the contrary case of the removal of sense stimuli ('sensory deprivation'), when the environment, screened by a special localization, is minimized, and the psyche is left alone with its percepts. Not by chance did Jesus meet the Devil after forty days in the wasteland, or the Angel Gabriel appear to Muhammad in or before a cave, or today's seekers venture after visions to one of bleakest of wildernesses in America, the edge of Death Valley, on a journey undertaken for the sake of 'self-experience.' Traditionally, it is precisely the 'blind seer'—Teiresias in the Greek myth (→ Oedipus), who sees with his inner, 'third' eye—and who gains special credibility. Spontaneous or neuropsychological processes are indicated by → light phenomena that stand at the beginning of many visionary syndromes, and that are at once filled with mythic shape—and mythic meaning, as with Ezekiel's "cloud with brightness [. . .] and fire" (Ezek 1:4), and the "four living creatures" of the chariot of the throne (v. 1:5). Experiences of brightness here span the arch to the light-tunnel visions, such as are attested in reports of near-death experiences. Especially remarkable are cases in which the vision is inscribed in the body of the visionaries, by way of a mechanism of psycho-somatic identification—for example, when stigmatics show the recorded wounds and stripes of Christ, in the imitation of his sufferings (→ Stigmata/Stigmatics; Francis of Assisi).

Dissociation of the Ego Consciousness

c) Whether arising spontaneously, or consciously initiated, the attested perceptual images or patterns move according to the respective psychic disposition and social situation between 'normal' production of fantasies and being pathologically overpowered by them. Psychologically, one may perhaps speak of a splitting ('dissociation') of the ego-consciousness (B. Grom): thoughts and feelings 'in the head' are projectively shifted to the outside, and there seen, heard, felt as percepts of the objective world—forms of wish-fulfillment, psychic compensation, or fear-repression. But there may also be the possibility of 'secret thoughts' being expressed, of the ambiguous being rendered unambiguous, as repressed or unconsciously wished psychic materials take on form and voice. The perception of hearing an 'inner voice,' that warns, incites, or commands, is widespread. As a psychic instance of the → conscience, this form of subjective perception has found its place in Europe's cultural history since the Socratic *daimónion*—although, of course,

also in the criminal history of psychopathological agents. The transitions to mythic personalizing ("the voice of God is speaking to me") are fleeting.

Subjective and Collective Reality

d) Common to all visions and hallucinations is the fact that subjective perceptions of what is without are observable only conditionally, if at all, by bystanders (e.g., as shadow or light reflexes). This uncoupling of subjective and collective reality posits a key problem for evaluation (including evaluation within the religions). But it seems to be responsible for the enormous psycho- and socio-dynamics of visions. The paradoxical premise, "I see something that you do not see," provokes both the interpreting facility of the community and the seers' charismatic power of conviction. A great deal is at stake: the local group's self-image, the specialists' skill and power of appraisal, the religious distribution of roles, the unity of the world of perception, and, last but not least, the credibility of all of the persons involved. This crisis requires common efforts of interpretation, a 'work on the vision' by a social group, so as to be able to integrate individual 'experience' and social expectations in a collectively negotiated pattern of experience. This integration happens, for example, when that which is perceived becomes filled with the depths of a religious tradition of images and doctrines—whether in the form of figures ('Madonna,' 'The Angel Gabriel'), messages ("Pray three hours a day"—Medjugore, 28 July 1983), or scenarios ('gardens of heaven,' 'suffering of sinners')—, and thereby becomes identifiable as culturally comprehensible signs (→ Symbol/Sign/Gesture). Unless the subjective reality of the experience of the image is anchored in a solid religious framework, an 'epidemic of visions' looms. The collective will be swept away by the suggestive current of perceptions of the 'seers.' 'Waves of sightings,' as with the Marian apparitions in Basque Ezkioga (1931–1933), or the → UFOs over Belgium (1989–1990) offer abundant example. Or else those involved, by reason of failed communication, end up at the stake or under psychiatric treatment.

Socio-Dynamics: Visions and Hallucinations as Social Events

3. a) Thus, in each of these experiences, the question of the *Sitz im Leben* is just as important as is that of its individual genesis. "There will be visions as long as people believe in them. In order to understand visions, then, we must study those who believe in them."[4] Even when they are received in the desert, visions do not happen in empty social space. A typical constellation of involved persons determines the course of the visions, as well as the configuration of their content. In terms of a typology of roles, we can distinguish the following.

(1) The *mediums (the visionaries)*: As the center of the event, they are the triggering factor. With 'hot visions' (see § 3b), they can have a precipitous and seductive career from outsider to insider and religious 'guru': indeed, they can advance to the status of spiritual stars—a gratification that could be too much for children especially.

(2) One or more *co-visionaries*: Persons who supervise, confirm, and guide the visionaries—the religious → specialist or master (shaman, etc.), or spiritual director (in the medieval and Catholic area, frequently the father confessor), or, indeed, relatives and familiars. These regulate outside contact but also, at times, make the visionary their own creation and preform content and messages, by supervising, or themselves producing the (written, etc.) documentation of the event. They vouch for the authenticity of the spiritual experience (even in confrontation with other representatives

of their religious community), and can of course make use of their protégés for political or religio-political purposes.

(3) The *audience*: These people form the echo chamber, the sustaining instance, and, if they are in tune with one another, the audience can even replace the visionaries. Especially, the 'hot visions' of the modern age are → mass events, the expression of a 'religion from below,' here blazing its spectacular trail. The core event constitutes the point of crystallization for forms of piety in popular religion, which are all too often sensationalistically and politically chopped up and sold by the media. Representatives of the hierarchy regard this kind of spontaneous religious counterculture or 'counter-public' with understandable mistrust.

Social Dynamics: 'Cold' and 'Hot' Visions

b) We are faced with a revealing paradox, at this point, in terms of social history. In many ethnic or traditional religions, visions have possessed, or still possess, their solid place, in initiations, in master-pupil relations, with prophetical role-playing, or with the regular arrival of the dead. In modern industrial society, however, visions seem to occur irregularly, 'chaotically.' One can almost speak of two fundamental forms of the visionary syndrome: one 'cold,' imbedded institutionally, and one 'hot' form, as part of 'ecstatic religion' (Ioan M. Lewis) and spirituality, settled at 'hot spots,' on the far edges of society and institutional control.

Institutionalized Visions

As an example of the *initiatory vision*, let us examine the 'vision quest' conducted by North American candidates for → shamanism. In 1890, anthropologist Franz Boas reported that young men of the tribe of the Shushwap in British Columbia go into the mountains at puberty, build a sweat lodge, and stay overnight there until an animal appears to them in a vision. They take this animal as their spirit helper or 'protective lord.'[5] *Doctrinal visions*, accompanying and guiding the master-pupil relation, are found in contemporary Egyptian → Sufism (as well as with the Christian Copts of the same vicinity; see V. J. Hoffman). *Prophetical visions* are familiar from ancient Israel—most far-reaching, in Ezekiel's 'chariot of the throne' (*merkabah*) vision, the vision of vocation out of which the mysticism of the → Kabbalah would eventually develop: "In the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month, as I was among the exiles by the river Chebar [near Babylon], the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God" (Ezek 1:1). Ezekiel's symbolism, which was joined on an equal footing by that of John's → Apocalypse, constitutes a transition to *fictional visions*: political or didactic allegories (→ Hildegard of Bingen; often as a vision by the ruler in a dream: Gen 41, Dan 2 and 4), as well as tendentious literature in visionary garb. Doubtless the most elaborate is Dante Alighieri's *Divina Comedia*. Thus, the wealth of the religious image-worlds rests not least of all on a visionary production of fantasies and the development of these.

'Hot Visions'

The visions of the ancient Israelite prophets—like the visions of the monks, nuns, and hermits of the Christian monastic culture, and those of → mysticism—occur on the boundary between institution and charismatic 'outsiderdom.' From the 'saint' to the 'witch,' from the divine vision to the diabolical is frequently but a little step.[6] Despite the unforeseeable nature of these spontaneously emerging, *hot visions*, they follow a typical protocol along their course.

(1) A *subjective perception* occurs (apparition of light, lightning/voice/touch).

(2) The perception is received with a *mythic interpretation* or orientation, through the visionary or a co-visionary, as epiphany (of gods, angels, demons), as the 'voice of God,' etc.: it becomes a vision or 'audition.'

(3) The 'reception' of the vision/audition is *routinized* and ritually solidified (even by way of → trance techniques), while the content is imaginatively decorated and systematized. 'Learning effects' accrue, with both actors and audience; group-dynamic processes of building up (P. Schallenberg) are often discernable, processes that can be promoted from the side of the visionaries by the proclamation of 'secrets' or messages (cf. Fatima).

(4) The *stage of decision* is reached. A juridical examination, from the side of the established → authority, decides whether the vision/audition is reconcilable with official doctrine, and thus is either integrated or prohibited.

(5) The event is *institutionalized:* a church is built at the place of the apparition, a new destination for pilgrimages emerges. In case the authenticity is rejected, a special group (→ Sect) can be constituted, as in Heroldsbach in Franken.

Dynamics of Myth: Mythology and Perception

4. a) Extraordinary religious perceptual experiences such as visions and auditions also enter the picture in the choice of the sensory channel through which they manifest themselves to those concerned. The channels are not optional, but are tied to the respective mythic premises. Thus, the God of Israel is an invisible God; his glance slays (Gen 32:31; Ex 33:30)—hence, the modus of perception chosen by God as a mythic person is auditory. YHWH uses a human voice; speaks in a person's sleep (1 Sam 3); thunders from the storm (Job 37:2-5; Deut 4:12; 33); 'roars like a lion' (Hos 11:10; cf. Amos 1:2); at the divine apparition at Sinai, trumpet blasts resound from the mountain. That the people lose their sight and hearing is not coincidental. Perceptual extremes belong to the pathetic enormity of many pictures of God. The German word *Donner* ('thunder') is to be connected with the name or the ancient Teutonic god of the storm, and of fertility, Donar (Thor). Ancient Roman believers also perceived more or less audible 'sky voices' (Lat., *voces caelestes*), where they largely rang from temples or groves. The warning voice coming from the grove of Vesta, in 391 BCE, under the name Aius Locutius ('Divine Speaker'), was even personified as a god, and venerated in religious worship.[7] In ancient Greece, on the other hand, as in European modernity, with its sight-oriented societies, visions predominate: Odysseus sees Athena, the children of Lourdes and Fatima see → Mary before they have any other sensory experience of her.

b) Visions and auditions are dramatized, and subjectively experienced, myth. Figures of faith suddenly become sensibly perceptible: as if on an 'inner stage,' they unfold a fantastical, and phantasmatic, life of their own. But visions are also 'religion risky and risked.' Their 'dramatics' result from a seemingly immediate plunge into daily life on the part of the 'Utterly Other'—without reflection, without censorship, at times even without church and safe framework of interpretation. The risk is unveiled when the 'discernment of spirits' and therefore the examination of inner and outer reality is at stake. Here is shown how much revelation a religion endures. Or whether the seer can stand his or her sight.

1. What follows is according to Schallenberg 1990, 164-208, and the documentary appendix, 393-397. Schallenberg evaluates unpublished papers of one of those involved.
2. Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram*, 7,16. Cf. Ruh, Kurt, Geschichte der abendländischen Mystik, 1 (1990), 103-113.
3. Roth, Gerhard, Das Gehirn und seine Wirklichkeit, Frankfurt/M. [3]1996 ([1]1994).
4. Christian 1996, 71.
5. Boas, Franz, The Shushwap, Leeds 1890; cf. Eliade, Mircea, Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, Princeton 1964 (Fr. [1]1951).
6. Dinzelbacher, Peter, Heilige oder Hexen?, Zurich 1995.
7. Varro, *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum*, frag. 107 (Cardauns).

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→ *Channeling, Experience, Fantasy/Imagination, Hildegard of Bingen, Light/Enlightenment, Memory, Mysticism, Parapsychology, Perception/Sensory System, Private Religion, Projection, Psychopathology, Revelation, Shamanism, Stigmata/Stigmatics*

Hubert Mohr

Voodoo

Concept

1. Like the Afro-Brazilian religions Candomblé and Umbanda, or Cuban Santería, the Afro-Caribbean Voodoo religion is one of the African systems of religion that emerged in colonialism. These systems were brought to the 'New World' by enslaved members of African tribes, and there underwent an independent development. The word 'Voodoo' (variant, 'Hoodoo') is from the Haitian Creole French language (Fr., *vaudou*; Creole, *vaudoux*), where it originated in the language of the Ewe Fon, of West African Benin and Togo. In Haiti, it is used mostly as a denomination of foreigners across the board, and thus is applied to a large number of Haitian indigenous cults. In colonial, and Western Anglo-American, linguistic usage it is a (pejorative) synonym for 'black magic.' Ultimately the denomination is from *vodún*, the word for 'god' or 'worship' in the language of the Ewe Fon. Beginning in the seventeenth century, 'Voodoo' was used in the missionary literature that dealt with the Ewe Fon, who call an initiate in their religion a *vodúnsi* or *hunsi*, a 'bride of the deity,' a concept adopted by the Haitian Voodoo religion. In the Caribbean, in the South of the United States (Florida, Louisiana), and in parts of South America, 'Voodoo' can denote various phenomena. On the one hand, the concept refers to an *Afro-Catholic religion* that is widespread on the island of Hispaniola, especially in Haiti. The designation can also be applied synonymously with those of persons: for 'spell-worker' (*hoodoo doctor*) in the Southern states of the United States, for 'witch' (*bruja*) in Latin America. In the broad sense, 'Voodoo' can denote the religions and cults originating in regions of West Africa.

Political Influence and Social Background

2. Haitian Voodoo is the religion of the former African slaves carried off from West Africa in the eighteenth century by the French colonialists, and put to work in the sugarcane fields. It has at times had an important political role: it was able to mobilize forces against the rulers, as at the close of the eighteenth century in the struggle for the abolition of slavery and the country's independence from France (1804). It gathered opposition to various Haitian regimes devoted to policies of their own interest. The last instance of the latter was under dictator 'Papa Doc' François Duvalier (ruled 1957–1971). Socially, there is a distinction between rural and urban forms of Voodoo. In rural areas, worship and belief are oriented to small farmers, and have their pillars of support in the traditional family alliances. Involvement with ancestors and farming stands at the center of religious practice. Voodoo believers in the cities have adapted their practice to relationships there. They simplify this practice, to an extent, and find a 'secondary family' in the temple communities.

Divinities

3. Like Candomblé and Umbanda in Brazil (→ Afro-American Religions), Haitian Voodoo still manifests authentic African characteristics. Voodoo is a typical example of a → possession cult centered on divinities or groups of divinities (*loas*, from the *lwa* of the Yoruba linguistic groups, 'divinity,' or 'mystery'), and originating in the West African ethnic groups Yoruba and Fon. Voodoo's gods, or groups of gods, are called 'mysteries,' or 'saints.' According to Fon myth, there are three regions of the world, in which various gods reign: the sky, the earth, and in between, the clouds. The creator god (Yoruba, *Olorun*; Creole, *Bon Dieu Bon*) lives in the remote sky, and is not reverenced.

Loas, the Gods or 'Mysteries' of Voodoo

Name	Rite / 'Nation'	Region of Action, Attributes	Signs of Possession	Symbols	Dwelling places	Region of the World	Sacrificial Gifts	Liturgical Color	Weekday	Christian Correspondence
Legba	Rada	Guardian of the home; intermediary between God and the human being; sentry at the gate, at intersections, and at streets; rival of Dambala	Brutality, strength, violence	Frail old man in shabby clothing	Gates, intersections, medicinal trees	Earth	Cassava, rice, smoked green bananas, piebald hen	Red	Friday, Saturday	St. Peter St. Anthony (lost articles)
Zaka	Rada	Loa of farming and fields, rural, mistrustful, cunning, greedy, hates cities	Looks like a farmer; large straw hat, blue shirt, blue pants, red necktie, straw purse or handbag	mabouya (small reptile)	Fields	Earth	Maize, bread, raw cane-sugar, liquor	Blue, Red, Green	Friday, Saturday	St. Isidore
Gédé	Rada, Petro	Protection from or attraction of harm; Loa of death	Obscene words and gestures, corpselike exterior	Dead, black cross, farm tools	Cemeteries and subterranean places	Earth	Black ram, black cock	Black, Violet, White	Monday, Friday	St. Expeditus
Baron Samdi	Rada Petro	Leader of Gédé (Loa of death)	Macabre, obscene	Tall, black clothing	Cross at the entrance to the cemetery	Earth	Salted Herring, black she-goat, black hen	Black, Violet	Saturday	—
Dambala	Rada	Principle of the good 107 wealth, happiness, prosperity	Serpentine movements	Rainbow snake	Springs and streams	Water	Anything white: chicken, rice, milk, eggs	White	Thursday	St. Patrick, in the expulsion of the snakes from Ireland
Aida Wedo	Rada	Wealth, happiness, prosperity; wife of Dambala	Serpentine movements	Rainbow snake	Springs and streams	Water	Anything white: chiken, rice, milk, eggs	Blue, White	Monday, Tuesday	Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception
Ezili	Rada	Love, beauty, graces, luxury, pleasure, promiscuity; coquette, sensual mulatto	Seductive exterior, provoking behavior, seeks perfume	Heart, mirror	Riverbanks	Water	Toilet articles, choice and elegant food, rice, chicken	Blue, Pink	Tuesday, Thursday	Virgin Mary
Ogu Feray	Rada	Battler of misfortune, warrior, soldier	Authoritarian, coarse language, barrack-room tone of voice	Sword plunged into the earth	Calabash tree, bamboo stalks	Fire	Red cock, bull	Red	Friday, Sunday, Monday	St. James the Great (Santiago)
Agwe	Rada	Protection of seafaring, of oceanic trade, of fishing; mulatto, with blond hair, and sea-green eyes, naval officer	Seeks water for diving and swimming	ship, oar	Sea	Water	White sheep, chicken, champagne	White, Green, Pink	Thursday	St. Ulrich
Simbi	Petro	Gift of clairvoyance, guardian of springs and ponds	Leaps into a pool or river	Water basin	Springs, caves, mountains	Water	Black or gray animals, swine, ram, guinea fowl, turkey cock, chicken	Black, Gray	Tuesday, Thursday, Friday	The Three Wise Men

Following Laënnec Hurbon, *Les mystères du Vaudou*, Paris 1993, pp. 140-143.

Through the influence of Catholicism, Voodoo believers also know the Christian God. But besides God and the Voodoo divinities, they also venerate two other kinds of spiritual beings: human souls that have become spirits of the dead, and spirits that have never been directly tied to matter. Voodoo gods live in the sea, waterfalls (including the famous Saut d'Eau, with the pilgrimage to Ezili Dantò, i.e. Our Lady of Mount Carmel), springs, forests, at intersections, cemeteries, piles of stones, and in saints' rooms that stand alongside the places of worship. Many gods of Voodoo possess a correspondence among the Catholic saints, on whose feast days they, too, are celebrated (see chart).

The 'Nations'

Gods and rites are divided into groups (Creole, *nanchon*), according to the regions of their origin. Thus, there are the Wangol (from Angola), the Ibo, and the Kogo. More important, however, are the *Rada* and the *Petro*, who are honored especially in urban areas. The word *Rada* derives from the name of the capital of the old Kingdom of Arada, near Abomey, in Benin, while the *Petro* cult, more orientated to the indigenous Creoles, refers to the name of a priest, Don Pedro, who, in the eighteenth century, introduced a variant of the Voodoo trance dance. Petro divinities and spirits are invoked especially for magical actions. Obviously, Voodoo priests may support both groups, and a believer is either Rada or Petro, but may likewise take part in ceremonies of the other type.

Worship

4. As with Candomblé in Brazil, and Santería in Cuba, so with the Voodoo cults is it a matter of a typical phenomenon of the fusion of African religions with Catholicism, spiritism, and the religious traditions of the American Indians. The religion of Voodoo, then, refers not to sacred scriptures, but to ritual practice (it can thus be described as a 'cult religion' in that sense). The latter concentrates on the animal rituals of a bloody sacrifice, as well as on → trance dances. Both are regarded as generating a bond with the gods. The rites are practiced by initiated members (*hunsi*), in cultic groups presided over by priests and priestesses (*hugan* or *mambo*). Initiands are introduced into the group by way of a complicated and rather spectacular ritual sequence. The centers of worship are sacred cabins, or city temples, that have an altar and a central post, which latter will enable the *loas* to descend to believers, and mount them in trance as their 'riding horses.' There exists, besides, a cult of the dead, with meticulous burial rites, and with the mythic figure of the Baron Sam[e]di as 'Lord of the Dead.' Thus the cemeteries become important places of assembly and worship.

Magical Practices

5. The magical practices of Voodoo are renowned and maligned. It is the preferred cult of the lowest social class in Haiti—the small farmers and the urban (sub-) proletariat—although, today, persons of the upper class are also found here. Participants in the ceremonies seek deliverance from all of the difficulties of normal life. Diseases are seen as the effect of demonic spells. In the state of trance, body and soul find relief: Voodoo gods can break the influence of evil demons. Probably the magical practice best known in the West is the one performed with a small doll, through which certain magical actions are seen as being able to effect the injury of someone's health, or even their 'Voodoo death.'

Reception

6. Little magical dolls, bloodcurdling rites, Voodoo death, the invocation of serpents, → zombies, and dismal nocturnal scenarios are the ingredients that have made the Voodoo religion a favorite staging of Western exoticism. Ever since R. Spencer St. John, with his 1884 adventure account *Hayita or the Black Republic*, new adventure sensations have continually sprung up in the underground of Western fantasy. Like the witches' Sabbath of yore, Haiti's Voodoo, its 'poor aesthetics' and mysterious aura have assumed for outsiders the shape of a hotch-potch of all of the practices tabooed or disparaged by Christianity: bloody sacrifices, trance dances, invocation of the dead (necromancy), dangerous 'black magic.' For thus the Voodoo religion, precisely via its cinematic exploitation, entered the aesthetic trivia of Western pictures: as a cheap staging of popular horror mythology (*James Bond—Live and Let Die*, 1973; *Angel Heart*, dir. Alan Parker, 1987).

A different social reality appears behind these fantasy images, however. Poverty (with seventy percent unemployment at the moment, the country currently ranks as the poorest in the Western hemisphere) and political instability have occasioned the emigration of many Haitians to North America. They have taken their native Voodoo religion along with them to the urban centers of this diaspora: to New York and Montreal, but especially to Miami and to New Orleans, where today there is a Historical Voodoo Museum. Voodoo today has also gained a foothold as a magical practice in the European scene, as well: Hamburg, for example, has its own Voodoo store. Whether all of this will exorcize the phantasm of the sinister, bloodcurdling cult, however, remains an open question.

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→ *Afro-American Religions, Colonialism, North America (Traditional Religions), Possession, South America, Trance, Zombie*

Claudio Mattes

War / Armed Forces

War as a Social Institution

1. *Definition:* War is an organized carrying out of a → conflict between or among groups equipped with deadly weapons. Unlike the individual exercise of violence, war is therefore a societal institution that permits, indeed legally prescribes, the killing of other persons. Depending on the respective degree of organization and complexity of the societies involved, the profile of war can differ greatly. War presupposes the existence of at least a rudimentary military force and apparatus. Minimally organized, or non-organized applications of violence ought not to be called war, but pillage, raid,

incursion, or murder, perhaps vendetta, mounted as these efforts are on the basis of groups defined by kinship or location.

Spiral of Escalation

2. *Forms and Functions:* Since early modernity, a declaration of war on the part of the state has been considered to be a requirement for the beginning of a war. From a perspective of anthropology or politics, however, must be emphasized that there are stages of the escalation and de-escalation of war—with corresponding consequences for the lawfulness of the killing. Thus, Caplow distinguishes hostile contact, threat, mobilization, armed confrontation, escalation and counter-escalation, retreat, two-sided or one-sided appraisal, and reorganization.[1] Accordingly, war can be evaluated as the failure of nonviolent solutions for conflicts—in a spiral of escalation that, in principle, could have been interrupted at any stage. An effective mobilization is required in order to undertake a war of long duration, as it often is, between states. Thus, economic strength acquires great significance in the maintenance of an intensive war.

b) Far more frequent than wars for the defeat of societies that are technologically inferior in principle (for the purpose of building an empire), are wars waged in regions characterized by the prolonged co-existence of more than one society. Military success, then, depends on capacity for coalition. Alliances of groups with different identities can find acceptance under the name of religion. Contractually and ritually constituted amphictyonies (Gk., 'unions of sacred politics') define the 'alliance situation' (→ Holy War). 'Wars of religion' can suddenly occasion the emergence of new alliances.

c) Wars appear 'necessary' when, in materialistic categories (for example, in a refinement of Malthus's thesis of 1798), the management of 'population surplus' that would necessitate more or better 'living space' and resources, is emphasized as an achievement to be pursued. But wars happen culturally: they confirm societal structures and internal cultural legitimizations (male superiority, murder of female newborns). Individual psychology (aggression drive) or phylogenetic ('love or hatred'[2]) deductions explain the organized exercise of violence only to a small extent. By contrast, increasingly complex cost/benefit 'calculations'—oriented to received, group-specific, criteria—may be executed by elites. In that case, they gain in importance, to the extent that the agents cited are still capable of making decisions that are in any way rational. Indeed, against this same rationality, there is a pressure to maintain an adequate potential for defense (if not, indeed, for aggression). This pressure, in turn, bears down on the social organization, its military apparatus, and the economic orientation, an impulse to adaptation. Just as was verified once more at the end of the twentieth century, even in Central Europe, war belongs to the normality of social life. And it belongs there far more frankly than scholarly anthropological and sociological investigations into war and → peace (especially those initiated in the 1960s) wished to admit.

Religion and War

3. The general deficit that afflicts research on war and peace, also affects relationships between *religion and war*. War brings to a head individual and societal problems bound up with the function of religion: extreme hierarchies and inequality (army), experiences of alienation, loss, and contingency (exile, need, death). Three fields are of interest here: the religious, especially ritual accentuation and reintegration of the crisis conditions; motives for war; and consequences of war for the religions involved.

Ritual Accentuation

a) In many societies, the *beginning and end of a military expedition*, the departure and return of the → 'heroes,' the wounded, and the dead, are marked by special or accentuated → rituals. These regulate: the beginning and end of situations of social—and, for combatants—moral exception (legitimate killing, male society, hierarchies independent of usual social norms); the handling, distribution, annihilation or integration of booty and prisoners of war; and the translation of the prestige gained in these exceptional situations, that most of society at home has not even perceived, into everyday perception and admiration. Examples of large-scale rituals include the Roman triumph, the ritual murder of prisoners in ancient Mexico (→ Human Sacrifice), or when God—at least theoretically—is handed all of the booty, as in the 'Yahweh War' in Israel.

Motivation

b) Special promises of salvation to killed combatants (reward in Paradise) and a religious dramatizing of the conflict ('demonizing' of the adversary) are frequently introduced as important elements of war. In the 'totalizing' institution of the military, however, and among professional soldiers, the effect of motivation is easily overestimated. A more important function of religion in war, in all likelihood, is to preserve and extend the legitimacy of the conflict (which secures repeated escalation, as well) vis-à-vis non-participants, the unengaged, and even the losing party. The adversary acquires a different quality in becoming a part of a lasting struggle between 'good' and 'evil,' over and above the currently operative reasons, concerning which varying opinions can be held. → Myths and ritual demonstrations that explain victory over others in terms of superhuman means (miracles) are helpful in the management of defeats. A typical narrative structure is the reinterpretation of an irreversible defeat as part of a still open, or even oppositely observed, history, as with the cargo cults of the peoples subjected in imperialism, or in millenarian movements. Thus, war is secured in cultural memorial (→ Memory; Monument/Memorial Places).

Intensified Piety

Religious commitment in spectacular form, especially in the erection of new temples or churches, legitimizes military achievements (just as it does others). This capability is an important part of the decision about the public presence of particular cults, in the hands of the warring elite, which is not always identical with the religious elite. In modern Europe, intensifications, as well as polarizations (intensified rejections), have been observed in the religious practice of those involved in war.[3] For the outward effects (and correspondingly, for documentation), it may be important whether organized religions succeed—at least, temporarily—in channeling diffuse piety. In any case, religion offers combatants, as well as those at home, a medium and means for thematizing fears.

1. Caplow 1995, 6.
2. Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1986.
3. Boll 1997.

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Soldiers are often in psychically exceptional situations, and many wish for religious encouragement. Discussion in the churches shows various stances vis-à-vis military pastoral care. One element supports a pastoral duty. Another rejects any church engagement, regarding war in itself as violating the fundamental commandments of religion. Here, soldiers have gathered around a large table that has become an altar through the installation of certain sacred accoutrements. The leader of the divine service is distinguished from the other uniformed persons only by the stole around his shoulders. Field Mass and Eucharist are about to begin. (Christoph Auffarth)

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→ *Conflict/Violence, Hero/Heroism, Holy War, Jihad, Martial Arts, Monument/Memorial Places, Peace, Terrorism, Violence*

Jörg Rüpke

Water

1. Water is a prerequisite for any life, and determines the daily existence of all persons at all moments. It is as much as about sixty percent of our body, and covers three fourths of the earth's surface. We encounter it as sweet water—as a spring, a river, a waterfall, a lake, dew, rain, clouds, ice, and snow. We use it as we eat, bathe, or drink. It quenches thirst, freshens, cools, heals, cleans, flushes the old out and the new in. Where it is missing, as in the desert, the effect is as life-threatening as where it comes in the shape of floods or storms. As salt water of the oceans and seas, it conceals mighty nutritional resources, is a feared power of destruction, longed-for vacation place, and garbage dump of industrial society.

In religions, the importance and meaning of water is a matter of extremely multiple levels. In myths, it appears not only as a source of life, a generative and renewing power, but also as a dangerous, menacing power, with a



Uriella (Erika Bertschinger Eicke) is leader and prophetess of the Order *Fiat Lux* (Lat., "Let there be light"). Here, in Black Forest Ibach, she transforms ordinary faucet water into 'Athrum water.' She swirls the water to the left, counterclockwise, with her left hand. Through the left hand, according to Uriella, the 'Athrum ray' of life, love, and salvation flows into the water, and charges it. But, for example, in curing the sick, she draws negative elements from the body with her right hand. With *Fiat Lux*, a purifying lifestyle has a high value, in view of the proclaimed purification of earth and humanity. Believers ingest the saving water to cleanse all their organs, and to strengthen their forces of resistance to illness. For injuries, the water is applied externally. Fruit and vegetables, too, should be immersed to prevent damage, and even the effects of medical injections are supposed to be strengthened when this 'universal medicine' is taken along with them. Small wonder, then, if Uriella's followers bring canisters to Ibach, when they visit there, in order to take plenty of water home with them. Even before the foundation of the order, Erika Bertschinger's friendship circle, *Lichtquell Bethanien* ('Bethany Source of Light') chose as its emblem a shell, with a cross, flowing from the water, and surrounded with a garland of rays. Even today it embellishes the *Fiat Lux* Order's stationery, along with its newspaper, *Der reinste Urquell* ("The Purest Fountainhead"). (Benita von Behr and Kirsten Holzapfel)

violent potential for destruction. As an element presenting the human being with a largely unattainable, uncontrollable space of life, it stands for 'the other,' strange and mysterious, object at once of fascination and trembling. As a force of nature and bestower of life, persons encounter it only with a need to neutralize its effect on them, and to acquire a positive influence on the potential of water for benediction and peril, especially where persons' lifestyle is most powerfully dependent upon this element. The latter is the case in traditional agrarian societies (→ Agrarian Religion/Agrarian Magic), or in seafaring or river cultures (Mesopotamia on the Euphrates and Tigris, Egypt on the Nile), and in coastal regions, where fishing is the stuff of life. In worship, it is the indispensable medium of ritual cleansing, which, frequently, alone accomplishes the premise of standing in connection with the Holy (→ Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming). Indeed, when ascribed transforming powers, water is the medium of the Holy itself. For believers, water is especially a means of intensive sensory experience. Water can be felt, heard, seen, smelled, and tasted. All of the qualities ascribed to it are experienced, 'felt,' with all of the senses. Religion is then a matter of corporeal experience (→ Perception/Sensory System).

2. As a space of life accessible to human beings only with difficulty, water is a vehicle of fascination and mystery, and to this very day a projection screen of collective fears and longings most fertile for the formation of myths: Leviathan, Nessie (→ New Myths/New Mythologies)—the notion of monsters living in the water— → Atlantis and the Titanic—the terrifying image of the destruction of civilization in a flood that swallows up everything whole—are just a few examples.

In myths of → origin, water often plays a key role, and frequently exists before the emergence of the world itself. It can represent the original state of formless, as yet unorganized, 'nothing'— → chaos—in which life develops only through the intervention of divine forces; or also, it can possess generative powers that favor or produce the emergence of life. In many cosmogonies, the inanimate original, inanimate flood is passive, and the creative process alone is a matter of the power of the divine will (→ Cos-



Many villages of the Canary island of La Gomera celebrate the feast days of the locally venerated saints with exuberant *fiestas.* After Mass, figures of many of the saints ride out over the sea in boats. For Our Lady of Guadalupe, patron saint of the island, for Our Lady of Mount Carmel, patron of fishers, or, as here, for the feast day of Saint Peter, another patron saint of fishers, on June 29, processions of boats are held. In this fashion, the existential importance of the ocean for the inhabitants of the island is reflected in their local worship and festival culture. This meaning derives, of course, both from the island's geographical relation to the sea, and from the latter's economic importance (fishing and tourism).

mology/Cosmogony); or, it comes forth by way of the intervention of divine powers, as in the Japanese *Kojiki* (collection of mythological texts), in which the divine pair, Izanagi and Izanami, thrust a lance into the sea, and when they withdrew it, its salty drops became the first land, the Island of Onogoro. Water can also be a medium of the emergence of new life, or of a new god—without itself actively producing them, as in the Hindu myth in which Brahma, creating himself, is born of a golden egg awash in the water (Manava Dharmasastra 1, 8-9). In the Babylonian myth of creation *Enuma Elish,* water itself possesses generating forces: both divinities, Apsu, the male sweet water ocean, and Tiamat, the female salty sea, mingle and generate new gods, the sky (*Ansar*), and the Earth (*Kisar*).

In its function as obligatory elixir of life, water stands for the life-bestowing, nourishing, and fertile principle. In Hindu mythology, for example, the water of the Ganges is associated with cow's milk, and addressed as *Ma* ('mother'). In the Johannine motif of the 'water of life,' or 'living [i.e. running, flowing] water,' in the Fourth Gospel and the Book of Revelation, water is the symbol of everlasting, inexhaustible life. Revelation 22:1-2 tells of a stream of 'living,' crystal-clear water, flowing from the throne of God and the Lamb, and surrounded by trees that bear fruit twelve times a year. Genesis itself (2:10-14) names a stream that flowed through the → Garden of Eden, split into four branches—Pishon, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates—and rendered the land fruitful.

Water also conceals a danger. In the Great Flood, God released the chaotic primeval floods in their devastating force (Gen 7). The sea appears in the Bible as inimical to life, and will no longer exist in the New Creation

(Rev 21:1). Yet God is ruler of water (cf. Exod 14:21). Jesus's walking on the water can be understood in this context (Mark 6:45-52).

The conception is very frequently encountered, that the world of the living is divided from that of the dead by water (→ Hereafter). In Greek mythology, the boatman Charon ferries souls to Hades across the river Acheron (in some versions, across the underworld river Styx), and lake of Acheron. In Sumerian belief, the dead cross the underworld river Chabur on their way to the land without return (*Kurnugea*). In ancient Egypt, it was in all actuality that the Nile divided the world of the living from that of the dead: all gravesites lay to the west of the river, in the direction of the wilderness, while cities were on the east side. In his "Dead Man" (USA and Germany, 1997), filmmaker Jim Jarmusch developed the theme of crossing the water as a North American Indian myth: At the conclusion, dying protagonist William Blake is cast adrift by Indians. In Christian culture, the expression 'to cross the Jordan' recalls similar conceptualizations. With the West African Ewe, the conceptualization is just the contrary: human beings cross a river before their birth. Frequently, water even marks the bounds of the universe, as in the ancient oriental and biblical notion (cf. Gen 1:6-8) of the water of a primeval sea, divided into an ocean in the sky and a sea under the earth, being kept over the firmament and under the disk of the earth.

Last but not least, water possesses mirroring qualities. It is proverbial that the young Narcissus, in the Greek myth, is bewitched by his own image on the surface of a body of water. In Japanese popular belief, the mirror of the water, with its images that reflect and captivate at once, is a means of magical attainment of influence (especially in the demonic spell). It affords a glimpse of the future, as comes to expression in accounts of springs and ponds near temples that withhold a mirror image from those on the brink of death.

Water Deities and Personifications of Water

3. Throughout the world, there are deities, spirits, and mythical or sacred beings—often, but not always, female—specially associated with water. The waters can be the flowing manifestation of a deity, whose residence and place of worship, or region of power, these waters are. The earmarks of cult are decisively dependent on the role played by water in human beings' manner of subsistence. In Catholic Christianity, in dealing with this moist element, reference is made to → saints of whom many are associated with forms in which the waters make their appearance. This reference often points to a particular connection with the saint's biography (death in the water). The list ranges from the patron saints of brooks (Sebastian), springs (Gangolf, Vitus), fishers (Peter, among others; see illus.), shippers and seamen (Christopher and others), to helpers in emergencies at sea (Nicholas of Myra), in searches for the drowned (Catherine of Alexandria), in floods and storms, or to those to be invoked for and against rain. Water deities and spirits may be associated (a) with a mythical or a concrete body of water, for example with a particular river or spring (Greek spring nymphs), (b) the sea, or even (c) with water in general.

a) Mythical, personified *rivers* include, for example, the Titan Oceanus, who was presented as the father of numerous rivers and springs in ancient Greece, and who surrounded the world as a ring-shaped sweet water river, or, again, Hindu river goddess Sarasvati. As real rivers in India, especially Ganga (the Ganges) and Yamuna are venerated as goddesses, while all rivers are regarded as sacred, and usually female. Places of the confluence of sev-

eral streams are especially sacred, and favorite → pilgrimage destinations, such as the confluence of Ganga, Yamuna, and Sarasvati in Prayaga (Allahabad), where, every twelve years, the great bathing festival of Kumba Mela attracts millions of pilgrims (→ Feast and Celebrations, with ill.).

b) It is mainly in its function as a trade route, and as a source of nourishment, that the *sea* is brought into correlation with gods. In ancient Greece, the mighty and irascible god Poseidon ruled over the sea, which he could swirl with his trident and bring seamen into danger. In China, the Sea Goddess and Sky Queen Tin Hau, who can cut the wind to pieces with her sword, is venerated especially in the coastal regions. Ships carry her image in their cabins, along with three paper talismans, which show the goddess in different presentations. In distress at sea, they are burned, one after the other, to win her succor. In arctic religions, the myth of the female Inuit sea spirit Sedna (Nuliajuk) is widespread. She lives at the bottom of the ocean, and, as ruler over the animals, releases certain sea-animals to the hunt. In famine, it is the duty of the shaman to undertake a ritual journey to her, to comb from her long, fluffy hair the soil that symbolizes human misdeeds, and render her favorable once more. In the Afro-American religions, sea goddess Yemanja (→ Sacrifice, with ill.) is especially loved and revered.

c) Not all divinities and mythical beings can be clearly correlated with a certain type of water. The → 'Voodoo' goddess Nau Wata, for example, who is extremely popular in West Africa, lives in the sea, as well as in lagoons, rivers, and lakes. It is much the same with myths of European mermaids, who are regarded as living in rivers and lakes, as well as in the sea.

4. In worship, water can function as a medium of purification, transformation, and energy.

Functions in Workshop

As a *purifying substance*, water is an important component of worship in many religions, representing an indispensable prerequisite for contact with the saints. Thus, for example, with ritual washing (*ghusl*) before prayer in Islam (→ Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming, with ill.), or with the veneration of a god (*puja*) in Hinduism, water is of inestimable value for ritual cleansing. In India, bathing in sacred rivers, such as in the Ganga, apart from their material power of purification, is of the highest ritual and spiritual consequence. It is the same with → Shintô.

As a *medium of transformation*, and symbol of a new beginning, water is used in Christianity for → baptism. To recall their baptism, Catholics sign themselves with holy water upon entering a church. The same water serves in the benediction of sacred images and utensils. Salt is added when the water is blessed for all of these uses, and the water receives further attention when it is to be employed on other occasions. Holy water for the consecration of a church or altar contains salt, oil, and wine. Baptismal water is consecrated at Easter and Pentecost.

The widespread conception of water as a *vessel of sacred, healing, and vitalizing qualities*, inspires numberless pilgrims, worldwide, to embark on their journeys. They travel with empty bottles, to fill with water and take home, sensing its need. The precious moisture is sent from Lourdes the world over, Ganges water is sold to the faithful in copper jars, Muslims draw water from the sacred spring *Tzamtzam*, in → Mecca, and carry it home: it is, of course, an especially precious gift. A container of water is dipped in Uriella's bathtub before mailing (see ill.). The concept is widespread in → New Age religion that ordinary water, although it has lost its original life force, can be 'energetically animated' by means of 'whirlers' and other

activation apparatus, and restored to the condition of its primordial energy. Now 'in-formation,' in the form of very fine matter, will have been conveyed to its field of energy. The notion goes back especially to V. Schauberger (1886–1958), J. Grander (b. 1930), and Wilhelm Reich's Orgone theory, but is also an application of 'Reiki' techniques.

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→ *Baptism, Benares, Cosmology/Cosmogony, Materiality, Nature, Place (Sacred), Perception, Purification/Hygiene/Bodily Grooming, Purity*

Benita von Behr

Weber, Max

Biographical Sketch

Max Weber, born in Erfurt (Germany) in 1864, enrolled in 1882 in Heidelberg to study jurisprudence; in 1884 he carried on his studies in Berlin, where he received a doctorate for a work on trading societies in Italian cities. In 1892 he did a postdoctoral essay on the importance of Roman agrarian history for government and private rights. In 1893 Weber was appointed as professor of economics at Freiburg (Germany); three years later he got a similar chair in Heidelberg, where he lived until 1918—retired from his professorial duties for health reasons since 1903. In 1919 he accepted an appointment at the University of Munich, where he died in 1920.

Interest in Capitalist Economy

In 1891/1892 Weber did an empirical survey of the situation of farm-workers in East Prussia. In analyzing the data he recognized a dilemma of the estate owners: when becoming modern entrepreneurs producing for the market and hiring cheap Polish labor, they inadvertently undermined the German presence in that region. But when sticking to their traditional way of life, they were in danger of descending to the status of simple farmers (Weber 1984 [1892], 903). Weber's analysis witnessed a keen interest in the conditions, emergence, and consequence of a change to a capitalist economy.

The Case of Antiquity

Weber did not see the development of a capitalist economy as self-evident, as he explained 1896 in a lecture on the "Social Reasons for the Decline of Ancient Culture" (1924). Most scholars ascribed the Fall of Rome to the mass migrations; Weber in contrast saw it as an outcome of a gradual social change inside the Empire. Initially, ancient civic communities based their

economies on slave labor. Because of their advantageous position on the coast, they engaged heavily in trade. After the second century CE, because of the *Pax Romana*, when the supply of slaves dried up and the economic focus shifted inland, a self-sufficient estate economy gradually displaced the trade and industry of the cities. When even government officials and soldiers could no longer cover their needs through taxes, but through barter, little remained of the capitalistic trade economy. At the end of Antiquity the cities disintegrated into villages, the culture once again became rural. It was this reversal of development that allowed the dramatic devastation of the mass migrations.

Protestantism and Capitalism

For a rising capitalist economy political conditions were necessary, as the ancient case shows. But they alone were not sufficient for the establishment of capitalism. The other necessary ingredient is the subject of Weber's famous essay, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" (1904/5; see Weber 1992 and 2002). Weber was not the first to notice a connection between Protestant regions and capitalism; he was the first to give an explanation. Impending capitalism needed the support of an internal power, an ethos, because it first had to bring down a powerful opponent: *traditionalism*. "A person does not 'by nature' want to make more and more money, but simply to live—to live in the manner in which he is accustomed to live, and to earn as much as is necessary for this. Wherever capitalism has begun its work of increasing the 'productivity' of human labor by increasing its intensity, it has run up against the infinitely persistent resistance of this leitmotiv of precapitalist economic labor" (2002 [1904/5], 16]).

This dogged resistance, which Weber almost ascribed to human nature, did not fade away by itself. It was broken by Puritanism, since that religion required from the believers a methodical pattern of working and abstention from consumption (→ Asceticism). It was this manner of life that pushed forward inadvertently the development of capitalism. Weber's thesis elicited a heated debate. Though a few scholars were critical, at the end Weber was convinced (Weber 1910 and 1978) that his argument had withstood all objections.

Economic Ethics in Comparative Perspective

In order "to correct the isolation of this study and to place it in relation to the whole of cultural development" (1992 [1904/5], 284]), Weber turned to studying the religions of Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, and Islam, and investigated the relationship of these world religions to economic ethics. During this research Weber made an exciting discovery, recounted by Marianne Weber: "The process of *rationalization* dissolves magical notions and increasingly 'disenchants' the world and renders it godless. Religion changes from magic to doctrine. And now, after the disintegration of the primitive image of the world, there appear two tendencies: a tendency towards the *rational* mastery of the world on the one hand and one towards *mystical* experience on the other. But not only the religions receive their stamp from the increasing development of thought; the process of rationalization moves on several tracks, and its autonomous development encompasses all creations of civilization—the economy, the state, law, science, and art [. . .]. Weber regarded this recognition of the special character of occidental *rationalism* and the role it was given to play for Western culture as one of his most important discoveries. As a result, his original inquiry into the relationship between religion and economics expanded into an even

more comprehensive inquiry into the *special nature of all of Western culture*" (Marianne Weber 1988 [1926], 333).

The 'Disenchantment' of the World

From this point onward, 'disenchantment,' understood as the development *not* of a godless world as Marianne Weber implies (→ Secularization), but of a world in which the gods had lost their ontological roots, became a concept that figured centrally in Weber's thinking about the rise and rationality of Western culture (→ Disenchantment/Reenchantment). Weber was not the only German social scientist at that time to link the analysis of modern Western culture to religious history (→ Modernity/Modern Age). And not only capitalism but other modern institutions too were regarded as in need of explanations that took into account the beliefs of the people involved.

Theory of Action

In order to introduce the history of religions into that analysis, Weber turned to the category of 'action' (1981 [1913]). He sharply distinguished a subjectively intended meaning from an objectively valid meaning. Action is intelligible behavior towards objects and requires a subjective meaning that may be more or less clear to the actor. Since meaning is not supplied by experiencing the reality of cosmos or history, religions have to provide them (→ Meaning/Signification). They alone can supply a world view and → ethics that is able to resist the opposite experience of a world devoid of any inherent meaning. Weber insisted that religious meanings differ from personal motivations, and that they are embodied in social interactions (→ Communication). Closely related to this distinction is the one between rational and correct action. An observer may judge an action as rational though it is oriented to assumptions that he regards as invalid. An action oriented toward conceptions of → magic, for example, is subjectively of a far more instrumental character than ethical or mystical religiosity. In *Economy & Society* the whole section on religion ("Sociology of Religion," or better: "Religious Communities") revolves around that distinction. In the beginning "only the things or events that actually exist or take place played a role in life." But this situation did not last. Early on an important change set in: "Magic is transformed from a direct manipulation of forces into a *symbolic activity*" (1978 [1921/2], 403). At the end of the process, "intellectualism suppresses belief in magic, the world's processes become disenchanted, lose their magical significance, and henceforth simply 'are' and 'happen' but no longer signify anything. As a consequence, there is a growing demand that the world and the total pattern of life be subject to an order that is significant and meaningful" (1978 [1921/2], 506). It was a religio-historical development that divested the world of inherent meaning and ultimately also transformed the form and validity of religions.

Professionalization of Religions

In Weber's view, the process of disenchantment went hand in hand with the emergence of religious → specialists—the magician, the → priest, the → prophet, and the intellectual (→ Intellectual Religion)—who conceived and controlled the mysterious powers in different manners. Historically, according to Weber, most religions have known only occasional associations of their adherents. Solely a few developed a full-fledged congregational religiosity: Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Their congregations faced a major challenge, however, when religion took the direction of world-rejection as a means to → salvation. The more a religion of salvation developed, became systematized, and internalized as an ethics of com-

mitment—in contrast to an ethics of compliance with laws—the more its adherents experienced 'tensions' with the world.

Paradoxes of Modern Culture

Weber sketched this analysis for the first time in chapter 11 of the religion section in *Economy & Society* written in 1913/14 (1978 [1921/2], 576-610). In 1915 he revised and expanded it in one of his essays on the "Economic Ethics of the World Religions" (Gerth/Mills 1946, 323-359). Religious congregations requiring brotherly love as an ethic of commitment engendered tensions with respect to the spheres of economics, politics, sexuality, science, and art—spheres that the adherents thus came to experience as autonomous and hostile. In these spheres, believers resolved their tensions by efforts either to 'flee' the world or to 'master' it—the former pathway constituting what Weber calls 'mysticism,' the latter 'asceticism.' In either case, new religious practices arose, practices that became integral to religion within the disenchanted world. *Contra* Marianne Weber, then, 'disenchantment' was, for Max Weber, not the development of a godless culture, but quite the opposite. An increasingly rational culture (→ Rationalism/Irrationalism), aware of the unethical character of the ruling social orders, stimulated the emergences of varied new forms of religiosity. Weber's exposition abounds in examples of this process. Thus, in his view, Calvinism, when it abandoned the prohibition of usury as a result of inherent economic forces, organized charity for orphans and cripples as an undertaking of its own (→ Charitable Organizations). Historically, mystical religions chose the opposite route and practiced, at least in principle, a loving self-surrender, not for the sake of the poor but for the sake of the surrender itself (→ Mysticism). Likewise, regarding the sphere of politics, congregational religiosity did not merely oppose military violence; it favored either a world-fleeing pacifism or active measures to fight the power of sin. Again and again, Weber emphasized the paradox that the same religious ethics that engendered awareness of social orders as ruled by hostile rational forces simultaneously generated new kinds of religiosity. Regarding the spheres of → sexuality and → art, he even observed the development of practices that entailed a re-enchantment of the world, practices comparable to those of world-rejection: → eroticism and art as means to escape the cold rationality of the modern world.

From this perspective, the less a modern rational culture denies inherent meanings in cosmos and → history, the more a quest for meaning devolves back onto the individual. Under these circumstances, the religions handed down from the past are becoming sources for principles of life conduct—albeit sources whose validity now rests solely on subjective individual decisions. In this 'disenchanted' context, the gods acquire a peculiar new life, as Weber declared in his speech "Politics as Vocation" (1919): "Today the routines of everyday life challenge religion. Many old gods ascend from their graves; they are disenchanted and hence take the form of impersonal forces. They strive to gain power over our lives and again they resume their eternal struggle with one another" (Gerth/Mills 1946, 149).

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→ *Asceticism, Disenchantment/Reenchantment, Economy, Enlightenment, European History of Religion, History, Meaning/Signification, Modernity/Modern Age, Protestantism, Rationalism/Irrationalism, Science, Society*

Hans G. Kippenberg

Wholeness / Holism

1. While the term 'whole' has been one of the fundamental concepts of Western philosophy and science from the outset, the concept of *wholeness,* as a scientific one, is a neologism, having come into use only toward the end of the nineteenth century. Here it is especially biology and psychology that give the concept the meaning that it still has today in scientific theory ('holism'), medicine ('holistic medicine'), or psychology ('holistic psychology').

Concepts and Theories of Wholeness: Goethe

2. The concept of wholeness has a close affinity with the German word *Gestalt* (originally, 'figure,' 'mold,' 'build,' 'fashion,' or 'shape'—the way in which something is 'contoured,' is 'settled into its space'). Here it was Goethe in particular, who gave this concept its specific meaning in his scientific studies. Thus, he connected with *Gestalt* the concept of morphological development in metamorphosis—that is, development of living beings as a transforma-

tion of *Gestalten*. Goethe's notion of *Gestalt* thereby introduces an essential aspect into the conception of totality, or wholeness: that of development. By contrast with the notion of 'form' (*forma* as the Latin translation of the Greek *morphé*), *Gestalt* indicates a movement of development towards the actual totality of the image of an organism. As 'living form,' *Gestalt* itself is always the expression of a life history. Here the life process is seen from the whole of a being's system and plan. Individual processes are viewed as elements of the production and reproduction of the whole, and not only the achievements of an order—therefore resembling the biological life-plan of a concrete mechanical biophysics—but also the expression of a free principle of *Gestaltung*, of 'shaping' or formation.

Psychology

In *psychology*, the gestalt theory enunciated the totality of perception. Christian von Ehrenfels (1859–1932), in his *Über die Gestaltsqualitäten* (Ger., "On the Qualities of Gestalt"; 1890), presented an example that has since become a celebrated one: he showed the totality, or 'totality-ness' of perception by appealing to → music, where he pointed out that a melody is always perceived 'totally,' in totality, in its 'totality' or 'totalities,' even though it is only individual respective tones that sound. → Perception, insists Ehrenfels, is a gestalt perception—and thus, not a piecing together of individual values into an image, but the grasping, the 'comprehending,' of a gestalt, in the presence of, and by virtue of, individual traits. Here the microcosm is a reproduction of the macrocosm, and vice versa.

Totality, as the foundation of 'gestalting,' and of knowledge—of coming-to-know—is also to be found in the interpretation of history and in culture theory, especially with Oswald Spengler (1880–1936). In his influential *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (Ger. 1920–1922; Eng. as "The Decline of the West"), Spengler attempted to demonstrate that the history of high cultures runs a 'gestalt-like course,' that makes it morphologically comparable. The character of cultures as totalities, Spengler holds, is the expression of a culture-forming force that is always typical in each phase of its development.

Holism and System-Thought

3. An important, if not as well known, direction of theories of totality is presented by *holism* (Gr., *to hólon,* 'the whole'). The notion goes back to South African statesman and researcher Jan C. Smuts (1870–1970) and his 1926 *Holism and Evolution.* The work's basic thought is the vitalist idea of a totality of the processes and events of life, but with a renunciation, and even the exclusion of, any concept of finality. Besides Smuts, especially John Scot Haldane, Adolf Meyer-Abich, Edgar Daché, and Ludwig Bertalanffy can be cited. The common interest pursued by these scientists was to overcome the contradictions between the 'mechanism' of classical physics, and vitalism, which had just found renewal by way of the works of Hans Driesch. This reconciliation was to be reached by the complete replacement of the concept of 'end/goal' with that of 'totality.' Unlike 'end,' totality no longer has a purpose or goal to which any course of nature would have to direct itself, or would be directed. This 'teleological,' goal-determined sort of scientific method still harbors a metaphysical remainder, or superfluity, also subjected to a purpose—and thus, although in the broad sense only, has a dependency on a theological concept of creation (→ Progress). For holists, the holistic concept is unencumbered by such metaphysical presuppositions. These scientists produce the notion or concept of totality in its pure functionality. This means that any natural process produces the totality of its

possibilities—or, for instance in the case of an injury, or some harm, returns itself to this totality, regenerates itself. Biologically, then, totality is first and foremost the maintenance of totality. This premise founds a fundamental law of living beings. The individual organism seeks to attain and to preserve that which is applied or invested in it as a totality. The general character of this notion is thereby at the same time its preference and prerogative, since unlike both 'mechanism' (cf. → body) and 'vitalism' (cf. → soul), it supplies nothing substantial.

From this conception of totality, Ludwig von Bertalanffy (*Theoretische Biologie*, Ger.,"Theoretical Biology," 1932) developed the notion of *system*—which now has played an important role not only in biology (Humberto Maturana), but also, and especially, in the social sciences (Niklas Luhmann). Orders of totality, then, are self-forming, 'autopoietic,' systems. Accordingly, the conceptualization of totality not only overcomes an old problem of theory, the notion of purpose, but lays out an altogether new point of view—that of system, its inner structure, and its relation to its environment. This concept is consequently foundational for the ecological consideration of → nature. In ecology, nature is grasped with the help of the notion of system, and thereby seen as a totality.

Totality and Religion

4. Today once more, in modern → New Age beliefs, especially in physics-oriented approaches ('New Age Science'), totality or holism play a central role, also due to the influence of East Asian conceptions (Daoism and Zen), which help in constituting a foundation for holism becoming a religious movement. According to these holistic approaches, the assembling of units or objects creates a greater reality that is not analyzable with concepts. Gregory Bateson's notion of holism seeks to bridge the gap to the Cartesian scientific understanding. Thus, Bateson can be regarded as the forerunner of Fritjof Capra and Rupert Sheldrake.

For physicist *Fritjof Capra*, the pregnant trait of all Eastern *Weltanschauungen* is the experience of all of the phenomena of the world as a manifestation of a single basic reality as the manifestation of a single identity. Capra parallels this with physics, especially with modern quantum mechanics, and so sees both models of the interpretation of the world in a complementary 'togetherness' or composition. It is the whole that determines the relationship of the parts.

Biologist *Rupert Sheldrake* sees in holism—as developed by Bateson—an ordering principle in living systems. 'Morphogenetic fields' would thus stamp the form, development, and relationship of organisms, as well as the increase and growth of elementary structures (e.g., of crystals). At this point, climatologist *Jim Lovelock* enters the scene, with a scientific conception of the terrestrial ecosystem worked out by Lovelock and microbiologist Lynn Margolis under the mythic term GAIA (Gk., 'Earth,' and Goddess of Life). For both, the earth is an intelligent living being that guides itself to the optimum result.

Subsequently, *holistic medicine* now attempts to understand the totality of the person—body, spirit, and soul—in its complex interaction. In this fashion, it seeks to introduce a conceptualization of health through a consciousness-raising in the individual. Numerous new physical and mental techniques, or therapeutic experiments in holistic medicine, are based on age-old conceptions of the cooperation of body, spirit, and psyche (primarily from the Far East and Southern Asia). From the viewpoint of holistic

medicine today, these are to be seen as methods to preserve health rather than as therapeutic techniques, and they always aim at the 'entire person,' who is also to be a 'new human being.'

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→ *Environmentalism, Esalen Institute, Esotericism, Illness/Health, Mysticism, Nature, New Age, Science, Soul*

Stephan Grätzel

Will, Free

1. In general, 'will' (in Lat., *voluntas*; in Ger., *Wille*; in Fr., *volonté*) denotes the motivation of an acting subject in the direction of a particular goal. The subject of a will is not necessarily an individual human being, but, in the transferred sense, can also be a collectivity ('general will,' Fr. *volonté générale*), or a power conceived as transcendent, and as influencing the human being and the world (will of God). Insofar as the will is qualified as free, it presupposes the possible autonomy of the actor/agent. A distinction must then be made between freedom for self-motivation, and freedom for the choice of an end. In this connection, there are ethical issues. Can an action be ascribed to someone's own responsibility, or not? This question, as to whether there can be a willing act or a free choice, has been of importance for judicial findings ever since ancient Greek penal law. The state of affairs concealed behind the problem of free will points to the core of different concepts and problems of religious images of the human being and understandings of the world. Systems of belief do present systems of action, as

well, that, by way of morally qualified concepts, seek to motivate a particular activity.

The Human Being and God: Autonomy?

2. When the problem of the expounding of religious concepts steps front and center (in the literary genre of commentaries, or in dogmatic doctrinal systems), *explicit* questions arise concerning the motives, purposes, and possibilities/opportunities of human action (or transcendent action with respect to human beings), that were transferred, in Western tradition especially, to the question of human volitional freedom. Free will was discussed in the framework of the relationship of → God, the human being, and the world. The ancient Stoic view takes its point of departure in an order of reason that stands at the disposition of the human will. Through → Augustine's (354–430) doctrine on grace, reflection on the question of the freedom of the human will soared to a primary position in the Christian discussion of the relationship between human action and divine grace. In Augustine's writings, a deterministic conception of free will is more and more to be observed. He had once defended, against → Manichaeism, the freedom of the human will to choose between good and evil. In his later work he was still prepared to grant it when the will stood in harmony with the determining, super-ordinate will of God. This position, to the effect that the free will was dependent on the grace of God, which Augustine sought to see prevail over other Christian positions (e.g., against the will-directed anthropology of Pelagius), found its modern resumption in the conflict between Martin → Luther (1483–1546) and Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469–1536). The balanced and moderate position that Erasmus had presented in his *De Libero Arbitrio* (Lat., "On Free Choice"; 1524), in which he saw the superiority of human beings over animals in their power of decision, was rejected by Luther, in his 1525 treatise *De Servo Arbitrio* ("On Enslaved Choice"). For Luther, on grounds of Original → Sin and human → predestination, human works can contain no merit for the attainment of the grace of God. For him, freedom comes only from liberation in faith. The criticism, based on this position, of the granting of indulgences, became the occasion of the Reformation. In the nineteenth century, Schopenhauer's discussion of the will shaped a new dimension. The antagonism between will without knowledge, and reason without will, becomes the principle of the explanation of the world. Friedrich → Nietzsche's (1844–1900) aphoristic, indistinct use of 'will to power' would at first bring to expression a liberation, and a conquest of self vis-à-vis the pressures of the world—and an existential objection to God. Here Nietzsche sees a growing basic tendency of all living beings, and ultimately, a fundamental force of the universe. In the wake of Sigmund → Freud's (1856–1939) → psychoanalysis, the question of the attribution of will and reason to human action was transferred to a tension between conscious, reasoning ego and unconscious id, the latter being the locus of the drives, so that the question is then posed of the extent to which the human being can be 'master in his own house.'

Self-Determination

3. In the scientific discussion of the twentieth century, the conditioned status of the human act in terms of psychology, and of the history of society, became an object of inquiry. Now inserted into that larger concern was the question of the freedom of the will. The will, and the extent of its freedom, became a multiply-influenced part of the human constitution. Science discussed the question of the freedom of the will in the context of a world

and a human being conditioned by natural law. The theory of → chaos, and a return to propositions on probability, have recently tended to restore the freedom of human activity to its former scope. → Existentialism, in Sartre's (1905–1980) sense, is less against certain forms of determinism than against the fatalism of the human being. The will to freedom becomes the challenge to the individual. Finally, moments of Rousseau's collective will, and of Nietzsche's will to power, strike a connection in Leni Riefenstahl's "The Triumph of the Will," a Nazi propaganda film in the spirit of an aestheticizing religion. The self-extinction of the individual will in a collective will to victory, on the part of the 'body of the people' who are subjected to the Führer's will alone, becomes a popular, superficially Nietzschean, collective intoxication (→ Masses). Now the goal is the oneness of people, Reich, and Führer translated into a mass scene, and at the same time presented in a film. The dilemma of volitional self-determination now entered the political history of the twentieth century, and its quality as a problem was rendered more acute. In the discussion of phenomena such as the new religious movements (→ New Religions), or fundamentalist currents as well, the problem of freedom, and of the possible manipulation of the human will, abides as an explosive, controversial topic (→ Anti-Cult Movements).

Islam

4. The concept of volitional freedom is characteristic of Western culture and philosophy. But the question of the subject and the autonomy of human activity can be reconstituted as a fundamental problem of non-European belief systems, as well. In Islam, the freedom of the will is predetermined by the divine will, and by the intervention of God in the world. Human beings retain certain opportunities for choice: however, these are limited to (1) the 'obligations' (*taklīf*), and (2) the individually predetermined human 'capacities' (*qudra*) for free decision, that are stipulated in revelation. Besides the divine dependency, the will is also constrained by the religious community, which subjects it to the collective will, on the principle of the 'public welfare' (*maslaha*).

Buddhism

In Buddhism, various conceptions of a human subject were developed, including the denial of its reality. On the one side, the 'I,' and the human will along with it, are regarded as illusions, to be overcome and 'quenched,' since they are responsible for one's clinging to this world, and are thereby responsible as well for the painful cycle of rebirths (*karma*). On the other side, a right decision, a right action, and therefore a 'right will' are necessary in order to travel the way that leads to the desired liberation. Volitional freedom is therefore necessary, at first, in order to be able to act ethically and religiously, but then is a hindrance to redemption. Thus, ultimately, it is itself to be overcome.

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→ *Destiny/Fate, Determinism, Ethics/Morals, Fatalism, Predestination*

Jürgen Mohn

Witch / Persecution of Witches

Meaning of the Word and Determination of the Concept

1. ‘Witch’ (from Old English *wicce/wicca*, ‘sorceress’) denotes, generally, a female person who can use magic, sorcery, spells, and/or enchantment to evoke hurtful reactions and results. The concepts for ‘witch’ present in European languages and societies betray various accentuations of meaning, depending on different aspects of the person or her activity. In the Italian word *strega* (from Lat., *striga*, ‘owl’), the witch is interpreted as a flying, child-abducting being. The French *sorcière* (from Lat., *sors*, ‘lot’) indicates witches’ art of soothsaying. In content, a distinction must be made between the cultural pattern of interpretation (C. Honegger) stamped by Europe, and the pattern of behavior (to be found outside Europe, as well) that distinguishes *witchcraft* as injurious, or else useful, → magic. Anthropological objects such as → amulets and → Voodoo dolls are examples of the same magical ‘reality’ as meant by the witchcraft, of past and present, although, of course, not in their literal reality and operation. ‘Witch crazes’ and persecution of witches are phenomena of European and extra-European societies. Especially in Africa, the killing of persons on grounds of alleged witchcraft has taken on terrifying proportions. In Tanzania alone, between 1970 and 1984, more than 3,000 persons were murdered for allegedly practicing witchcraft (Behringer 1998).

2. Between 1430 and 1870 European persecution of witches occurred mainly in Germany, in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, and in its neighboring regions, Poland, Eastern France, and Northern Italy, but comparatively less in the Ecclesiastical State and in Spain.

The Witch Paradigm

The witch paradigm at the root of these persecutions represents, as a fictitious schema of interpretation, a highly complex texture of popular and scholarly conceptualizations of faith. Scholarship in the area of witchcraft distinguishes the ancient and medieval conception of maleficent witches and sorcerers from the collective concept of ‘witch,’ which was developed around 1430 in Savoy, the Dauphiné, and Western Switzerland (Blauert 1989). In the latter concept, three principal complexes of thought were banded together: (1) older traditions of putting heretics and witches on trial (→ Heresy), (2) non-Christian ideas from popular faith (e.g., belief in fairies), and (3) scholarly theories on the power of the → Devil and → demons. The individual elements of the cumulative witchcraft offense—harmful spells, pacts with the Devil, sexual intercourse with the same, transformation of animals, flight through the air, the witches’ Sabbath—ought not be thought of as a rigid schema, trimmed to fit each individual case. There were different kinds of harmful spells, with differing provenance: injury to crops, weather spells,



A ceremony of initiation into a Wicca coven, a ritual group of the new witches movement (→ Paganism/Neopaganism). High priestess Zsuszanna Budapest presents the initiand (right) with an amulet of feathers. That only women are present has its basis in the fact that Budapest is founder of the feministic direction of 'Dianic Wicca' (after Roman goddess of the hunt Diana), whose ritual groups accept women exclusively. Budapest, born in 1940 in the Hungarian capital, combines traditional techniques used by Eastern European female soothsayers and healers (her mother was a medium), and 'feminist spirituality,' a concept that, she declares, she herself coined. Since 1970, she had been in Los Angeles, and later was a women's liberation activist, reformulating the political tenets of radical feminism in religious concepts and terms. In 1975 she founded the first feminist Wicca coven, Susan B. Anthony Coven Number 1, which became the model in Dianic Wicca. Her *Feminist Book of Lights and Shadows* (1975; republished in 1989 as *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries*) had the effect of creating a cult. In 1975, she was arrested for reading Tarot cards—which led to a paradigmatic trial, and ultimately, in 1983, to the abrogation of California's Law Against the Practice of Divination. Today Budapest moderates her own TV show ("Thirteenth Heaven"), and leads the Women's Spirituality Forum in San Francisco. (Hubert Mohr)

generation of illnesses, milk spells, witch dancing, came rather from a rural milieu; animal transformation, and flight, from medieval popular belief; the witches' Sabbath and love-making with the Devil, from scholastic theology, from stereotypes of processes against heretics (especially the Waldenses), and from anti-Jewish propaganda (→ Anti-Semitism).

Historical Survey

The first trials were held in 1415–1445 in the Dauphiné, in 1428 in Wallis, in 1438–1442 in the Diocese of Lausanne. The delict of witchcraft was punished by burning alive, both by the secular courts, where harmful spells were treated as grave capital offense, and by the → Inquisition as heresy and → apostasy, under the concept of apostatic service to the Devil. The procedure mounted against heretics by the Inquisition was whetted by persecutors to the shape of a special judicial process of its own. In this exceptional crime, the defense of the accused was no longer provided, evidence was simplified into the deposition of suspect instances, and the application of punishment was facilitated. The accused, then, especially in the processes of local secular courts, found themselves in a hopeless situation. In not a few cases, higher instances, such as the Paris Parliament in France, and the Imperial Chamber Court in Germany—or authoritative documents in university law departments—offered the only possibility of escaping the death penalty. Of the estimated 50,000 to 100,000 executions of witches between 1580 and 1620, some 25,000 occurred in Germany, and extended to Protestant and Catholic regions alike. The region of the most intensive persecution in Europe was Lorraine, with 2,700 executions between 1560 and 1620. The persecutions came in waves, and were of various duration and intensity in individual countries. The absolute climaxes of the 'witch hunts' were in the years between 1560 and 1630. Some 75-80% of those convicted and executed were women, often widowed and unmarried. Researchers have unanimously repudiated the notion that an above-average number of those found guilty of witchcraft were midwives and 'wise women.' Nor were those outside society more often accused than others. Even children could be victims of the witch trials.

Explanations

Plausible explanations for the witch hunts are crises of agriculture and famine, evoked by changes in climate ('Little Ice Age'), as well as the norms, fears, and fantasies of the witch persecutors. The role of the demonological literature—for example, Inquisitor Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus Maleficarum* (Lat., "Hammer of Witches"; 1487)—and of the popular notions of witches, has not yet been definitively explained. Numerous regional investigations attest that the pressure to persecution was exerted not from above, but, often, from below, by the broad masses, as means of the regulation of conflict. Opponents of the witch persecutions, as for example physician Johann Weyer (1515–1588), held a difficult position. At times, they appealed to moderate traditional ecclesiastical law; at other times—increasingly, in the seventeenth century—they discerned mentally ill or melancholic women, so that the demonological stereotype was transformed to a medical syndrome.

Witches in the Modern Age

3. In the Age of the Enlightenment, and in Romanticism, the negative appraisals of witches that had been made in the early modern age were turned into positive ones, by way of the formation of myths. Witches now came to be sacrifices of justice—of ecclesiastical and secular repression (Voltaire)—or 'wise women' (Jacob Grimm). Today's feminist (→ Women's Movement/

Spiritual Feminism) and new religious movements stylize the witch as a symbol of female self-determination, and of a cultic community of nature magic (e.g., Wicca cult in English-speaking regions; → Paganism/Neopaganism). In the United States alone, an estimated 250,000 'new witches' belong to various groups. The figure of the → fairytale witch lives on, in popular narratives of all cultures, as a supernatural being, who disposes of powers of enchantment both injurious and curative. In German folktales and sagas, she is encountered as a hideous old woman, who devours children, and can change herself into animals. The folkloric tradition includes the masking and witch-burnings of Carnival and Winter Solstice. The traditional, primarily rural, belief in witches of the present uses witches' spells for magical defense against bewitchment.

Plastic and pictorial art, poetry, and film attest a lively interest in witches. A case in point would be the witch images in the modern art of Alfred Kubin (1877–1959), Otto Dix (1891–1969), and Max Pechstein (1881–1955), or in the literature of Otfried Preussler (Ger., *Die Kleine Hexe*, "The Little Witch"; 1957), the best-known children's books about a witch, which has thus far been printed in over fifty editions. Arthur Miller's play *The Crucible* (1953), a historical parable of denunciation and mass insanity, was filmed in 1957 with the collaboration of Jean-Paul Sartre. John Updike's novel *The Witches of Eastwick* (1984), whose satirical subject is the battle of the sexes, became popular through the eponymous Hollywood film, with Jack Nicholson. The witch also appears as a mythic backdrop for the entertainment and consumer industries of the present. Magical abilities and utensils are offered, in newspaper advertisements, by commercial 'witches,' for the solution for the problems of life. Penny novels are available in all of the railroad-station magazine racks for creepy self-entertainment during a wait for a train. Leather witch-masks are sold on the sado-masochistic scene, thus rendering the witch a marketable sex object. In many places, tourism concepts have developed around witches. Consumer articles consciously make their concept of the witch a positive one, of the witch as a miraculous healer.

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→ *Apostasy, Demon/Demonology, Fairytale, Gender Stereotypes, Heresy, Inquisition, Magic, Paganism/Neo-Paganism, Women's Movement/Spiritual Feminism*

Werner Tschacher

Women's Movement / Spiritual Feminism

1. As early as the mid-1970s, chronologically parallel to the emergence and spread/extension of → New Age religious movements, concepts of → magic and → spirituality acquired a greater importance. A spiritual feminism, as an umbrella concept for a multiplicity of forms of belief and expression, has emerged from the new, autonomous women's movement. It is a political, and religious and/or spiritual movement at the same time. The spectrum of subjects involved in an overview of female spirituality extends from the general critique of the political, private, and religious conditions of woman's life in the patriarchy in history and the present (→ Matriarchy/Patriarchy), to today's feminist spirituality in society and church, to feminist spirituality as the vision of a new, female way of life and culture—the quest for a genuinely female identity. The broader concept of spiritual feminism or feminist spirituality can comprise the most distinct groupings. There are as many opinions here as there are women who express themselves on this subject. Feminist spirituality goes out beyond the boundaries of traditional religious spaces, and yet presses into these spaces from without. Thus, Christian and Jewish women seek new paths, forms of expression, and content for female piety, within and without the Church and Judaism. Women belonging to political traditions of feminist 'separatism' find themselves together with liberal mothers and employees in search of both a cultural and spiritual homeland. Together they reverence the potential fullness of a 'Great Goddess.' Spiritual feminism thus represents the quest for the denomination of a multiplicity of currents and (self-) determinations, whose differing assessments depend on women's own respective outlooks.

Feminist Theories and Standpoints

2. The new women's movement in Western Europe and in the United States is one of the most important social movements since the end of the 1960s. It has gained 'revolutionary' and innovative influence in various areas and regions of society, along with initiating a new orientation in political ethics. In the → peace movement, in the → ecumenical movement, in the regions of science and higher education, in the trade unions, in politics, in the churches, their ideas and political demands have established themselves. The goals are change of social norms and institutions, and the rescission of the historically produced biologistic differentiation of the sexes, i.e., culturally conditioned essential definitions of femaleness and maleness (→ Gender Stereotypes), as well as the defeat of any form of sexist oppression and disadvantage. Today, the issue 'Women and Emancipation' has been received across all of the spectra of society. Three great directions are worthy of mention: (a) *Liberal feminism*, which represents a policy of equal rights

in the sense of universally valid rights, (b) *socialistic feminism* that sees the oppression of women as based in the structures of pan-societal power-relations, and (c) *radical feminism*, which regards equal rights, participation, and share in the organizations of existing society, as an insufficient goal for women. In this latter case feminism means a separate organizing movement, for the creation of autonomous woman-spaces, the psychological process of liberation of woman from identification with man, and a new definition, or new evaluation, of social problems by women. It explains the patriarchal organization of → sexuality and reproduction (→ Regeneration/Fertility) as the key reference point of male power. It is precisely here that the slogan, "The personal is political," becomes the central theme.

At the end of the 1970s, the interests of radical feminism split in two. A 'political' direction saw self-determination with regard to → body, spirit, and 'soul,' and the political 'struggle,' for example in the ecological and peace movement, as its goal. Thus, this element pursued a 'feminization' of the social system of norms and values. Meanwhile, another part raised demands for matriarchal life structures that would transcend current societal relations. This discussion was conducted within and outside of traditional religions.

'Cultural Feminism'

3. Within radical feminism, theoretical confrontation with patriarchal values and norms began very quickly. Many women perceived a male-centeredness ('androcentrism'), and male sexism, in all areas of society. This construal of maleness promoted radical positions in feminist separatism. Out of their varying components, and over the intermediate positions of a 'cultural feminism,' they then built a bridge of 'spiritual feminism.' This feministic spiritual movement sees itself as a radical counter-sketch to a patriarchal society. In it, → utopias of new collective, cultural, and spiritual forms of female living are drawn up and tried out. Comprehensive, radical criticisms of the patriarchy and its institutions, in politics, culture, and religion, as well as the demand for a genuinely 'female counterculture,' are the earmarks of contributions to the project.

Radical Religious and Cultural Critique of Patriarchy

a) Feminist authors such as Mary Daly, Herrad Schenk, Miriam Simos (alias Starhawk), and Caroline Merchant describe the demise of the patriarchal structure. A society directed by the 'male principle,' and the betrayal of moral principles, is made responsible for the political and social problems of the present. Feminist criticism of religion is here closely bound up with general criticism of patriarchy. Traditional monotheistic religions such as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are regarded as patriarchal institutions, and stand for settled traditionalism, stamped by the exclusion of female worlds of experience and widespread gynophobia, on the part of male religious dignitaries. Former Catholic theologian and feminist philosopher Mary Daly sees in Christianity compulsion, mythologization, and therewith the eternalization of the sex-role stereotypes. For her, the image or symbol of a male → God is only one of patriarchy's many mechanisms of oppression. Others reproach the Christian Church for its destruction of sanctuaries of female mystery cults (→ Mysteries) and supposed matriarchal high religions. In their criticism of Judaism, a latent → anti-Semitism on the part of feminist theologians is sometimes discernable. To Judaism is ascribed the origin of patriarchal → monotheism, and therewith the beginning of all 'evil.' Many feminists can no longer wish to join themselves to a strong, mighty, authoritative Father,

nor do they wish to. He symbolizes abuse of power. Religion is then experienced as no more than a toolbox of patriarchy's control and oppression. The concepts of 'female identity' and 'alienation' are therefore central points of application: women's spirituality can realize itself only in holistic spiritual sisterhood (→ Wholeness/Holism).

Woman—Corporality—Nature

b) The foundational image of → nature as female principle offers a metaphorical approach, which has played a central role in the male concept of femaleness since the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the 1970s, it seemed to many eco-feminists that a solution to the environmental crisis was possible only by way of a revival of concepts emphasizing the special affinity of/between woman and nature. Nature was understood as a living organism, analogous with women (collectively), with both of them being exploited and 'violated' by patriarchy (→ Environmentalism). Here traditional patriarchal religions played a key role, with the hostile attitude toward → body and → sexuality of the Christian churches, and their tabooing and demonizing of female sexuality (menstrual cycle [→ Blood], contraception [→ Abortion/Contraception]).

Spiritual Feminism

4. Many currents within and without ('cultural') feminism make use of the concept of → *spirituality*. By contrast with traditional and → New Age religions alike, spiritual feminism represents the standpoint of the 'immanence' (→ Transcendence) realized in women's 'fusion' or 'blending' with the earth and nature, which are mythically embodied by the Great Goddess. Notions of a 'genuinely female spirituality' offer a wide spectrum: an all-encompassing, loving 'sisterhood' (meant as ideological as well as spiritual solidarity and community of women), the self-definition of female identity, 'reverence for life,' visions of spiritual freedom and self-determination. Here spirituality is immanent in the world, the spiritual healing of the world. In its most radical configuration, spirituality means self-acceptance, identity, independently of male acknowledgement—a spiritual, economic, and physical as well as psychic independence from 'man.' Spirituality becomes a concept of living.

Feminist Theology

5. Within the churches, the positions of spiritual feminism run a rather moderate course. Its roots reach back to the time of the first middle-class women's movement in the nineteenth century. In the United States, the first woman was admitted to the study of theology in 1847. In Prussia, on the other hand, women were permitted to study theology only in 1908. Women were long denied 'religions competencies,' and even today they are excluded from the priestly office in Catholicism (→ Priest/Priestess). In the ever intensifying lay movement in the Church, struggles for equal rights have been making progress ever since the beginning of the twentieth century. In the 1960s, demands for women's equality in church offices arose across the confessions. Influenced by American and African → liberation theologies, as well as by the budding women's movement, noted theologians, such as Dorothee Sölle, inquired into the place of woman in theology. Many went further, calling their own entire tradition into question (Daly, Mulak, Weiler), and questioning its meaningfulness for women. This spontaneous adoption of themes led to the debates cited above. With an eye to the Bible, and the history of the Church, attempts have been made to write female/feminine (salvation) history—HERstory instead of HIStory, 'thealogy' instead of 'theology.')

Discussions on the legitimacy of God as a male symbol have been conducted, and various new concepts of God have been developed. Resulting positions range from a theology of the figure of Jesus as an advocate for women, and thereby mediator between the sexes, and the sketch of a neuter spirit (Heb., *ruakh*), to the symbol of a triadic Goddess. Supra-confessionally, feminists today look for new spiritual signs, → symbols, and → rituals. Hostility to the body and the senses as manifested in the liturgy are now to be replaced by new, sensuous rituals—often removed from church buildings—with circle dances, music, song, colors, light, scents. Thus, the bloody mysteries inherent in the → Lord's Supper, which are especially problematic for women, ought to be reinterpreted and re-symbolized; the theological tradition of the sin and atonement of an innate female impurity could be countered with sensuous celebration, in memory of the communion with God. Many new points of criticism have arisen in recent years. Along with calls for women's ordination, the fundamental question has also been posed whether the churches are really the place where feminists feel welcome, and can develop spiritually. The answer is, for one, dependent on the men in these institutions—on their openness to criticism, and readiness for change. But it is also dependent on the individual preparedness of every individual woman to break with traditions, and, if necessary, to live and work even outside of the Church.

The Figure of the Great Goddess

6. A discussion on the necessity and sense of genuinely female or feminine symbols, rituals, and images of God took place at the end of the 1970s, in connection with discussion and research on → matriarchy. For many spiritual women, the symbol of the male → God had outlived its usefulness, and it seemed that that of the Goddess bore the liberating principles of both sexes. This revival of the Goddess/goddesses is more the conscious expression of a political behavior than it is a religious emotion. The logic proceeds as follows. Let the Goddess become a necessary figure of identification for women. She symbolizes the rightness of female claim to authority and aspiration for power. Her sign serves for the evaluation of the female body, and she herself becomes 'Redeemer of the Earth.' The rapidly devised sacred doctrine of 'thea-logy' expresses the wish for a mythic foundation of the 'feminine principle.' Jutta Voss speaks of 'the sacred potency' of the feminine (female), as symbol of life, death, and never-ending rebirth.[1] The triple form of the Goddess represents the female body with its cycles, to which every woman along with the menstrual cycle is physically subject, fostering (1) the phase of youth, (2) that of maturity, and (3) that of age.

Mythological Schema of the 'Threefold Goddess'

Phases: *Association*	*Youth*	*Maturity*	*Old Age*
Female Type	Virgin	Mother	Wise Old
Mythical Figure	Diana, Aphrodite	Demeter, Inanna, Isis	Kali, Hecate, Percht
Color	White Goddess	Red Goddess	Black Goddess
Function/ Region	Youth, Erotics	Maturity, Fertility Creativity, Birth, Dispenser of Culture	Magic, Death, Beyond, [Old] Age, Rebirth, Healer
Lunar Phase	Quarter Moon	Full Moon	New Moon
Season	Spring	Summer	Fall, Winter
Directions [on compass]	East	South	West, North
Element	Air	Fire	Water, Earth

Ritual Practice

Ritual practice is oriented, for the most part, to the cycles of → agrarian religions and astronomical reference points (→ Paganism/Neopaganism). In many rituals, celebrants make an effort to (re-) produce the unity and harmony of nature, cosmos, and everything that lives. They serve as the healing process of Gaia, the 'Mother Earth.' And so the Goddess symbolizes the concrete, sensible presence of the divine, in a concept of the world in which everything is living, dynamic, reticulated, and bound up, strengthened and reinforced by living energies, a living being (Starhawk 1999). The patriarchal, 'mechanistic' worldview is seen as just the opposite. It looks upon → nature as a dead object, exploiting it without inhibition or containment (H. Göttner-Abendroth, C. Merchant). The Goddess embodies the cyclical world picture of the genuinely feminine, the image so vehemently demanded by female researchers of matriarchy. Connected with the sanctification of the cyclical orbit of nature (and women), there is the hope of more attention, and social regard. Nature is threatened, to be sure, but ultimately nature is divine, as the 'reincarnation of the Goddess.' In matriarchal religion, she is bound up with a myth of 'celestial self-redemption,' and thus with the redemption of the female sex on earth.

Feminist 'Witches'

7. The 'witch' has become an identifying image of the women's movement (→ Witch/Persecution of Witches; Paganism/Neopaganism). At first, she was used only in demonstrations, as a counter-concept expressing the struggle against patriarchal norms and values. By the mid-1970s, however, she was already filled with mythologized ideological content. The ironic, provocative metaphor 'witch,' nevertheless, is consciously adopted only by a part of the women's movement, as by the feminist Wicca witches (see ill. at → Witch/Persecution of Witches). Many exponents of feminist spirituality see themselves rather as priestesses, healers, 'wise women,' or shamans, if indeed they are not simply indifferent to traditional concepts. The first feminist witch circles emerged in the United States. But they were mostly oriented to occult/magical witch paradigms of the Wicca movement that appeared in the England of the 1950s and have since socially established themselves. In the feminist witch movement, answers to questions of ecology, politics, life meaning, and religion, that in church and society have remained unsolved, are sought in varying manners. The ideology of modern witchcraft contains the following. (a) The feeling of homeland, a feeling that is to be attained by a life in 'sisterly' communities of experience and life; (b) a life in peace and harmony with nature (concept of immanence; → Nature Piety, → Wholeness/Holism); (c) the demand to engage oneself, politically as well as spiritually, in the rescue of the world's eco-systems (→ Environmentalism); (d) the formation of a spiritual 'women's culture' (women's communes, women's spiritual projects).

The image of the witch embraces the concept of → magic. Ideas of magic span an arc from therapeutic, to esoteric, to 'classic' ideas of magic (the spell; → Prayer/Curse). In this 'spiritually political' movement, magic/spirituality and witches/shamans are usually grouped at random, and their names applied as synonyms for the same thing. Magic (and → spirituality) have become umbrella concepts, in which a transformed world-image, and newly developed rituals mix together and coagulate. This concept, thus defined in anti-Enlightenment terms, stands for female wisdom and female spiritual power. It forms a wall against patriarchal → science and religion.

Some feminists appeal to magic as a designation for primitive, and now again current, practices of female spirituality. 'Magic rituals' stand for the respective groups that mean to connect with the universe, the elements, and nature (Luisa Francia, Ute Manan Schiran, Heide Göttner-Abendroth)—and therefore have shamanic and pantheistic features (→ Pantheism)—or else are connected with the Goddess as universal power (Anna Dinklmann, Starhawk, Zsuzsanna Budapest).

9. Feminist spirituality contains at once a critique of culture, and a quest for culture. The quest for → identity is at the same time a question concerning feminine self-understanding under the given conditions of the patriarchal society. However, the critique of patriarchy and its 'gods' has not been entirely satisfactory. The 'search for the divine,' as a province of sense or meaning, is first and foremost connected with the wish for self-knowledge of what it is or can be 'to be a woman.' The concrete spiritual or religious concepts then follow. Here spirituality ought to create a commitment that relates to spiritual feeling, group identity, and the sacralization of 'feminine values.' It is the means to form the creators of women's own utopia of spiritual harmony, in the face of social and societal disharmony. Male dis-order is set against a female order (→ Chaos). But the formation of a female identity is not something that occurs only through the search for spirituality: it leads to the new discovery, and conquest, of the world, with all of its offers and opportunities, and participates in the epochal determination of a fundamental revolt. Thus, in other words, it is an attempt to accomplish, by way of religion, a social transformation.

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→ Body, Environmentalism, Gender Stereotypes, Hierarchy, Magic, Matriarchy/Patriarchy, Nature, Nature Piety, New Age, Occultism, Paganism/Neopaganism, Sexuality, Spirituality, Witch/Persecution of Witches

Angela Schenkluhn

Work

1. a) Work is human activity with the goal of producing what is necessary or useful for the existence of the individual and his or her kin. For this purpose, the working individual must enter into a conscious process of confrontation with nature, and thus, always alter natural circumstances. The simplest example to use for an explanation of this state of affairs is the production of tools. Thus, one of the most pregnant definitions of the human being is his and her specification as the 'tool-making animal.' In spite of this universal anthropological determination of work, an evaluation of work in terms of social and cultural history claims quite a broad spectrum, and this view precipitates out into religious history as well. Aside from a more or less natural division between male and female work—which occurred early in hunting and gathering societies—the division of 'head' and 'hand' labor is of special importance. This dichotomy, still prevailing in the division between 'mental' and 'physical' work, owes its origin to the fact that, by perfecting tools, it has been possible to diminish the amount of work necessary for the satisfaction of the elementary necessities of life.

The 'Tool-Making Animal'

Work as Punishment

b) All of the so-called historical religions—including the world religions—have formed during a time that knew a division between mental and manual labor. This genealogy is reflected in the world of religious concepts in a number of ways. (1) It is reflected in the widespread idea of a primordial paradise (→ Garden/Paradise), in whose condition human beings had the fruits of nature, for free enjoyment, in superfluity. The necessity of work has entered only through an event that has disturbed the harmony and leisure of this life, as recounted in, for example, the story of Original → Sin, in Gen 3. (2) The conceptions of gods and → God know nothing of working gods—gods can indeed battle, and thereby accomplish great deeds, but these acts are not understood as work; rather the gods feel disturbed by the noisy labors of human persons, as is so plainly depicted in the Babylonian Great Flood (Atramhasis) depicted. (3) Religious activity, for example in worship, is not conceptualized as work. In all religions that have ever known religious → specialists, the latter have been specifically exempted from physical labor. In extreme cases, this exemption can actually lead to the formation of a priestly caste, who need perform no manner of gainful labor, as with the Brahmans of ancient India. A necessary premise, in such a scenario, is the production of an economic surplus, and its appropriation by non-working groups in society.

Monks and Work

2. This distanced-to-negative attitude toward work is the contrary of another, likewise grounded in religion: a high esteem for simple work, especially for that of the farmer. This is encountered with many of the prophets of Israel, as in the Book of Amos, for example. This tension was rendered more



Doing the dishes in a Zen Buddhist monastery in Japan. In common, the young men busy themselves with their eating utensils. The Indian tradition of wandering ascetics engages these monks in a contemplative life without any means of their own subsistence. The members of Buddhist orders, whether they beg their maintenance in a daily quest for alms, or live on the landed property of the order, are entirely dependent on the labor of the laity for their life support. In Zen Buddhism, work is appraised not on the basis of its meaning as a profitable activity, but as the exercise of attention in daily actions. Zen monasteries receive contributions from their lay members, while garden and household work is part of the course of the day of a monk or nun. This approach finds its expression in the formula, "A day without work, a day without eating." (Kirsten Holzapfel)

acute in religions that originally had no cult personnel. It becomes particularly clear in the history of Christianity, where, as early as the first century, the duty to work was intensified—especially, it would seem, in regard to wandering preachers, who traveled from place to place, and lived at the expense of the community. Very soon, however, a condition formed in the Christian community, as is the general rule in the history of religions: a class of religious specialists formed who engaged in no gainful employment, and who lived on a system of contributions maintained by the communities. At one extreme, this development was propelled by an ascetic class (→ Asceticism), whose members, in conscious negation of the world, included work among the things they eschewed. Benedict of Nursia (480–547) turned this beginning of → monasticism, so little organized, in another direction. The

principle of praying and working tended to create a new religious attitude toward work, which, however, could be maintained only with difficulty even in monasticism. The division between lay brothers and clerical monks, in the long term, allowed the separation of mental/spiritual work (*vita contemplativa*) and corporeal work (*vita activa*) to revive, with a higher evaluation of the former. The urban mendicant orders of the Middle Ages (Dominicans and Franciscans) limited themselves fully to preaching and cure of souls, and (at least theoretically) obtained the necessities of life by begging. Very soon, however, even here the vow of → poverty bound only the monk, not the monastery. Buddhism exhibits a similar phenomenon, especially in Theravada Buddhism, where, after the establishment of permanent monasteries, the monk was to obtain his sustenance himself by begging, although the monastery, by way of endowments, could have rich landed property at its disposal, worked by laity. As the monastic life is preferred in religion, a lower worth and value is then automatically ascribed to productive activity. The latter, it is true, is not directly rejected.

Work as Religious Obligation

3. It was almost automatically that this tendency arose, that qualified everyday work as being of lesser religious worth than a life dedicated entirely to religion. Thus, it could be assailed only where the division between laity and religious → specialists had been rescinded theoretically, as occurred in the sixteenth-century Reformation. Of course, neither → Luther nor Calvin entertained any high esteem for work performed for the sake of success. Rather, they regarded the essential thing as the fulfillment of one's duty. But in the view of equal value of all activities, in principle, regardless of whether they were spiritual or manual, in any case a new understanding of everyday work was perceptible vis-à-vis antiquity and the Middle Ages. However, in the background of the Reformers' new evaluation of everyday work, there was always their polemic against the special position and rank of the clergy. This was especially true in the case of the orders. In their appeal to the "Evangelical Counsels" (*Consilia Evangelica*) of chastity and poverty, the orders had come under suspicion of seeking to obtain a state of grace through works. The Reformers stressed, instead, that grace and salvation could be conferred on the human being even in a worldly state. This had never been questioned theoretically, but it was no longer clear in Catholic religious life.

The warning against idleness is known even from the Hebrew Bible, and then, by way of the New Testament, courses through all of church history. This admonition did not yet have the effect, however, of work being considered an end in itself. Only in the eighteenth century did a new evaluation of work enter the scene. The aspect of creativity then won out, over the aspects of difficulty and burden. The causes of this change in evaluation are disputed. Max → Weber, in his famous *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (Ger., "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism"), suggests that religious motives were critical. But even today, it is a subject of scientific discussion. A special role is played by the Calvinistic tenet of the double → predestination. Before the creation of the world, God established which human beings were to be destined for eternal life and which to eternal death. If such is the case, what importance or meaning can be ascribed to the activity of human beings? How, then, does the new emphasis on the duty to perform work function as an appropriate means to solve the doubt over one's own status in grace? How, then, has it come about that this accentuation, intended as a pastoral consideration, came thus to be reinterpreted

in such a manner that now secular, worldly success (measurable in wealth) was a sign of election? It is at least as plausible to hypothesize that, in a society increasingly resting on work for pay, as was increasingly evident in the nineteenth century, besides being physically forced to work, ideological, that is, religious legitimation become popular. It should be kept in mind that in the nineteenth century it was argued that only a low compensation could motivate the worker to continuous labor.

The modern development is identifiable by the fact that, today, in all religions, a positive qualification of work prevails, so that this can be emphasized in the 'interreligious dialogue' as a common trait. Although it is considerably difficult to argue that the respective religious traditions are willing to attribute a high value to worldly work, theological acuity nevertheless has attempted to solve even this problem, by way of postulating a work ethic that will apply to all religions, corresponding to an economy that operates globally.

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→ *Everyday Life, Economy, Marxism, Poverty, Protestantism, Weber*

Günter Kehrer

Writing

Writing and Reading as Cultural Techniques

1. The point in time at which the human being began to register data in writing can be referred to some 3,000 years before Christ. Naturally, the act of writing was possible before the invention of writing—by scratching, painting, etc., individual signs—probably as early as the Paleolithic. But it is undisputed that only the invention and application of writing, as a comprehensive code and means of preservation—for the storing and expansion of speech-connected information—resulted in the formation and flourishing of the early civilizations (→ Memory). In Mesopotamia, the phenomenon occurred as cuneiform writing, in Egypt as hieroglyphics. The invention of mobile vehicles such as the clay tablet (ancient Near East), papyrus (Egypt), parchment (Asia Minor), and paper (China) played a decisive role in the propagation of writing. Another critical development was that of the codex and the → book, which became the binding and archiving units. Familiarity with writing, and writings themselves, were applied first and foremost for the registration of data in the political, socio-economic, and religious areas. The appropriation of writing had need of a special formation. Accordingly, the writer belonged to the foremost political or religious class. Competency for writing, then, rested especially with the political elite, so that writing functioned as a means of rule and primacy. This dimension did not change, in principle, until modern times, since only those who enjoyed special training could write. However, illiteracy has faded away in modern times, in the



A Japanese Zen Master, a member of the Rinzai School (founded in China by Lin-chi I-hsüan), writes in calligraphy (in Jap., *Shodô*, 'Path of Writing'). He writes a Chinese letter, *qì* (in Jap., *ki*), meaning 'spirit,' 'mind,' 'spiritual' or 'mental power,' or 'inner energy.' In → Zen Buddhism, calligraphy is a means to prepare for meditation, or in itself applied meditation. For this practice, calm and composure are prerequisites. Another prerequisite is absorption in Nothing, and submersion in it. A Chinese author of the Sung Dynasty characterized Zen Buddhist calligraphy as *hsin yìn* ('Seal of the Heart'). This spiritual attitude also appears in painting with watercolors, which, despite its simplicity, symbolically presents the religious dimensions both of human existence, and of the world.

process of the institutionalization of the modern ideal of education through universal obligatory education. In the nineteenth century, the mechanization of the art of writing (the typewriter) had, it is true, rather a negative effect on the popularization of writing at first (appearance of 'typists,' who had to be trusted with their newly developed writing art). But therapid spread of the typewriter and—beginning in the 1980s—the 'personal computer' completely overtook this temporary reversal. Electronic development simplified writing, which became 'typing,' and thus the composition of writings, as well. It was on this account that writing generally lost its specific class privilege. Although it remains difficult to establish whether the book culture is entering its demise today, it is certain that the culture of writing and recording by hand in the new electronic forms of → communication, such as e-mail and Internet, will possess an ever more relevant value in the immediate future.

2. In the area of religion, as well, writing specialists were regarded as enjoying a special relevance. That is, writing was a privilege belonging to the elite class (priests, monks, theologians), and this ability led to the legitimization of their primacy. Fixation in writing of various sorts of religious data, and their storage, were the principal task of these specialists. The writing and composing of religious documents ('Holy Scripture,' hagiographies, books of law, prayer books, and even the exposition [exegesis] of commentaries on authoritative texts) excluded, in principle, participation by the laity. Therefore the ability to write contributed to a cementing of internal class differentiation within the group. However, it frequently made possible

the bond between religion and the key state instances that stabilized government (bureaucracy, royal chancery, ancient Eastern temples). Although, at present, writing is an activity open in principle to every person, it can still be recognized that a certain group of writers, especially in those traditions in which written (not printed) material possesses a high authority, play an important role in the community (e.g., copyist of the Torah; see also → Bible, with ill.).

3. In the religious colloquial, what is understood by 'scripture' is first and foremost 'the holy scripture(s),' that is, a corpus of texts that transmit religious information (messages). In most of the 'book religions,' the authorship of these scriptures is referred to God, or to the religious founder, which establishes their absolute → authority. Even though concrete historical persons, such as → Muhammad, can be identified as the authors, their writing activity does not take a central role, but only a passive, secondary one. God (or a spirit, an angel, etc.) dictates or writes, while human beings, at most inspired by God, or by beings resembling God, write down what has been heard or perceived (verbal inspiration). Writing in a condition of trance, as well, is frequently to be observed in other religions, as in Shamanism, or with written documents conveyed or prepared by persons with mediumistic talents (→ Spiritism; Channeling).

Interaction with Sacred Scriptures

4. Ever since their appearance, 'sacred' or 'holy scriptures' have assumed a founding or differentiating function vis-à-vis their corresponding communities.

For the preservation of the 'correct' meaning of the texts, there appeared a special social class, which, even today, remains concerned primarily with the exposition of the texts (scripture scholars or theologians). The task of these → specialists is to explain the 'true' sense or meaning of the texts, or of the letters, respectively, either in function of societal constellations that are constantly being transformed over the course of history, or else from an 'unchangeable' universal perspective. In all of the scriptural religions this social class receives a privileged position and exercises a decisive influence when it comes to dogmatic controversies.

While laity in the scriptural religions (e.g., Protestantism, Islam, or Mahayana Buddhism) are not excluded from access to sacred scriptures in principle, it is also true that, in certain traditions, these are part of secret or mysterious knowledge ('arcanum'; → Esotericism), with which only the initiate may deal (Egyptian Book of the Dead).

A consequence of the concept that what is written in holy scriptures comes from supra-terrestrial beings, is the veneration or adoration or their physical form. A typical example is the holy book of the Sikh religion, Adi Granth, which enjoys a quasi-divine veneration. In the above-described behavior with the sacred writings in various rituals, the character of holy scripture as an object of veneration is clearly expressed: ritual honor to be accorded to the scriptures is attested in Catholicism (Bible), Buddhism, and Lamaism (Sutras), Judaism (Torah scrolls in the synagogue), and state Shintô (Imperial Educational Edict).

5. Specific characteristics of scripture in religion can be recognized in magical behavior with what has been written. If the idea of the supra-terrestrial and magical power of what is written moves into the foreground, then the character of scripture as the vehicle of magical power gains more strength (→ Magic; Amulet). If something written (or a small fragment of



That the cultural technique of writing and reading (and thus knowledge of antiquity) was maintained in Western and Central Europe at the dawn of the early Middle Ages was the merit of the Christian monastic culture. Tirelessly, its writing specialists copied more or less sacred texts, in scriptoria (from Lat., *scribere*, 'write'), as Umberto Eco so clearly depicts in his mystery novel *The Name of the Rose*. By way of example, Alcuin's scriptorium at Tours, at the beginning of the ninth century, annually produced two complete bibles. This ancient and venerable tradition has undergone an astonishing renaissance in the age of computers and the Internet. The Trappist monks of Holy Cross Monastery, for instance, in Berryville, Virginia, along with their traditional fruitcake production, have earned their living since 1990 by executing computer assignments for secular enterprises. Trappists, who follow a strict version of the Cistercian Rule, are much in demand for their writing abilities, as they are highly motivated, and in addition, are bound by a rule of silence, so that they can concentrate entirely on their assignments in their writing niches. For the development of their writing business, to which belong ambitious tasks like the development and maintenance of data banks as well, the monks have founded a flourishing commercial enterprise. Its name, incidentally, is *Electronic Scriptorium*. (Hubert Mohr)

sacred scripture) is regarded as charged with power, then one can apply the power-laden writing for certain magical purposes. If what is written takes the form of a book, then this magical aspect shows itself in, for example, the practice of soothsaying from the book ('bibliomancy'), in which presages are ascribed to certain verses in the book, for instance, in the Sibylline books, Homer, or the → Bible. That a paper or piece of wood on which certain verses are written should be worn as an amulet or talisman, fastened on or applied for decoration, likewise offers an example of this practice. We need only recall the *mezuzah*, a small capsule on the front doors of Jewish houses and dwellings, which contains a handwritten fragment of the Torah (Deut 6:4-9; 11:13-21).

At the same time, it can be observed that certain letters, numerals, or formulas are ascribed special magical power, as with the letter or alphabetic mysticism of the → Kabbalah, and with magical formulae and 'syllables' (in Sanskrit, → *mantra*), in Brahmanism, → Tantra, and esoteric Buddhism. The conceptualization that certain letters incarnate physical or supra-terrestrial entities, can be recognized in, for example, Buddhist inscriptions, or → mandalas that, instead of the name of a Buddha or a picture of the Buddha, contain a letter (in Skt., *bija*) referring to the being and presence of the Buddha. In esoteric Buddhism, a written letter is often applied in meditation: here the first letter of the Sanskrit alphabet (*a-kara*), incarnating the cosmic being of time and space, is a special favorite.

The Oral Aspect: Expressions of What Is Written

6. Of course, the mystique and magic of the written must be considered in connection with the oral aspect (→ Oral Tradition). It is believed of mantras that their magic power develops only when they are actually pronounced in prescribed → rituals, and spoken precisely, and in such a way as to reproduce the sounds regarded as primordially supra-terrestrial, and as constituting the cosmos. Therefore the ritual relevance of the written ought not to be underestimated. After all, in community rituals, the oral or acoustical actions (reading, reading aloud, reciting, hearing; → Perception) play a role of the first importance, while, in the private practice of belief, the value of

the written is relatively great (meditation in the presence of written signs or symbols).

Copying

7. Religious use of the writing faculty is not exhausted in the writing down of, and the ritual attention to, holy scriptures. The latter must also—completely or in part—be multiplied. In certain traditions, besides, copying itself is ascribed a religious value. Thus, copying from sutras, as in Mahayana Buddhism, constitutes an important religious practice, which can lead to a better understanding of the text being copied, and at the same time to a better spiritual disposition.

Calligraphy: Writing as an Ornamental Art

8. That writing and copying made up an important part of religious practice, in some traditions relates to the fact that the writing technique had become an independent artistic capacity at the hands of writing specialists. The capacity or ability in question was the art of 'beautiful writing,' (the literal translation of the Greek) 'calligraphy.' In Islam, beyond its religious relevance, the practice of calligraphy contributed to the fact that, out of the potential for decoration inherent in signs for writing, the latter developed into general patterns for the adornment of Islamic architecture. The above-mentioned copies of Buddhist sutras as calligraphic works, at the same time belong to the realm of the architectural art. In the thirteenth century, the monks of Japanese → Zen Buddhism were the principal vehicles of artistic calligraphy, and they still maintain this tradition today.

Modern Mass Production

9. In the electronic age, the meaning of writing, and of writings, is being transformed in the religions, as well. The blossoming of the information society makes possible the mass production of religious writings, and the latter, through the progressing electronic network, can be made available to all who are interested. Alongside 'old media,' such as electronic tapes or videotapes, in the future the computer could figure among the important vehicles of religious activities (→ Media). Approaches are recognizable in the private area of religious practice (Internet sale of consecrated Hosts, automated prayer service), although community rituals still exercise a greater power or attraction on the faithful. Even the formation of communities cannot escape this tendency. The fact that writings spread by the Internet do not have a concrete and limited circle of addressees, forces authors to address their messages to a potential audience unknown to them. The broad audience thereby assumes, first, a passive role (reading). Active writing (entering onto the Internet) can only follow for those willing to endorse virtual community. Today, it is difficult to establish the functionality of the act of writing, or that of the writings themselves, in the traditional schema.

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→ *Bible, Book, Communication, Language, Literature, Media, Memory, Oral Tradition, Text/Textual Criticism*

Hiroshi Kubota

Yoga

Origins

The concept and practices of yoga come out of India (→ Indian Subcontinent). The Sanskrit word *yoga* is related to the English 'yoke.' In the ancient text of the Veda, accordingly, it meant first, the hitching (therefore, the 'yoking') of draught animals to a cart or plow.

Then, in the time of the Upanishads (from c. 900 BCE), as a systematic examination of human nature began in India, the concept was broadened to include a mental and religious dimension. A basic premise of the mystics of the days in question was that religious seekers must 'yoke' their senses and drives (constantly subjected, as they are, to transformation), that is, dominate them, in order to be able to venture an advance to their essential basis and ground—as eternally and changelessly apostrophized. Only thus, according to the teaching of the Upanishads, was 'liberation' (Skt., *moksha)* from the cycle of → 'rebirths' (samsara) to be attained. From such an allegorical comparison of human meaning with draught animals, the concept *yoga* in India gradually advanced to the status of an umbrella concept for the type of the praxis-oriented way of salvation.

Around the first centuries CE, the *yoga sutra*s (i.e. yoga verse) of *Patañjali* appeared, considered to be a basic text even today. In these maxims, a scant two hundred, yoga is defined as the "coming-to-rest of the activities of the human heart and soul," in the sense of a 'hitching up,' a yoking, of the mind and spirit. Here Patañjali teaches an eight-limbed "way of yogic practice," as follows.

- *yama:* general ethical commandments, such as nonviolence, truthfulness, not stealing, moderation, and not hoarding;
- *niyama:* specific ethical commandments, such as cleanliness, health, attention, self-study, and orientation to the immortal;
- *asama:* seating, and body position(s);
- *pranayama:* breathing exercises (→ Breathing);
- *pratyahara:* withdrawal of the senses inward;
- *dharana:* meditation;
- *samadhi:* immersion, being one. Yoga scholar Mircea → Eliade denotes the highest condition of yoga, *samadhi*, as 'entasy'—in the sense of a complete 'being at,' or 'being within' oneself, as distinguished from the frequently encountered religious → ecstasy, in the sense of a total 'being outside of oneself' (Eliade 1969).

Hatha Yoga

Besides the other kinds of yoga, beginning in the twelfth century CE, in India developed, on the spiritual foundation of tantrism (→ Tantra), *hatha yoga* (yoga of the 'power thrusts'), which valued the corporeal aspects of the 'way of the practice,' a differentiated physiology of its own. Here belongs, for example, the concept of *chakras*—thought of as delicate matter—a concept that today enjoys a growing popularity, especially in Western countries (→ New Age).

Yoga in the West

In the West, toward the end of the nineteenth century, yoga in its practical application was transmitted especially by the appearance of Indian Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902) at the World Congress of Religions (1893) in Chicago, and by the activities of the → Theosophical Society under Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Annie Besant (1847–1933). This first generation of Western adepts limited itself to yoga's concentrative and meditative practices. But, at the end of the 1930s, with the founding of the yoga schools of Boris Sacharov (1899–1959) in Berlin, and Selvarajan Yesudian (1916–1998) and Elisabeth Haich (1897–1994) in Budapest, the era of a Western yoga of a newer stamp began. This second phase in the development of yoga is characterized by the opening of instruction to a wider circle—unlike the exclusive guidance of a closed circle in the earlier phase of Theosophically marked yoga—as well as by a stronger orientation, during the exercises, toward psycho-physical events. Simultaneously, Western research offered its first verifications of the manners of operation of individual yoga exercises, as examined through medical and psychological studies.

Secularization

Today, many of the courses in Yoga offered in the West are extensively dissevered from the original, unambiguously religious relation of Indian yoga, and especially pursue corporeal purposes of regeneration and therapeutic prophylaxis. Accordingly, in Western countries, on the occasion of investigations into the motives of a participation in yoga or yoga courses, it is 'relaxation' and 'physical fitness' that are cited as first on the list (Fuchs 1990, 239f.). Along with content and direction, the current Western forms of the transmission of yoga are specified. Thus, practitioners of yoga in Europe and North America are rather rarely—as in traditional India—instructed by → gurus, who expect a high degree of personal dedication, but by yoga teachers, who are usually active in a second occupation, and direct their instruction to the didactic principles of adult education. This Western development can therefore be designated, as a whole, *secularization of yoga.* In this connection, it is likewise interesting that eighty percent of those three million people practicing and teaching yoga in Germany are women (Fuchs 1990, 198 and 201), while, in India, yoga is still a clear domain of men.

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→ *Body, Breathing, Guru, Hinduism, Indian Subcontinent, Meditation, Mysticism, New Age, Occultism, Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society*

Christian Fuchs

Zarathustra

No one knows exactly when and where Zarathustra, the 'founder' of → Zoroastrianism, lived. In fact, it is not even certain whether Zarathustra represents a historical individual at all. Even in the most ancient sources, the 'historical Zarathustra' appears as a remarkably nebulous figure, later to be repeatedly overlaid with mythology, theology, ritual, literature, iconography, and ideology.

The Gathas

The name Zarathustra (or Zarathushtra) appears in five very ancient hymns, the 'Gathas' ('songs'), composed in an ancient Iranian language. It is not certain who it was who composed these songs—Zarathustra himself? The place and time of the emergence of the Gathas is disputed. Most scholars assume that they were composed at the latest in the eighth century BCE, and perhaps even in the middle of the second millennium BCE, while some scholars opt for a date in the sixth/fifth centuries BCE. (The date of the composition of the hymns implies the date for Zarathustra.) It is generally assumed that these hymns were composed somewhere east of the borders of today's → Iran. In these songs, Zarathustra makes his appearance as an exceptional figure, an especially close confederate of the dominant god Ahura Mazda with whom he communicates and who grants him support. Together with a group of like-minded people, he is haunted by their adversaries.

The Later (Standard) Avesta

The Gathas probably belonged to the oldest layers of a liturgical text called the 'Yasna' (that at the same time is the name of a ritual in the course of which this text is recited). The Yasna makes part of a collection of ritual texts known as the 'Avesta' (which is often, rather misleadingly, referred to as 'the sacred writings' of Zoroastrianism). In contrast to the Gathas, the major parts of these texts portray a rather schematic view of Zarathustra: he acts as a powerful enemy of the demons, as a companion of the gods and goddesses, and as a partisan of good order, religion, and ritual. Many Avestan texts are rhetorically devised as dialogs between Zarathustra and the god Ahura Mazda: Zarathustra asks a question and the god provides the answers.

Biographies

In the Avestan texts, Zarathustra occasionally appears in a mythological or legendary light. Materials of this sort were later worked up into veritable biographies, in middle- and new Persian languages. Most episodes of those biographies entwine around Zarathustra's conception, his mother's pregnancy, his birth and childhood. The key event in these biographies is his (ecstatic) encounter with the divine beings at the age of thirty. At forty, he is supposed to have converted a prince or king to his religion, miraculously overcoming the resistance of 'wicked' priests. In these biographies, Zarathustra's death is mentioned marginally. These texts proved useful not only for edification and apologetics, but also for the legitimization of certain ideas and institutions.

Pictorial Representation

It was presumably only by way of contact with the visual piety of British Christians that, in the early nineteenth century, Indian followers of Zarathustra's religion, the Parsis (→ Zoroastrianism), developed the desire for a graphic representation of their 'prophet.' Consequently, a number of portraits of Zarathustra made their appearance, which nowadays play an

important role in the everyday life and prayer life of the followers of Zarathustra. One of their favorite representations is the work of German painter Eduard J. D. Bendemann (1811–1889), and was originally prepared for the throne room of the Castle of Dresden.

Zoroaster in the West

Already in antiquity, there was a lively interest in Zarathustra (alias Zoroaster) in the West. The reports circulating concerning this Zoroaster include the biographical episode (also mentioned in the Iranian biographies) that he, alone among human beings, laughed at birth. Christian authors interpreted this as evidence either of his demonic character, or else of his special geniality. Similarly ambiguous was the report that it was Zoroaster who invented → magic and the liberal arts. Another influential tradition saw in Zoroaster a king, a successor of Noah. Furthermore, he was accounted a great astrologer and astronomer.

In the early modern age, along with Hermes Trismegistus, Zarathustra won prestige as representative of a very ancient, yet timeless, wisdom (*prisca theologia*; → Esotericism; Hermetism/Hermeticism), whose deciphering and 'renaissance' were to contribute to a renewal of religious life. Later, certain figures of the → Enlightenment looked on Zarathustra as the protagonist of a 'natural religion,' or 'religion of reason,' that looked as if it could shake Christianity to its foundations. Voltaire, in his struggle against the backward powers of superstition (*l'infâme*), appealed to Zoroaster.

Nietzsche and Sequels

Friedrich Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (part 1: 1883) produced a new Zarathustra discourse. In first drafts, → Nietzsche had used the Greek Heraclitus as his hero. Now, not without irony, he reached even further back, to the 'Persian,' Zarathustra. With Nietzsche's book, 'Zarathustra' received a new life of his own, and (like his creator) he became a cult figure for a new readership. To be sure, Zarathrustra's name could also unfold its charm without a careful reading of the book. There are several visual presentations of Nietzsche's Zarathustra, and with Richard Strauss's tone poem (1896) named after the book—which, in turn, straightway attained to cult status as music for Stanley Kubrik's "2001: A Space Odyssey" (1968)—Zarathustra even gained an acoustic presence. The fascination that shone in Nietzsche's book condensed in a number of sequels from the first third of the twentieth century. Nietzsche himself, in *Ecce Homo*, insisted that it had been the 'Persian Zarathustra' who had been the first to create the ominous error of the translation of morals into metaphysics. Therefore the confutation of this error had to come, once more, in the name of Zarathustra, the most truthful of all.

Mazdasnan

His admirers hailed the founder of the Mazdasnan movement as a 'new Zarathustra.' The relation to Zarathustra is reflected in his very name: Dr. Otoman-Zar-Adusht (!) Ha'nish (1844–1939). The name of the religion likewise plays on the Zarathustric religion ('Mazdasnan' is derived from Ahura Mazda). There are also some further modern religious movements that, in some way or the other, claim a link to Zarathustra (such as with Osho [→ Osho Movement], OHASPE, Theosophists, and Anthroposophists [→ Theosophical/Anthroposophical Society]).

A Modern National Hero

While he was praised as an ancient sage in some esoteric currents, Zarathustra has for long centuries ranked in the Islamic East as an antagonist. In the

vicinity of Persepolis, however, there is a remarkable ancient building that the vernacular, by association with the great stone cube of Mecca, called 'Zarathustra's Kaaba.' With the rise of modern Iranian nationalism, Zarathustra has come, in certain circles, to perform a positive political function. As the epitome of a pure, brilliant, ethically directed, ancient Aryan Iranian civilization, Zarathustra was stylized into a kind of proto-national hero. In recent decades, furthermore, Zarathustra has been 'discovered' by certain Central Asian intellectuals (e.g., in Tajikistan). Moreover, a number of Kurds are convinced that Zarathustra was one of their 'prophets.'

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→ *European History of Religion, Esotericism, Iran, Reception, Zoroastrianism*

Michael Stausberg

Zen Buddhism

1. *Zen* is the Japanese designation for the Chinese *ch'an* (in Sanskrit, *dhyāna*, 'meditation,' 'immersion'), and denotes a tradition of Mahayana Buddhism for which the key religious practice is '→ meditation sitting' (in Jap., *zazen*). What is characteristic of Zen can be summarized in four brief enunciations: (1) Zen understands itself as a special tradition outside of orthodox teaching; it emphasizes (2) independence of the authority of sacred scriptures; (3) a transmission of the teaching 'from heart to heart,' from master to pupil; and (4) the sight and observation of one's own being (*kenshô*). Zen stresses the priority of an experience of enlightenment over intellectual confrontation with Buddhist teaching and the performance of a polished ritualistics, such as that obtained in the schools of esoteric Buddhism (Tendai, Shingon). Further, Zen interprets the concept of ritual in a new manner. Everyday activities, such as raking leaves, eating, and drinking tea, in a context of schooling in mindfulness, are performed with consciousness and attention, and in this consciousness, become the daily ritual.

Zen in China

2. a) The founder of Zen is the half-legendary figure of the eighteenth Indian patriarch, Bodhidharma (d. 532). At the beginning of the sixth century, Bodhidharma brought the Buddhist teaching to China. There it connected with Daoist elements, and developed a character of its own. Bodhidharma became the first Chinese Zen patriarch. The sixth patriarch, Hui-neng (638–713), composer of the Platform Sutras, enjoyed a far-reaching influence. Master Pai-chang (eighth patriarch, 720–814) introduced a stable monastic rule for monks, thereby bestowing on Zen its independence from other Buddhist schools. A surprising development was the imposition of the commandment of daily work: "A day without work is a day without eating."



The Zen Practice of the Tea Ritual (in Jap., Sarei*)*

The founder of Japanese Sôtô Zen, Dôgen (1200–1253), made tea drinking a substantial component of daily life in Zen monasteries. *Sarei*, the tea ritual, celebrated on certain occasions, serves as a stimulant, with the tea ingested before the phases of meditation (in Jap., *zazen*), and at the same time has a community-founding function. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, tea was prepared and consumed as a mixture of water and tea powder, produced from pulverized leaves of green tea, and beaten foamy with a bamboo brush. This is the form of tea preparation that we find today in the 'tea ceremony' ('Tea Way,' in Jap., *chadô*). The monks of the monastery gathered before the image of the Bodhidharma, and drank tea from a bowl, passing it around in a circle. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a new variant of the tea preparation came into style, influenced by the China of the Ming dynasty, and suppressing the tea-powder variant. Tea was prepared by brewing green-tea leaves in a bowl or pot of hot water; and the broth was then consumed. This variant of the tea preparation is still the common form today for the monastic Tea Ritual *Sarei*, daily celebrated in the meditation hall. This is the form familiar to people in the West, which has its origin in the fact that tea first came to Europe in the time of the Ming Dynasty.

The tea culture originates in China. Japanese monks, pursuing Buddhist studies in China in the twelfth century, became acquainted with tea—as a medicine, as a sacrifice, and as a drink—and carried seeds and seedlings back to Japan. The most celebrated monk to have introduced and promoted tea farming in Japan was Zen master Esai (1141–1215), founder of the Rinzai Zen school. Along with Buddhist studies, Esai concerned himself with Chinese medicine, and, in his *Kissayôjôki* ("Notes for Tea Drinking for Health"), emphasized the purpose of tea drinking indicated in his title. One of Zen's most basic concepts, which made it possible for the art of tea (in Jap., *chanoyu;* lit., 'hot water for tea') to develop outside the monastery walls, comes from Dôgen. From an originally religious ceremony in Buddhist monasteries, the art of tea then became an aesthetic spiritual discipline for laity. (The concept 'Tea Way'—in Jap., *chadô*—comes from Dôgen.) According to the understanding of Dôgen, no distinction obtains between the sacred and the profane. Each instant, each everyday action opens out toward the experience of the Absolute. "Reflect that the Buddha and the Patriarchs express their

true 'self' in daily actions such as drinking tea and eating rice. Such acts are the entire life of the Buddha, as also that of the Patriarchs. Apart from it, there is no 'way of the Buddha'" (Dôgen, *Shôbôgenzô*, Zurich 1975, 1:129). Schooling in attentiveness and immersion, which the Buddhist monk traditionally exercises in monastic meditation, is translated by Dôgen into daily deeds. In a source book for the Tea Way from the seventeenth century, monk Jakuan Sôtaku's *Indications concerning Zen and Tea* (*Zencharoku*), we read: "Under the thought that tea can be brought into agreement with the essential points of the Way of the Buddha, the 'Way of the Tea' appeared. [. . .] In the genuine sense, the preparation of the Tea Ceremony, as Zen practice, is a mental, spiritual exercise, that is essential for a clear grasp of one's own being. [. . .] To possess a heart arrested by nothing, and thus to have in hand the utensils for the tea—this is the meaning of immersion. Even when it is a matter of nothing but the teaspoon, let one give one's heart without reserve to that teaspoon, and think of nothing else at all."

In the Tea Way, the Zen method of the schooling of the consciousness in the accomplishment or everyday actions, in the sense of an utter surrender to the moment, wins an artistic dimension. One of the great molders of the Tea Way is Sen Rikyû (1521–1591), Zen adept and 'cultural manager,' as well as political adviser to Shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi. With his design of the Tea Way, he contrived a new concept of human 'synanthropy' and ethics, oriented to Zen Buddhist principles. Here the foundational pillars represent the four virtues of harmony (in Jap., *wa*), attention (*kei*), purity (*sei*), and inner composure (*jaku*). The tea ceremony should realize at every moment artlessness, adaptation to circumstances, contentment, thankfulness, mindfulness, concentration, and the consciousness of transiency.

In this picture, European Zen pupils practice the rite of 'tea passing' at the beginning of a phase of meditation in the Meditation Hall of the *Bodhidharma Zendo*, the Zen Center founded in Vienna in 1979.

Sabine Bayreuther

Toward the time of the T'ang Dynasty (618–906), there arose five different Zen traditions—the 'Five Houses' (in Chinese, *wu-chia*)—with their respective peculiarities in understanding and schooling practice. During the time of the Kamakura dynasty, two of these lines, the Lin-chi (in Jap., *Rinzai*) and the Ts'ao-tung (in Jap., *Sôtô*) schools, found their way to Japan, and there they blossomed anew. In the late eighteenth century, Buddhism in China began an extensive retrenchment. In the T'ai-p'ing rebellion (1850–1865), the once flourishing monasteries lay abandoned, and Buddhist life was broadly paralyzed. At the beginning of the twentieth century, abbots and scholars undertook attempts at renewal, but these remained largely without effect. The general political and spiritual climate offered little space for religious activities. Buddhism's teachings were regarded as relics of China's 'feudal' past, and especially in the years of the Maoist Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), they were systematically repressed, while the monasteries' economic bases were widely destroyed. The consequences come down all the way into the present.

Zen in Japan

b) After the Gempei War of 1185, a political power switch occurred in Japan. The military nobility in → Kyôto repressed the court nobility, and assumed governmental power in the form of the shogunate. The seat of the military governors (Shogun) was Kamakura. The changed political situation favored the ascent of new Buddhist schools, especially the Zen schools, whose value concepts were so closely akin to Samurai ethics and Confucian virtues. Through Japanese Tendai monks, pursuing studies in Buddhist China, Zen

teachings reached Japan. Eisai (1141–1215) founded the tradition of the Rinzai Zen in Japan, Dôgen those of Sôtô Zen. The principal temple of the Sôtô school is the Eiheiji, the Temple of Eternal Peace (Prefecture of Fukui), while the Rinzai line, by association with their Chinese exemplar, conceded special tasks and privileges to five large monasteries, the 'Five Mountains' (in Jap., *gosan*), in Kyôto and Kawakura. In the mid-seventeenth century, Chinese master Yin-yüan Lung-ch'i (in Jap., *Ingen Ryûki*) founded a third Zen school, the Ôbaku, with its principal monastery Mampukuji in Uja, in the vicinity of Kyôto. This parallel line of the Rinzai School retains little importance today.

At present, the Zen school in Japan has some ten million followers, slightly less than ten percent of the Japanese population. Actual Zen teaching and practice play a very subordinate role in the lives of lay Buddhists. The strict life of the Zen monasteries and the radical nature of Zen religious practice are quite unpopular among the population. This effect has been reinforced by the common practice, on the part of Japanese enterprises since the end or the 1950s, of obliging employees to undertake *zazen* schooling in Zen monasteries. The purpose is education in traditional Confucian virtues, such as discipline, respect, company loyalty, and readiness for commitment. Critics see in these practices a mere utilization of the Zen method, now reduced to the service of profit-oriented economic interests, for manipulating workers, and rendering them subservient. The aim, however, has nothing in common with the acquisition of knowledge, or with a spiritual life in the sense of the Buddhist ethic. One basis for the readiness of so many Zen temples to cooperate with company management may be, besides the financial aspect, a sharply declining interest on the part of the Japanese population in intensive Buddhist practice since the Second World War. The social function of Buddhist temples has been radically reduced (to the celebration of funerals and other offices of the dead). The structure of the Buddhist temple system in Japan provides that the eldest son of a priestly family become a monk, complete his religious formation in a monastery of the respective school-orientation, and take up the 'family temple.' This custom holds for Zen temples, as well. The motivation to go the Zen way as monk and priest is seldom based on a religious vocation, but is oriented to social advantages and traditions of legacy. This tends to deprive Zen of its depth in Japan.

Essential Traits of Zen

3. Along with the exercise of *zazen*, the work ethic is one of the most important elements of Zen practice. "All activities are the activities of the Buddha" (Suzuki Shôzan, 1579–1655). Enlightenment (*satori*) can be achieved not only in the condition of meditative immersion, but also in dedication to daily tasks. Everyday life is the place of religious exercise. Especially in the Rinzai tradition, daily physical work (*samu*) plays an important role in the monks' regulated daily round. Observance of the maxim, "Practical action is more important than religious theory," leads to Zen's radical simplification of cult: renunciation of elaborate ceremonial, rituals, images, and symbolism, rejection of philosophical abstractions, as well as of any exaggerated apparatus of aids to piety. A determination not to cling to religious objects (or writings) led to aniconic tendencies. Sixth patriarch Hui-neng was accustomed to shred scrolls of sutras, Master Tianran (738–824) burned a wooden Buddha to keep warm in winter. Such acts also manifest the anarchical moment that typifies Zen. Reactions can depreciate into the vulgar, the obscene, the subversive, and turn against received hierarchical structures, empty traditions

and habits of thought. The Zen monk slips into the role of the religious clown, fool, or provocateur. Many masters are shown in watercolors laughing uproariously.

Daily Life and Schooling Practices in the Monastery

4. Zen monasteries levy no taxes. The monastic community lives on donations, on begging rounds (money, rice, vegetables), on its own agricultural projects, and on stipends received for religious services (e.g., funeral ceremonies). The life of the monks is marked by hierarchical structures, rules, discipline, and a day organized down to the last detail. Besides physical labor, monks' tasks and duties include the daily recitation of Buddhist instructional texts (sutras), and weeklong meditations (*sesshin*), nocturnal *zazen*, begging (*takuhatsu*), and, in Rinzai monasteries, the practice of the *kôan*. In this latter practice they receive from the master a proposition or application, frequently paradoxical or rationally insoluble ("What is the sound of one hand clapping?"), by means of which they are to school themselves to move past rational thinking, and to attain to an experience of oneness. In Sôtô Zen monasteries, where the *kôan* is not practiced, the master affords the practitioners the opportunity to present their problems in special question sessions (*mondo*). In addition, a number of the more experienced monks hold certain offices. For example, the senior monk supervises the meditation hall and introduces the *zazen*. Others are the cook in the monastery kitchen, cantors at the recitation of the sutras, personal servants of the Zen Master, and the monks whose tasks are the reception and entertaining of guests, or seeing to the monastery's bookkeeping and financial management. Furniture in Zen monasteries, like the Zen life practiced there, is characterized by simplicity, parsimony, plainness, and severity, and the practitioner must be content with little. His acts are to be upright and artless. We encounter this aspect of Zen in Zen aesthetics: in the art of reduction, for example, in the form of monochrome watercolors, in the simplicity of an artistic flower arrangement, or in the style of a Japanese Zen-garden (→ Garden/Paradise). Daily activities such as garden maintenance become aestheticized, and serve as a locus of spiritual experience.

Zen in the West

5. The transmission of Zen to the West occurred first and foremost through Daisetzu Suzuki (1870–1966), who came to America at the beginning of the twentieth century with the purpose of collaborating in the publication of East Asian, and especially Zen Buddhist, writings. He gave numerous lectures and addresses in the cities of America and Europe. Another master, Shigetsu Sasaki Sokei-an (1882–1945), founder and Master of the First Zen Institute of America, in New York, lived and taught in the United States from 1906 until his death in 1945. The pioneer generation of Zen research in Germany includes religion scholars Hans Haas (1868–1934) and Wilhelm Gundert (1880–1971), and Protestant theologians Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) and Karl Heim (1874–1958). In 1925, for the first time, Zen texts were published, with detailed commentary, in German (August Faust, Shuhei Ohasama). With Jesuit Father Hugo M. Enomiya-Lassalle, the 'Christian Zen' movement began. In 1968, after twenty years' Zen practice under Japanese masters, the priest began to teach Zen in Germany.

In Europe and North America, numerous groups of Sôtô and Rinzai Zen were established, and are members of umbrella organizations of Buddhist communities. Dangers accompanying the implantation of Zen in the West are exoticization, and unreflective adoption of Japanese structures. The es-

tablishment of Zen in the West is a difficult tightrope-walk between a temperate adaptation to Western lifestyles, and preservation of the essence of Zen.

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→ *Buddhism, China/Japan/Korea, Esalen Institute, Kyôto, Martial Arts, New Age*

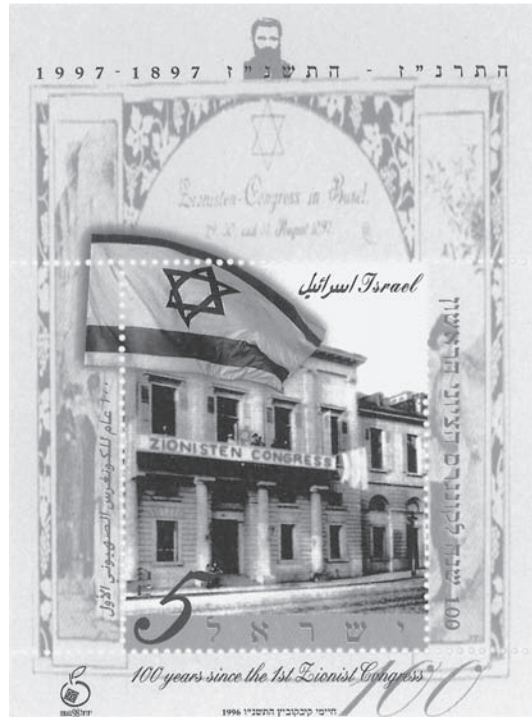
Sabine Bayreuther

Zionism

1. Zionism is a movement in → Judaism, appearing at the end of the nineteenth century, with the goal of the creation of a 'national homeland' for the Jews scattered through the → Diaspora. The designation is derived from 'Zion,' a hill in → Jerusalem, where there once stood the Jebusites' citadel that David overcame ('City of David'; 2 Sam 5:7). Even in the Bible, the name was extended to the Temple Mount, all of Jerusalem, and, finally, Israel. As a mythical place, Zion stands for the 'Mount of God,' after the exemplar of the 'mountain far to the north,' home of the gods of Phoenician mythology (Ps 48; cf. 2:6). After the destruction of the Temple (70 CE), Zion became the symbol of Jewish longing for a return to the ancient homeland. This hope of return found expression in the Jewish liturgy, as, for instance, in the blessing and farewell greeting, "Next year in Jerusalem!" However, the idea long remained joined to Messianic hopes. Only in the nineteenth century were plans developed for the creation of a Jewish homeland. Premises for the creation of a Jewish homeland were, for one, the extension of a racist → anti-Semitism that erased the success of the Jewish emancipation, and for another, the rise of a nationalism that favored the emergence of a Jewish national movement.

Zionist Movement before 1948

2. The first impetus for the Zionist movement came from Eastern Europe. In reaction to the pogroms of the early 1880s, in Russia, Leon Pinsker (1821–1891) composed his *Autoemanzipation*, in which he presented the necessity of the foundation of a Jewish homeland. Likewise under the pressure of the Russian pogroms, there arose, in Eastern Europe in 1882, the *Chibbat Zion* (Heb., 'Love for Zion') movement, whose goal was the promotion of Jewish settlement-movements in Palestine. The activities of the *Chibbat Zion* can



Commemorative postage stamp of the State of Israel for the one-hundredth jubilee of the first Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897, with the image of Theodor Herzl, the Basle Casino as the meeting place of the first and subsequent Congresses, and the Israeli state flag.

be denominated ‘practical Zionism.’ This direction met with sharp criticism from the side of the ‘cultural Zionists,’ especially Achid Haam (1856–1927), who championed the creation of a cultural and spiritual center in Palestine.

Theodor Herzl and Political Zionism

The founder of political Zionism is journalist and author Theodor Herzl (1860–1904). Under the pressure of the nationalistic strivings of Austria-Hungary and the influence of the Dreyfus Affair in France—where he had resided since 1891 as correspondent for Vienna’s *Neue Freie Presse*—Herzl developed his Zionist ideas. In 1896, he published *Der Judenstaat – Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage* (Eng. as “The Jewish State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question”). There, Herzl represented the view that the ‘Jewish question’ could be solved only by the concentration of the Jews in a particular region. He regarded the ‘Jewish question’ not under a religious, but under a national aspect, and his piece provoked intense reaction. On the Orthodox side, he was declared a heretic, as his endeavors were deemed to stand in contradiction with the Messianic promises—an argument still put forward by the extreme Orthodox today. Assimilated Jews, too, turned against Herzl, as they feared that, with Zionism, any emancipation that had already been achieved would itself be in jeopardy. In 1897, the first Jewish Congress took place in Basle, at which Herzl founded the *Zionistische Weltorganisation* (Ger., “World Zionist Organization”), as an umbrella organization for the Zionist groups. Subsequently, “World Zionist Congresses” have been held every two years—since 1961, in Jerusalem. Herzl’s diplomatic efforts to reach Zionist aims politically at first met with no success. But Eastern European Zionists forged ahead with

the settlement of Palestine. Immigration (in Heb., *aliya*, 'ascent') became an important basis for the realization of Herzl's ideas. Between the beginning of the 1880s and the founding of the State of Israel, there were six waves of immigration. The Jewish population (*yishuv*, 'inhabited land') swelled from 25,000 to more than 600,000. Often, immigration was accompanied by the influx of a manual labor force. With respect to the latter, the wish was for the creation of a productive basis for the new society. In place of the often physically unprepared Jews of the Diaspora, a new generation of strong, able-bodied persons would now step forward. Among the immigrants in the time from 1905–1926, socialist tendencies prevailed. Beginning in 1909, and influenced by socialist idealism, *Kibbutzim* (pl. of Heb. *kibbutz*, a 'gathering') appeared. These were community settlements, based on rigorously socialist principles, extensively corresponding to the commune of an ideal type. The Kibbutzim played a decisive role in the settlement of the land, and in the political development of the Jewish community system. The socialist tendencies of this time are also responsible for the fact that it was the labor union *Histadrut*, founded in 1920, that set up state structures in many areas.

Political acknowledgment of Zionist goals materialized only as a result of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, in which Great Britain certified its support of the creation of a Jewish homeland in → Palestine. The proclamation of the State of Israel, to be sure, came only in 1948, after millions of Jews had been sacrificed to the National Socialist evil. After the → Shoah, a rejection of the State of Israel seemed inconceivable.

Zionism and the State of Israel

3. With the founding of the State of Israel, the supreme Zionist goal had been attained. Zionism then had to define its content anew, as many of its tasks had been assumed by the Israeli state. Concentration was then on the pro-Israeli work in the Diaspora, and care for new immigrants. From some 650,000 Jews at the founding of the state, the population grew by nine-fold by the turn of the century (1997: 5,836,000).

National Religious 'Neo-Zionism': The Settlers' Movement

The Six Days War of 1967 represents a turning point in the history of Zionism, in which Israel occupied East → Jerusalem, with Mount Zion and the Wailing Wall, the Sinai Peninsula, the area of West Jordan, the Golan Heights, and the Gaza Strip. By way of the additional regions won in the Six Days War, the Arab minority increased considerably in the Jewish state. This demographic change moved to the foreground the question of the relationship with the Arabs, who were creating an identity of their own, as 'Palestinians.' In addition, after this demonstration of Israeli strength Zionism found nearly complete pan-Jewish support. Many Jews saw the victory, with its conquest of the Old City of Jerusalem and the Temple Mount, as well as of the biblical focal point from Nablus/Sichem to Hebron, as a divine sign. A new 'settlement movement' sprang up, representing a fundamentalistic, national-religious (Neo-) Zionism, and introducing religious arguments for the annexation of the occupied territories. A religious variant of Zionism, that until now had played only a marginal role, grew in importance in the years after 1967, and traditional secular Zionism was overshadowed. This development reached its climax with the murder of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by a fanatical religious Jew, in November 1995.

Gush Emunim and Protestant Zionism

One result of this merging of (non-religious) political Zionism and religious messianic Zionism was the growth of the radical *Gush Emunim* movement

(Heb., 'Block of the Faithful'), still influential in Israeli politics today. In a strange alliance with North American pre-millennialist Protestant Zionists—who view the 'gathering of the people of Israel' in the 'Holy Land' and the Jews' subsequent conversion to Christianity as a birth pang of the Messianic age (→ Millenarianism/Chiliasm)—the religious charging of Zionism with Messianism changed the political landscape of the Near East.

Anti-Zionism

4. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, Zionism has numerous problems to combat. Immigration into Israel—after a powerful wave of immigration at the beginning of the 1990s, from the region of the former Soviet Union—is now shrinking, while the number of emigrants is climbing. The Zionist assumption that, with the existence of a Jewish state, enmity towards Jews would come to an end, has proved to be untenable. Not only in Arab space did Anti-Zionist attitudes spring up; the Soviet Union pilloried Israel, in the Cold War, as an outpost of United States imperialism, availing itself, as did other Eastern bloc countries, of anti-Semitic stereotypes. A similar argumentation was mounted by a large number of spokespersons from the 'Third World,' and, to an extent, by the leftist movements of the West, which alleged Israel's colonialist character, and criticized a racist dimension in Zionism. In 1975, a UN resolution (Nov. 10, 1975, no. 3379) even defined Zionism as a form of racism. The resolution was rescinded (Doc. No. A/RES/46/86, 74th plenary meeting of Dec. 16, 1991). However, this did not mean the end of anti-Zionism. Anti-Semitism, no longer respectable since the Shoah, here found its prolongation.

Zionism in Crisis

5. Since the 1980s, Zionism has itself been under academic discussion. 'New historians' Benny Morris, Han Pappe, Avi Schlaim, and Tom Segev, whose position is often the object of allusion, included the standpoint of the Palestinians in their consideration of Israeli history and society, and criticized various aspects of Zionism. Thus, they maintained their attitude against a background of the Intifada, and of the aporias of the Israeli occupation policy. The inclusion of their criticism in a new history textbook, from 1999, sparked a battle among Israelis. The pride with which the delegates of the Thirty-Seventh Zionist Congress looked back on the one hundred years gone by since the first Congress, cannot conjure away the crisis of the present.

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→ *Anti-Semitism, Diaspora, Jerusalem, Judaism, Millenarianism/Chiliasm, Palestine/Israel, Shoah*

Isabel Herkommer

Zombie

Concept

1. The word *zombi(e)*, or *zumbi*, comes from the Bantu languages (→ Africa), and means 'enslaved spirit.' Zombies are 'un-dead' or 'living corpses,' of whom it is supposed that they can be awakened to life for purposes of black magic. 'Zombie' can denote either: the spirit (of someone dead), as the soul separated from the body, or a 'living corpse,' a body without a soul. The zombie concept originated in the → Voodoo religion, but is also familiar in other parts of the Caribbean, and in Brazil.

In order to understand the phenomenon, it is important to indicate that in no traditional African religion is there a contradiction between magical and religious practice. Magic, as an effort to reach a purpose (rain and fertility, wealth, a love object) by supernatural means, is part of regular religious practice. But in addition, there is a discourse concerning witchcraft—possibly also a practice of the same—centering on harmful spells and the conjuration of the dead (necromancy). In Haitian Voodoo, the conceptualization prevails that a 'black magician,' with magical knowledge and magical powers, can catch the souls of living, or even dead, creatures, human or beast, and contrive to have them serve him. By his magical power, the sorcerer entraps these spirits and keeps them under his control. He can even hold them prisoner in a magical doll. In the background is the belief, itself actually African, that the human body hosts two souls: one, the 'vital soul' (in Creole, *gros bon ange*), and the other, the 'shadow soul' (*petit bon ange*), which leaves the body during sleep, and, after death, wanders aimlessly through the world as a zombie. The practice of black magic consists, first, of catching the *petit bon ange*—at a 'vulnerable' moment, when the connection to the body, and thus with the *gros bon ange*, is interrupted—and reducing it to one's service. In Brazil, the word 'zombie' is used only of persons who retain their bodies, and are still in life, but who have lost their (shadow) souls and character through magic. Then, it is believed, they can no longer distinguish between good and evil. Far more spectacular is the other apprehension: that of a dead body that the soul spirits are deemed to have abandoned. In that case, it is widely believed, the sorcerer ought to 'zombify' someone, by giving him a poisoned drink, so that he falls into the rigidity of death. Then, during the night, the sorcerer exhumes the victim and drips a magical fluid on his grave. Now the corpse rises from the earth as a zombie, without a will, a body without a soul, who must obey his lord and sorcerer in all things, and must work bearing burdens, or in the field. As with human beings in former times under colonial law, a slave zombie can be purchased from a sorcerer and resold. Here, the zombie status can be perceived mythically, as a social code for slavery, and less as a real event—although Haiti has explicit laws against the fashioning of zombies, and zombification has been brought into connection, in recent years, with local secret societies, which are prohibited and punished by law.

2. Especially under the influence of the American film industry, the zombie has become familiar the world over. This began with Jacques Tourneur's



With "I Walked with a Zombie" (1943, dir. Jacques Tourneur, prod. Val Lewton), after Victor Halperin's "White Zombi" (1932), Haiti's voodoo religion had conquered the cinemas of the Western world once and for all—granted, in the horror genre, as exotic trimming for a well-crafted spine-tingler. "Forbidden Voodoo secrets sensationally revealed," the poster advertised, and set the visitor reverentially a-shudder at such a prodigy of magical pagan gestation. The gentleman with blemished eyes, who obstructs the two ladies' way to the gathering place of the followers of Voodoo, in the middle of a sugar-cane field, is obviously on the scene to give the appearance of a zombie, one of the 'living dead.' True, he is called 'Carrefour' (Fr., 'Intersection'), and watches a crossroads—thus representing the god (Loa) Legba in his guise as Mâitre Carrefour. In Haitian Voodoo, however, the latter is represented as a feeble old graybeard, on crutches. The film develops the zombie theme purely in subordination to a story of whites: Jessica, wife of a plantation owner (left in the picture), is caught between two alienated half-brothers, and has been 'zombified.' Betsy (center), her nurse, attempts to heal her, but the project goes amiss. Finally, it is seen

horror classic, "I Walked with a Zombie" (1943), in which Haiti's Voodoo cult is used effectively for a movie scenario. Close on the heels of this piece followed a whole sub-genre of horror films, which promptly broke with the cultural roots of the zombie myth. The Western audience, shivering with delight, were here offered not so much tales of soul thievery, as modern versions (if rather exotically detached) of the old European fear of 'those who return' (the *revenants*; → Spirits/Ghosts/Revenants), and of the 'undead.' As B-movies, they belong today to the popular culture of the Western world and to its → new myths.

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→ *Afro-American Religions, Magic, New Myths/New Mythologies, Popular Culture, Spiritism, Spirits/Ghosts/Revenants, Voodoo*

Claudio Mattes

Zoroastrianism

Designations

'Zoroastrianism' is the modern designation (established in colonial times) for one of the oldest living religious traditions of mankind. The name refers to one of the Greek names of its 'founder' Zoroaster, known as Zarathushtra in the sources from ancient → Iran (→ Zarathustra). In antiquity, most Greek authors referred to the religion simply as 'the religion of the Persians,'

while indigenous sources termed it as the 'good' or the 'mazda-worshipping' religion—the latter term focusing on the god Ahura Mazda ('the Wise Lord' or, alternatively, 'Lord Wisdom') who is venerated as the main god, the 'strongest' of the gods (their 'father' and 'fashioner') who has put the universe in good order.

Ancient History and Indigenous Historiography

Zoroastrianism is a religion of considerable historical importance. While its precise origins—both as to the questions of time and space—are a matter of ongoing academic dispute, it had reached the mainland of Persia at the very latest during the reign of the Achaemenian Dynasty, Persian kings who (from the late sixth century BCE onwards) created and ruled over the first world-empire in history, until they were defeated by Alexander and the last Achaemenian king (Darius III) was murdered in 330 BCE. Some Achaemenian kings heavily drew on Zoroastrianism as a source of legitimation for their construction of political empire. For instance, Darius I ('the Great') who is mainly known for his great building projects (Persepolis), his administrative genius and his failed attempt to conquer Greece referred to the 'will' (alternatively: the 'size') of Ahura Mazda as *the* source of his political success in his royal inscriptions. (The king had seized power from a rival and hence was in need of 'extra' legitimacy.) However, the glory and splendor of the Achaemenians (which is regularly displayed in exhibitions in major museums of the world) was all but forgotten by the later indigenous Zoroastrian historiography that would only remember the fatal onslaught of Alexander the 'accursed' who was blamed for a violent loss of religious traditions. In retrospect Alexander was accused of having murdered priests and scholars, having carried off writings and having them translated, having extinguished ritual fires and having destroyed temples (a somewhat anachronistic accusation since there probably were no fire-temples at the period in question).

While Zoroastrianism struggled under Hellenistic and Roman rule and flourished under the reign of the Arsacid dynasty that controlled large parts of Mesopotamia and Iran (generally known as the 'Parthian' empire) from the third century BCE through the early third century CE, the later Zoroastrian religious tradition praised the Sasanian kings (reigning from 224–651 CE) for powerfully reestablishing the religion. As a matter of fact, several Sasanian rulers highlighted Zoroastrianism on such official propagandistic media as inscriptions, reliefs, and coins. Some kings are reported to have gathered and strengthened the religious traditions. The Sasanian period saw the establishment of many fire-temples, powerful religious endowments, and the rise of a hierarchically differentiated professional priesthood. Occasionally, clashes occurred between different religions operating on Sasanian territory, and there were several instances of persecution of Christians. The very fact that Christianity was developing a powerful base in Iran is indicative of a plurality of competing religions and local cults and practices that tend to be marginalized by the often held idea that there was something like a 'Sasanian state church.' While the Sasanians present themselves as pious Zoroastrians and later sources celebrate some Sasanian kings as exemplary devout kings, among modern Iranian Zoroastrians the Sasanians are often held responsible for a decline of the religion and its misuse for political purposes that would pave the way for the downfall of the empire. As a matter of fact, the Sasanian empire was conquered by Arabic troops in the mid-seventh century CE. Still to this day, most Zoroastrians use the presumed

that the local Voodoo cult had been infiltrated and manipulated by a white female physician. Incidentally, the film was made directly after Haiti's last and most vigorous 'Campaign to Combat Superstition' (1940–1941). In the course of the latter, temples of the Voodoo religion were plundered and destroyed, cult objects were burned, and Voodoo priests were thrown into prison. Furthermore, every Catholic had to take a special oath, in which he or she abjured the 'diabolical cult of Voodoo.' (Hubert Mohr)

date (631 CE) of the coronation of the last Sasanian ruler (Yazdgird III) as the beginning of their era (2005 CE = 1374 Y). There is no strictly religious era—one of the many signs of the ethnic character of the religion.

The Coming of Islam and Its Aftermath

The Arabic conquest marked the beginning of a process of Islamization of the country that would last over several centuries (→ Islam), but by the thirteenth century CE the Zoroastrians were reduced to an insignificant minority and they were concentrated in some small parts of the country only. In this way, the geographical outreach of the religion was severely reduced—both in Iran and neighboring regions such as Central Asia where it had developed varieties that were markedly different from the main Iranian tradition, for instance with respect to visual representations. (Already in the late third century, when king Tiridates had adopted Christianity in Armenia and had it imposed on the population, Zoroastrianism had declined in that region, but modern research has pointed to many Zoroastrian 'traces' in the religion of the Armenians.)

The deteriorating living conditions of the Iranian Zoroastrians led some to seek refuge at the Indian West coast (Gujarat) where pockets of Zoroastrians had probably by the twelfth century CE established lasting community structures (→ Indian Subcontinent). The Indian Zoroastrians came to be known as the 'Parsis' (an ethnic term presumably referring to their homeland). In the course of time, they developed a specific ethnic identity with a strong sense of shared history, a peculiar language (Parsi-Gujarati), particular rites, ceremonies, and ritual spaces (by law inaccessible to non-Parsis) and their own dress codes and culinary preferences (the latter two have by now mostly disappeared from every-day life but are carefully staged on 'auspicious occasions' such as initiations and weddings).

Colonialism, Diasporas, and Current Demographics

The Parsi communities blossomed during Mughal and British rule. In the collective memory of many Parsis the colonial age is still regarded as something like the 'golden age' of the community in terms of material wealth, social prestige, cultural achievements, and political influence. At the same time, the religion underwent considerable transformations building on economic, legal, spatial, and ideological changes. An unprecedented number of temples were built, most of them in urban Bombay (Mumbai), the modern stronghold of the religion. On the other hand, a number of practices and beliefs became less important (especially the once universal fear of demons had all but vanished). The socio-religious position of the clergy declined and lay leadership was firmly established (partly, but not fully, along democratic lines), and a new code of personal law was enforced (which, among other changes, for the first time consistently established women as autonomous subjects). Social and religious reform movements started to forge new identity-discourses (fighting against 'superstition' and advocating a return to what they regard as the pristine teaching of the prophet), and esoteric movements (building on doctrines of the → Theosophical Society) made an impact on conservative sections of the communities. Since the late nineteenth century, the question of the permissibility of conversion to Zoroastrianism and mixed marriages has been a topic of ongoing debates and (re-) negotiations about Zoroastrian, or Parsi, identities, sometimes involving secular courts. Conversions are still not permitted among the Parsis and while intermarriage is a reality in most families, it is still regarded as a taboo and the religious status of the persons concerned is a matter of dispute.

Some Parsis enthusiastically welcomed independence, but it created a trauma for many others. A rhetoric of crisis seems to pervade the Indian communities. The most visible sign of crisis is the continuous demographic decline that in the long run seems to threaten the very survival of the community in India. (The Indian communities now number less than 70,000.) Part of the explanation for this decline is a reluctance to procreate that is typical for certain sectors of modern societies, while it at the same time is clearly at odds with the exhortations to bear children which can be found throughout the religious literature.

In part, the demographic decline of the contemporary Parsis can also be explained by → migration abroad. Starting with the late eighteenth century, Parsis temporarily or permanently settled not only in different parts of the subcontinent (including what is now Pakistan), but also in distant points of the colonial global trading networks, including Japan, China, Burma, Ceylon, Arabia, Eastern and Southern Africa. While most of these settlements are in decline, migration to Europe (mainly Britain) continues. Since the 1960s, new waves of emigration brought Parsis to the United States and Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and the Gulf states. These developments have contributed a strongly diasporic dimension to modern Zoroastrianism (→ Diaspora).

In → Iran, at the end of the nineteenth century, Zoroastrianism had been reduced to a tiny minority of less than 10,000 who had to bear a wide range of harsh discriminatory practices from the dominant Muslim population. The intervention of their fellow-believers from India, labor migration to India, and substantial political and legal changes have ever since greatly improved the lot of the Iranian Zoroastrians (and led to a tripling of their number). Many Zoroastrians left agriculture, migrated to the modern capital Tehran (which is by now the main stronghold of the Iranian Zoroastrians), and went into the new middle-class professions. Just like in India, some even found great success.

Religious Transformations in Modern Iran

Modern Iranian Zoroastrianism has undergone fundamental changes. As Zoroastrians have been freed from many restrictions, so the religion has been reconceived as a message of freedom (the presumed essence of Zarathushtra's message). In many respects, the ceremonial system has been deliberately neglected, and many rules and rituals that are still carefully upheld by Indian priests have been all but abandoned by their Iranian colleagues. The Yasna, for example, which the Parsis regard as an important liturgy (it takes a pair of trained priests several hours to perform it), is nowadays only celebrated rarely and in a drastically reduced format by some Iranian priests. Most of the → purification rituals have been abandoned and—contrary to the Indians—the Iranians no longer use cow's urine as a purifying agent (and hence there is no more need to perform the elaborate ceremony to consecrate it). The professional priesthood has seen a sharp decline and the leading priests have joined the social and intellectual elite in a crusade to uproot ancient 'superstition,' including some female rituals, devotion to 'lesser' divinities such as Mithra and animal → sacrifice (that had already been abandoned in India some centuries back). The fear of being classified as 'fire-worshippers' led the priests and other spokespersons of the community to emphasize the 'symbolic' role of fire-worship; some new temples even house gas fires. Accordingly, ancient consecrated fires are no longer tended according to the rules that were followed in the past. However, in modern times a number of smaller shrines have emerged as places of memory and devotion.

In order to safeguard their place as a modernizing religion in a modernizing country, the so-called 'towers of silence'—walled funerary structures in which the corpses would be exposed to the sun and birds of prey (→ Funeral/Burial)—were abandoned during the twentieth century to be replaced by cemeteries, where, however, care was taken to protect the earth from direct contact with the corpses. (The 'towers of silence' were introduced in the centuries after the Islamic conquest, and were refined in India, where they are still in use, despite the fact that there are no more vultures to devour the corpses.)

Some varieties of modern Iranian nationalism sought to construct a non-Arabic national identity. In this discursive context Zoroastrianism has emerged as a national legacy, and in its reconfigured shape (the religion of freedom and morality representing the splendor of ancient Iran) it turned out to be an appealing ideological alternative for many Iranians, and some Iranians have actually converted to Zoroastrianism. Nowadays, an international organization based in California (the 'Zarathustrian Assembly') is actively promoting the religion (or their heavily revised version of it) and 'accepts' people willing to convert. This organization, however, is violently opposed by others, including a neo-traditionalist organization based in Bombay ('Zoroastrian Studies').

Conversion is out of the question in the Islamic Republic of Iran that was established in 1979. Many Zoroastrians have left the country since 1979 and settled in North America, Australia, and Europe (e.g. Britain, Sweden, and Germany) contributing their share to diasporic Zoroastrianism. In Iran itself the Islamic Republic has blown some wind into the sails of religion. Religious events are among the few accepted occasions for collective merriment and entertainment. Moreover, the Zoroastrian casualties of the first Gulf War (against Iraq, 1980–1988) are nowadays celebrated as Zoroastrian → 'martyrs,' a concept previously unknown in the Zoroastrian vocabulary.

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→ *Indian Subcontinent, Iran, Islam, Zarathustra*

Michael Stausberg



At the celebration of the New Year, the Afro-Brazilian population offer sacrifice to the goddess Yemanjá, on the banks of the Rio de Janeiro: flowers, dolls, and other gifts especially dear to the goddess are committed to the sea. In their sacrificial prayers, believers beg of Yemanjá the granting of their requests and wishes. (J. Drexler)



A special sacrifice, under the all-seeing eyes of the Buddha, at the ornamented stupa of Bodnath (Katmandu, in Nepal). At this Tibetan Buddhist sanctuary, it is seen as spiritually meritorious to have limewater poured from the edge of the one-meter-high hemisphere by temple workers, in exchange for a monetary contribution. The action is performed several times a day, so that, in the some five centuries of its existence, the monument has materially expanded. A second form of ritual libation is more expensive: from the base of the hemisphere, in high bows, saffron water is cast up upon the limestone to make dark stains, from which emerges the pattern of a lotus blossom—a sacred symbol in Buddhism. (E. Stapelfeldt)



In many religions, the burning of sweet-scented essences (incense, rosin, sandalwood, aloes, myrrh, camphor, cedar, etc.) constitutes an important component of worship or cult. In Catholicism, for example, the burning of incense (or 'incensation') has been practiced since the fourth century, and stands as an image and symbol of the prayer that ascends to God. The sacrifice of smoke and fragrances serves for the consecration or dedication of places, for ritual purification, to dispel demons, and to rejoice the gods by the ascending fragrance. Especially in → Daoism, the burning of incense sticks plays an important role in ritual, and in the everyday practice of believers: the vessels for sacrifices of smoke are key components of the temple. Here a young mother in Hong Kong offers a bundle of incense sticks in a Daoist temple, dedicated to the gods Man and Mo. Both deities go back to persons who, according to legend, lived some 1,500 years ago. Man, the God of Literature, is the patron of government officials, while Mo, the God of Martial Arts, is venerated by both police officers and the criminal milieu. (Benita von Behr)



The village of Charazani celebrates the Feast of *Todos Santos* (Sp., 'All Saints'). Here, the Christian feasts of All Saints and All Souls, November 1 and 2, are connected with pre-Christian conceptualizations of the return of the dead (cf. → Death and Dying). In this region, loved ones return after their deaths as *almas nuevas* (Sp., 'new souls') for three feasts of All Saints, and visit the cabins in which they have lived. On November 2, the villagers go out to the cemetery, accompanied by music groups, whose flutes and drums have played uninterruptedly since the day before. Families with a 'new soul' bring gifts along. Days before, sugar-cane poles have been constructed, in their cabin, hung with breads and fruits, and standing on a richly draped table. Nor must bottles of whiskey be lacking. Many of the celebrants are already tipsy, since, after Mass on November 1, they have entered the homes in which the 'new souls' have paid a visit, spoken prayers, and conversed all night long, drinking alcohol. At the cemetery, the gifts are supposed to be placed at the graves. In what one might call the Quechua catechism, the position taken by the Catholic Church with regard to the usages of *Todos Santos* becomes ambivalent. Nevertheless, in the everyday ritual of the Bolivian Andes in the area of the usages pertaining to the dead, a contiguity of Christian and non-Christian religious elements is feasible. (Kirsten Holzapfel, following Ina Rösing)



How difficult it is, especially in the modern age, to distinguish religious characteristics from profane, entertainment from bestowal of meaning! This similarity is seen in many examples from today's team sports. The rituals of the opening and closing ceremonies of great presentations such as the → Olympic Games, or world championships, provide productive material. At the kickoff celebration of the world soccer championships in France, on June 9, 1998, four twenty-meter-tall "ethnofuturistic giants" (German Press Association dpa) float in a star march to Place de la Concorde in Paris, intended to symbolize the (soccer) cultures of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe. The figures were escorted to their destination by balloon figures of (in order) musicians, dancers, in-line skaters, and speaking soccer-players. Hundreds of thousands of attendees lined the processional route. The closing ceremonies, to be seen here, remind those reared as Christians, of the 'dance around the golden calf' (the stylized soccer-ball goblet in the middle). A less critical sort can identify the spectacle with the motto *Seid umschlungen, Millionen!* (Ger., "Embrace, ye millions!"—Schiller, in the "Ode to Joy" of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony). That the scene is not simply to be divided into 'sacred' and 'profane,' but that it presents a multi-layered *civic ritual*, is suggested by a glance at the giants: they stand in the tradition of Baroque continent-allegories, as well as in the folkloristic magical festive custom of over-sized dolls, the *mannequins* (for example, in the Tarascon in Southern France). Third and finally, they can be ascribed among the figures of a modern hero-cult—after all, the ritual exaltation of sports stars into superhuman demigods is known from Greek antiquity. But does this now make them 'soccer gods'— → idols of a 'religion of the masses'? (Hubert Mohr)



On November 4, 1995, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was murdered in Tel Aviv. In recognition of his work in negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, he had received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994, together with Yassir Arafat and Shimon Perez. During the weeks after the act of terror, persons, mainly youth, assembled at the square where he had been murdered, and they held protest vigils, carrying storm lanterns, flowers, and letters. The wall at the place of the crime was spontaneously filled with images and graffiti. The government offered its contribution only later, with a memorial plate in the soil and by officially naming the square "Rabin Place." The graffiti, of which the picture shows a section, were varnished, and kept as a historical memorial. In this time of terror, the graffiti writers adopted the Hebrew biblical expression, *Yakum Damo*—"His Blood Be Avenged!" Whether these words represent a petition to God or a challenge to human beings, remains ambiguous. The references to the Song of Moses (Deut 32:43), as well as that to Ps 79:10, indicate that the murder calls for the wrath of God, as it brought down a person who acted according to God's will, Yitzhak Rabin. The expression used at parting, *Shalom, Haver*—"Goodbye, Friend" (on the left, under the portrait)—originally an expression of sympathy, grief, and shock, has long since become a widespread saying. It was the last sentence in President Bill Clinton's address (otherwise in English) at the funeral ceremony. Meanwhile T-shirts and bumper stickers recall the deceased. Members of the Socialist Party use it to greet Rabin as a comrade. Partisans of the peace movement appeal to him as a person of like mind. And a fragment in the picture suggests the frequently applied verse *Ata Haser* ("We Miss You"). The greeting of peace has become a slogan, with which inhabitants of Israel express their support for the peace process. (A. Kleefeld and Kirsten Holzapfel)



An interesting form of the secularization of trance can currently be observed in Morocco. The cult actors of the Gnawa Brotherhood are disconnecting themselves from their old traditions, and broadening their opportunities. Selected by a Danish gallery director, some of them have even begun to paint pictures while in a trance, and thus to render visible their inner life. This process becomes extremely clear in a painting by Mohamed Tabal. Here Tabal expresses his own possession by the spirits of the water, and thereby alludes to the origin of Gnawa on the Niger River. One can see fish, but also camels, which represent the voyage from Nigeria to Morocco. The expression on his face is that of a person all in ineffable rapture and referring to a frenetic presentation of the spirits, who incite self-mutilation. (F. Welte)



The young Peronist who lights an altar candle in the meeting room of a local Peronist group of Buenos Aires, pays tribute to the founding couple of the Party, Juan Domingo Perón (1895–1974) and his wife, Eva ('Evita') Duarte (1919–1952). Perón led Argentina from 1946 to 1955 with an authoritarian presidential regime that had taken on the characteristics of a mass, social revolutionary, → political religion, such as that recognized in the European Fascism of the twentieth century. His wife 'Evita,' a singer and motion picture actress by profession, succeeded, in exultant scenes, in making herself and the regime advocates of the 'shirtless' poor (Span., *descaminados*) and women. Evita's early death from cancer, at the age of 33, contributed to her becoming the object of an enthusiastic cult of the dead, promoted by Perón's Labor Party (*Partido Laborista*). Her corpse was embalmed, and her mausoleum was preserved as a place of pilgrimage, while her office at union headquarters became a room for memorial and meditation. In modern political movements, the veneration of persons encourages an intentional eradication of the boundaries of nation, party, and salvation movement. The devotional shrine pictured here may serve as an example. It is at party headquarters, and features a Catholic altar furnished with missal, crucifix, and Madonna, but dominated by photographs of the 'holy couple,' Juan and Evita. The transition from commemorative picture to image for meditation (perhaps even divine idol) seems fleeting. Granted, charisma and veneration of persons cannot be planned, as was acrimoniously shown at the close of Perón's career. After his political comeback in 1973, Perón tried to 'clone' Evita, presenting his second wife, dancer María Estella Martínez (b. 1931), as 'Isabel,' the new popular leader. After Perón's death, Isabel did succeed him in the presidential chair, but did not possess the capacities for control of the masses that her predecessor had demonstrated, and in 1976 she was ingloriously overthrown by a military junta. (Hubert Mohr)



A ceremony of initiation into a Wicca coven, a ritual group of the new witches movement (→ Paganism/Neopaganism). High priestess Zsuszanna Budapest presents the initiand (right) with an amulet of feathers. That only women are present has its basis in the fact that Budapest is founder of the feministic direction of 'Dianic Wicca' (after Roman goddess of the hunt Diana), whose ritual groups accept women exclusively. Budapest, born in 1940 in the Hungarian capital, combines traditional techniques used by Eastern European female soothsayers and healers (her mother was a medium), and 'feminist spirituality,' a concept that, she declares, she herself coined. Since 1970, she had been in Los Angeles, and later was a women's liberation activist, reformulating the political tenets of radical feminism in religious concepts and terms. In 1975 she founded the first feminist Wicca coven, Susan B. Anthony Coven Number 1, which became the model in Dianic Wicca. Her *Feminist Book of Lights and Shadows* (1975; republished in 1989 as *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries*) had the effect of creating a cult. In 1975, she was arrested for reading Tarot cards—which led to a paradigmatic trial, and ultimately, in 1983, to the abrogation of California's Law Against the Practice of Divination. Today Budapest moderates her own TV show ("Thirteenth Heaven"), and leads the Women's Spirituality Forum in San Francisco. (Hubert Mohr)

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